

A

GENERAL COLLECTION

OF THE

BEST AND MOST INTERESTING

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD;

MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

DIGESTED ON A NEW PLAN.

BY JOHN PINKERTON,

AUTHOR OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY, &c &c.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

VOLUME THE EIGHTH.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER-ROW;
AND CADELL AND DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1811.

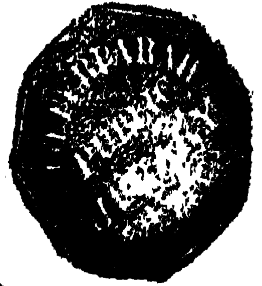
Strahan and Preston,
Printers-Street, London.

A

GENERAL COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.



red, which in time colours the teeth ... this at all times. From the Governor's

HINDOSTAN.

THE JOURNAL OF SIR THOMAS ROE,

Ambassador from His Majesty King James the First of England, to JEHAN GUIRE, the Mighty Emperor of India, commonly called the Great Mogul.

CONTAINING

An Account of his Voyage to that Country, and his Observations there.

Taken from his original Manuscript

THE PREFACE, BY THE EDITOR OF CHURCHILL'S COLLECTION.

SIR THOMAS ROE has before appeared, in part, in Purchas's collection of travels, and since translated into French, and published in the first volume of Thevenot. Now he comes abroad again with considerable additions, not foisted in, but taken from his own original manuscript, which it is likely Purchas had not, but some imperfect copy of it. It is true, the additions here are not great in bulk, as any will judge that shall compare this with the other edition, but they are valuable for the subject; and because this being a journal, they are here more continued, and several matters that in the other were brought in abruptly, are here more methodical. His account at the latter end, of all the provinces subject to the Mogul, and of the extent of his dominions, is not to be rejected; for, though time and experience have pro-

Churchill's Collection, vol. i. p. 617. edit. 1744.

duced more ample and exact relations, yet his are just as to the main, such as he received upon the spot, and pleasing to those that read of this mighty monarchy. Some extracts of letters are added out of a vast multitude, still preserved in two volumes; and in these extracts all that is remarkable, or of use at this time, the rest being only business of trade, as directed to the several factories in those parts, and to the East India Company in England. But that nothing might be omitted to satisfy the most curious; there is one list made out of many of his, containing all things that are fit for presents in India, and consequently they are good saleable commodities. In fine, here is all that is valuable of Sir Thomas Roe, and nothing that may cloy the reader.

SIR THOMAS ROE's JOURNAL,

Giving an Account of his Voyage to India, and his Observations in that Country, and particularly at the Court of the Great Mogul, where he resided as Ambassador from James the First, King of England.

MARCH the 6th we lost sight of the Lizard, and began our course for the Cape of Good Hope. The 26th we saw the coast of Barbary; the 27th had Cape Bojador E. by S. whence the current sets swift S.S.W. April the 14th we cut the line, May the 2d the tropic of Capricorn, and on the 5th of June came to anchor in the bay of Saldanha, next the Cape of Good Hope. The land is fruitful, but divided by high inaccessible rocky mountains covered with snow, the river Dulce falling into the bay on the east side. The people are the most barbarous in the world, eating carrion, wearing the guts of sheep about their necks for health, and rubbing their heads, which are curled like the Blacks, with the dung of beasts and dirt; and having no cloaths but skins wrapped about their shoulders, the flesh side next the body in summer, and the hair in winter. Their houses are but a mat rounded at the top like an oven, which they turn as the wind changes, having no door to keep it out. They have left off their custom of stealing, but know no God or religion. The air and water are very wholesome. Here are abundance of cows, antelopes, baboons, pheasants, partridges, larks, wild geese, ducks, and many other sorts. On the isle of Penguin is a sort of fowl of that name, that goes upright, his wings without feathers, hanging down like sleeves faced with white. They do not fly, but only walk in parcels, keeping regularly their own quarters; they are a sort of mixture of beast, bird, and fish, but most bird. The commodities here are cattle, nangin roots, and I believe there is a rock yielding quicksilver. The table mountain is eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty three foot high. The bay is full of whales and seals: the latitude is 33 deg. 45 min. The 21st we came up with the Cape of Good Hope; July the 8th with the isle of Madagascar, and the 22d with that of Molalia: this is one of the islands of Comera, the other three are Angazesia, Juanny, and Mayotta, lying almost east and west of one another, in the same meridian with Cape St. Augustin. Angaresia bears N. by W. from Molalia; it is the highest land that I ever saw, inhabited by Moors trading with the main, and the other three eastern islands, with their cattle and fruit for callico's, and other clothes to cover them. It is governed by ten petty kings, and has plenty enough of kine, goats, cows, oranges, and lemons. The people are counted false and treacherous. Juanny lies

lies east from Molalia and Mayotta, the coast between them both. All these three islands are full of refreshments, but chiefly Molalia, and next to it Juanny. Here lived an old woman who was Sultaness of all these islands. Under her there were three deputies in Molalia, children of the old woman. The Sultan, in whose quarter we anchored, is so absolute, that the people dare not sell a cocoa-nut without his leave. Four boats were sent to his town to desire this liberty, which was granted; and Captain Newport going ashore with forty men, found the Governor sitting on a mat, under the side of a junk that was building, attended by about fifty men. He had on a mantle of blue and red callico wrapped about him to his knees, his legs and feet bare, on his head a close cap of chequer-work. Being presented with a gun and a sword, he returned four cows, and proclaimed liberty for the people to trade. He gave the English cocoa-nuts, and himself chewed betel tempered with lime of burnt oyster-shells, and the kernel of a nut called areca, like an acorn: it has a biting taste, voids rheum, cools the head, strengthens the teeth, and is all their physic. Those that are not used to it are giddy with it, and the spittle is red, which in time colours the teeth, and is counted a beauty. They all use this at all times. From the Governor's they were conducted to a carpenter's house, who was a chief man in the town; the house was built with lime and stone, plaistered with white lime, low and little, covered with rafters, and over them cocoa leaves, the outsides wattled with canes. They are kept cleanly, and their poor houshold stuff neat, their gardens inclosed with canes, containing tobacco and plantain trees. For dinner a board was set upon tressels, covered with a fine new mat, and stone benches about it, on which they sat. First water was brought to every man in a cocoa-shell, and poured into a wooden platter, and instead of a towel they use the rinds of cocoas. Then they set before them boiled rice, with roasted plantains on it, quarters of hens, and pieces of goat broiled. After grace said they fell to their meat, with bread made of cocoas beaten, mixed with honey, and fried. Their drink was palmiso wine and cocoa milk. Those that went to see the Sultan, whose name was Amor Adell, found all things much resembling what has been said before of the Governor; but that in his behaviour he was more light, and made haste to be drunk with some wine the English carried. The people are strict Mahometans, very jealous to let their women and moschs be seen; for some of the English coming near a village, they shut them up, and threatened to kill them if they came nearer. Many of them speak and write Arabic, and some few of them Portuguese, as trading to Morambique in junks of forty tons burden, and built, calked and rigged all out of the cocoa-tree. Here we bought oxen, cows fat but small, Arabian sheep, hens, cocoas, oranges, lemons, and limes in abundance, for callicoes, hollands, sword-blades, pieces of eight, glasses, knives, and other trifles.

August the 2d we weighed, and stood our course for Socotora, and on the 10th repast the equinoctial to the northward. The 18th we made Cape Guardafu eight leagues to the westward, which is one of them that makes the entrance into the Red Sea; and came to an anchor in twelve fathom water in a small bay, where we continued the 18th, and saw some people in turbans. Ashore was a tomb of white stone, with a pillar at each end of it. The latitude 11 deg. 55 min.

The 24th we came to an anchor in the bay called Delicia in Socotora, having been before separated in a storm, and warned by the Sultan not to anchor at Tamara, which was too much exposed to the violence of the winds. Socotora is an island at the mouth of the Red Sea, being the Dioscuria or Dioscorida of the ancients, lying in 12 deg. 55 min. of north latitude, governed then by a Sultan called Amar-Ben-Seid, son to the

 King

King of Fortaque in Arabia Felix. The kingdom of Fortaque lies from 15 to 18 deg. along the coaſt of Arabia. The King was at peace with the Turk, on condition to aſſiſt him with five thouſand men, if he required it, and they to be paid by the Turk, to whom he made no other acknowledgment. Near the ſea about Dofor, was another petty king, whom he durſt not meddle with, becauſe he was under the Grand Seignior's protection. The Sultan of Socotora came down to the ſhore with about three hundred men, having ſet up a tent near the bay. He was a horſeback, as were two of his chief ſervants, and another on a camel; the people running before and behind him ſhouting; and two guards, one of his ſubjects, and the other of twelve hired guzarats, ſome with Turkiſh bows, ſome with piſtols, ſome with muſkets, but all with good ſwords. He had alſo a few kettle drums, and one trumpet. He received the General in a courteous manner, and was ſo abſolute, that no man could ſell any thing but himſelf. His people ſat about him very reſpectfully; his clothes were of Surat ſtuffs after the Arabian manner, with a caſſoc of red and white wrought velvet, and another [illegible] gold. He had a very good turban, but was barefooted. Every night they all ſtand or kneel towards the ſun, the [illegible] throwing water on their heads. As for religion they are Mahometans. The King's town of Tamara is built of lime and ſtone whited over, with battlements and pinnacles, the houſes being flat at the top. At a diſtance it looks well, but when in it is poor. Mr. Boughton, who had leave to ſee the King's houſe, found it ſuch as would ſerve an ordinary gentleman in England. The lower rooms ſerved for warehouſes and wardrobe, ſome changes of robes hanging about the walls, and with them about twenty-five books of their law, religion, hiſtory, and ſaints lives. No man was permitted to go up ſtairs to ſee his wives, which were three, nor the other women; but the ordinary ſort might be ſeen in the town, with their ears full of ſilver rings. In the moſque the prieſt was at ſervice. Mr. Boughton had for his dinner three hens with rice, and for drink water and cahu, black liquor, drank as hot as could be endured *. On a hill a mile from Tamara is a ſquare caſtle, but leave could not be obtained to ſee it. The people are of four ſorts; Arabs come in by conqueſt, who dare not ſpeak in the Sultan's preſence without leave, and kiſſing his hand. The ſecond ſort are ſlaves, who when they come to him kiſs his foot, do all his work, and make his aloes. The third I ſuppoſe are the old inhabitants of the country, called Bedwins, though not the oldeſt of all, whom I ſuppoſe to be thoſe commonly called Jacobite Chriſtians; becauſe Mr. Boughton going into a church of theirs, which the Arabs had forced them to abandon, found images in it, and a crucifix, which he took away; and the Mahometans would not ſay much of them, fearing leſt other Chriſtians ſhould relieve or ſupport them. They have had wars with the Arabs, and live retired from them in the mountains. The fourth ſort are a ſavage people, poor, lean, naked, with long hair, eating nothing but roots, riding on buffaloes, converſing with none of the others, and afraid of all, without houſes, and almoſt as brutal as beaſts, which by conjecture are the ancienteſt natives of the place. The iſland is very mountainous and barren, having ſome beeves, goats, and ſheep, a few dates and oranges, a little rice, and nothing elſe of ſuſtenance. All its commodity is aloes, which is the juice of a leaf like our houſe-leek. The people make a poor ſort of cloth for the ſlaves. The King had ſome dragon's blood and indigo of Lahor, as alſo civet cats and civet. The dead are here all buried in tombs, and the monuments of their ſaints are held in great veneration. The chief

* This was certainly coffee, which Sir Thomas Roe was not acquainted with.

of

of these is Seidy Hachim, buried at Tamara, who being killed a hundred years before, they said still appeared to them, and warned them of dangers at hand; and they imputed the high winds to his walking, having him in wonderful veneration.

The 31st we weighed, and stood our course for Surat, where I landed on the 26th of September, and was received in an open tent by the chief officers of the town well attended. Much controversy was about searching my servants, but at length they passed free to the city, where we went into a house provided for us, and there continued till the 30th of October, suffering much from the Governor, who by force searched many chests, and took out what he thought fit. The 30th aforesaid I departed Surat, and travelled but four cosses to Cumaria, the 1st of November eleven miles to a village, the 2d to Birat twenty-one miles, where there is a castle, this town being on the borders of the kingdom of Guzarat, subject to the Mogul, and belonging to Abraham Chan. The 3d entered the kingdom of Pardaffsha, a Pagan lord of the hills, subject to no body, and at fifteen miles end lay in the fields by a city of note called Mugher. The 4th nine miles rocky way, lay in the fields by a village called Narampora. The 5th fifteen miles in the fields. The 6th twenty miles to Nunderbar, a city of the kingdom of Brampore subject to the Mogul. Here we had first bread after coming from Surat, because the Banians who inhabit all the country make no bread, but only cakes. The country is plentiful, especially of cattle, the Banians killing none, or selling any to be killed. One day I met ten thousand bullocks loaded with corn, in one drove, and most days after lesser parcels. The 7th eighteen miles to Nimgul. The 8th fifteen to Sinchelly. The 9th fifteen to Tolmere. The 10th eighteen to Chapre, where having pitched the tents without the town, the King's officers attended me all night with thirty horse and twenty shot, for fear of the robbers on the mountains, because I refused to remove into the town. The 11th eighteen miles, the 13th eighteen miles, and the 14th fifteen miles to Brampore, which I guess to be two hundred twenty three miles east from Surat. The country miserable and barren, the towns and villages built with mud. At Batharpore, a village two miles short of Brampore, I saw some of the ordnance, which is most too short, and too open in the bore. The Cutwall, an officer of the King's so called, met me well attended with sixteen colours carried before him, and conducted me to the seraglio, where I was appointed to lodge. He took his leave at the gate, which made a handsome front of stone, but when in I had four chambers allotted me like ovens, and no bigger, round at the top, made of brick in the side of a wall, so that I lay in my tent; the Cutwall making his excuse, that it was the best lodging in the town, as I found it was; all the place being only mud cottages except the Prince's house, the Chan's, and some few others. I was conducted by the Cutwall to visit the Prince, in whose outward court I found about a hundred gentlemen a horseback, waiting to salute him at his coming out. He sat high in a gallery that went round, with a canopy over him, and a carpet before him. An officer told me, as I approached I must touch the ground with my head bare, which I refused, and went on to a place right under him railed in, with an ascent of three steps, where I made him reverence, and he bowed his body: so I went within, where were all the great men of the town with their hands before them like slaves. The place was covered over head with a rich canopy, and under foot all with carpets: It was like a great stage, and the Prince sat at the upper end of it. Having no place assigned, I stood right before him, he refusing to admit me to come up the steps, or to allow me a chair. Having received my presents he offered to go into another room, where I should be allowed to sit; but by the way he made himself drunk out of a case of bottles I gave him, and so the visit ended.

The twenty-seventh of November I was carried sick from Brampore, three cosses to Raypora. The twenty-eighth fifteen cosses to Burgome, and the thirtieth seven cosses. December the first ten cosses to Bicangome, the second seven cosses, the third five cosses, the fourth eleven cosses to Echarpur, standing on a good river that falls into the sea near Baroche. The fifth passed the river called Narbodah, the sixth travelled eight cosses, and lay in a wood not far from the King's famous castle of Mandoa, which stands on a steep hill of a vast extent, including fifteen cosses within the wall. The seventh ten cosses, the eighth eight, the ninth ten, the tenth twelve, the eleventh sixteen, the twelfth fourteen, the thirteenth six, the fourteenth lay still to rest, the fifteenth six cosses, the sixteenth six, the seventeenth twelve, the eighteenth five to Cytor. This is an antient ruined city on a hill, but shews the footsteps of wonderful magnificence. There are still standing above a hundred churches all of carved stone, many fair towers and lanthorns, many pillars, and innumerable houses, but not one inhabitant. There is but one steep ascent cut out of the rock, and four gates in the ascent before you come to the city gate, which is magnificent. The hill is inclosed on the top for about eight cosses, and at the south-west end is a goodly old castle. It is in the country of Rama, a Prince newly subdued by the Mogul, or rather brought to own subjection. It was brought under by Echar-Sha father to Jehan Guire. The Indian Prince Rama is lineally descended from Porus, that warlike Indian Monarch overcome by Alexander the Great.

The nineteenth I proceeded on my journey twelve cosses, the twentieth ten, the twenty-first ten, the twenty-second nine, the twenty-third ten to Adsmere. The first six days journey from Brampore towards Adsmere were west, or north-west, to compass the hills, but after that due north, so that they bear from one another almost north by west, and south by east, the whole distance two hundred and nine cosses, which I judge to be about four hundred and eighteen miles English; the cosses here being longer than near the sea.

January the 10th, I went to court at four in the afternoon to the Durbar, where the Mogul daily sits to entertain strangers, receive petitions and presents, give out orders, and to see and be seen. And here it will be proper to give some account of his court. None but eunuchs come within that King's private lodgings, and his women, who guard him with warlike weapons. These punish one another for any offence committed. The Mogul every morning shews himself to the common people at a window that looks into the plain before his gate. At noon he is there again to see elephants and wild beasts fight, the men of rank being under him within a rail. Hence he retires to sleep among his women. After noon he comes to the Durbar aforementioned. After supper at eight of the clock he comes down to the Guzalcan, a fair court, in the midst whereof is a throne of free stone, on which he sits, or sometimes below in a chair, where none are admitted but of the first quality, and few of them without leave. Here he discourses of indifferent things very affably. No business of state is done any where but at one of these two last places, where it is publicly canvassed, and so registered; which register might be seen for two shillings, and the common people know as much as the council; so that every day the King's resolutions are the public news, and exposed to the censure of every scoundrel. This method is never altered unless sickness or drink obstruct it; and this must be known, for if he be unseen one day without a reason assigned, the people would mutiny; and for two days no excuse will serve, but the doors must be opened, and some admitted to see him to satisfy others. On Tuesday he sits in judgment at the Jarruco, and hears the meanest person's complaints, examines both parties, and often sees execution done by his elephants.

Before

Before my audience, I had obtained leave to uſe the cuſtoms of my country. At the Durbar I was conducted right before him; entering the outward rail, two noble ſlaves met to conduct me nearer. At the firſt rail I made a low reverence, at the next another, and when under the King a third. The place is a great court, to which all ſorts of people reſort. The King ſits in a little gallery over head; ambaſſadors, great men, and ſtrangers of quality within the inmoſt rail under him, raiſed from the ground, covered with canopies of velvet and ſilk, and good carpets under foot. The next degree, like our gentry, are within the firſt rail, the commonalty without in a baſe court, yet ſo that all may ſee the King. In fine, it is riſing by degrees like a theatre. His reception was very favourable, but needs not particularizing.

March the firſt I rid out to ſee a houſe of pleaſure of the King's, given him by Aſaph Chan, and two miles from Adſmere. It is ſeated betwixt two mighty rocks, ſo defended from the ſun, that it ſcarce any way ſees it. The foundation is cut out of the rock, as are ſome of the rooms, the reſt is free ſtone. There is a handſome little garden, with fine fountains, and two great fiſhponds, one thirty ſteps above another. The way to it admits of but one, or at moſt two men a-breaſt, and that very ſteep and ſtony. It is a place of melancholy, delight, and ſafety, all the company about it being wild peacocks, turtles, fowls, and monkeys, that inhabit the rocks hanging every way over it.

The 11th of March in the evening began the feſtival of the Norose. This is a cuſtom of ſolemnizing the new year, but the ceremony begins the firſt new moon after it. It is kept in imitation of the Perſians' feaſt, and ſignifies in that language nine days, becauſe anciently it laſted no longer, but now it is doubled. The manner of it is thus. A throne is erected four foot from the ground in the Durbar court: from the back whereof to the place where the King comes out, a ſquare of fifty-ſix paces in length, and forty-three in breadth, was railed in, and covered with fair ſemians, or canopies of cloth of gold, ſilk, or velvet, joined together, and held up with canes covered after the ſame manner. At the upper end were ſet out the pictures of the King of England, the Queen, the Lady Elizabeth, the Counteſſes of Somerſet and Saliſbury, and of a citizen's wife of London. Below them another of Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of the Eaſt-India Company. The ground is laid with good Perſian carpets very large, into which place come all the men of quality to attend the King, except ſome few that are within a little rail right before the throne to receive his commands. Within this ſquare there were ſet out for ſhew many little houſes, one of them of ſilver, and ſome other curioſities of value. The Prince Sultan Corome had on the left ſide a pavilion, the ſupporters whereof were covered with ſilver, as were ſome of thoſe alſo near the King's throne. The form of this throne was ſquare, the matter wood inlaid with mother of pearl, born up with four pillars, and covered with cloth of gold. About the hedge over head, like a valence, was a net fringe of good pearl, from which hung down pomegranates, apples, pears, and ſuch fruit of gold, but hollow. Within it the King ſat on cuſhions very rich in pearls and jewels. Round about the court before the throne, the principal men had erected tents, which encompaſſed the court, and lined them with velvet, damaſk, or taffety for the moſt part, but ſome few with cloth of gold; into which they retired, and ſat to ſhew all their wealth. For anciently the Kings uſed to go to every tent, and take thence what they pleaſed; but now it is changed, the King ſitting to receive what new-year's gifts are brought him. He comes abroad at the uſual hour of the Durbar, and retires in the ſame order. Here great preſents are offered him by all ſorts, though not equal to report, yet incredible enough: and at the end of this feaſt, the King in

return for the presents received, advances some, and adds to their entertainment some horse at his pleasure.

The next day being the 12th of March, I went to visit the King, and delivered him a present, where I saw abundance of wealth, but being of all sorts put together without order, it did not look so regular. The same day the son of Rama, the new tributary before mentioned, did his homage, touching the ground three times with his head. The thirteenth at night I had audience at the Guzalcan, and pressed to have the peace and commerce with England, settled after a solemn manner, and all the articles settled, which the Mogul ordered should be done. The fifteenth I went again in the evening to the Norose, and according to the Mogul's order chose my place of standing, which was on the right hand of him on the rising of the throne, the Prince and young Rama standing on the other side; so I had a full view of what was to be seen, presents, elephants, horses, and whores. The twenty-third the Mogul condemned one of his own nation upon suspicion of felony; but being one of the handsomest men in India, and the evidence not very clear against him, he would not suffer him to be executed, but sent him to me in irons for a slave to dispose of at my will. This is looked upon as a great favour, for which I returned thanks: adding, that in England we had no slaves, nor thought it lawful to make the image of God equal to a beast, but that I would use him as a servant, and if he behaved himself well, give him his liberty. This the Mogul was well pleased with. The twenty-sixth I went to the Guzalcan, and delivered the articles I had drawn up, which were referred to Asaph Chan, who a while after sent to me to remove from the standing I had taken before the King, because I stood alone, and that was not the custom. I refused at first, but he insisting I should rank myself among the nobility, I removed to the other side, to the place where only the Prince and young Rama were; which more disgusted Asaph Chan, who persuaded the Prince to complain of me, which he did; but the Mogul having heard their complaint, and my answer, that I removed by Asaph Chan's order, answered, I had done well, and they were in the wrong to offer to displace me in his sight. So I kept my place in quiet.

The substance of the articles delivered to the Great Mogul was, 1. That there be perpetual peace and amity between the King of Great Britain and His Indian Majesty. 2. That the subjects of England have free trade in all ports of India. 3. That the governors of all ports publish this agreement three times upon the arrival of any English ships. 4. That the merchants and their servants shall not be searched, or ill used. 5. That no presents sent to the Mogul shall be opened. 6. That the English goods shall not be stopped above twenty four hours at the custom-house, only to be there sealed and sent to the merchant's house, there to be opened and rated within six days after. 7. That no governor shall take any goods by force, but upon payment at the owner's price; nor any taken upon pretence of the King's service. 8. That the merchants shall not be hindred selling their goods to whom they please, or sending them to other factories, and this without paying any other duty than what is paid at the port. 9. That whatsoever goods the English buy in any part of the Mogul's dominions, they may send down to the ports without paying any duty more than shall be agreed on at the port at shipping them, and this without any hindrance or molestation. 10. That no goods brought to any port shall be again opened, the English shewing a certificate of their numbers, qualities, and conditions, from the governor or officers of the place where they were bought. 11. That no confiscation shall be made of the goods or money of any English dying. 12. That no custom be demanded for provisions during the stay of English ships at any port. 13. That the merchants' servants, whether English or

 Indians,

Indians, shall not be punished or beaten for doing their duty. 14. That the Mogul will punish any governor or officer, for breach of any of these articles. 15. That the English ships shall suffer all others to pass and repass freely to the Mogul's ports, except their enemies; and that the English ashore shall behave themselves civilly as merchants. 16. That they shall yearly furnish the Mogul with all rarities from Europe, and all other such things as he shall desire at reasonable prices. 17. The English to pay the duty of three and a half per cent. for goods reasonably rated, and two per cent. for pieces of eight, and no other duty elsewhere. 18. That the English shall be ready to assist the Mogul against all his enemies. Lastly, That the Portuguese may come into this peace within six months; or if they refuse, the English to be at liberty to exercise all hostilities against them. These were the articles presented, but they were delayed and opposed, and what was the conclusion we shall see hereafter.

The 31st of March the Mogul dined at Asaph Chan's house, all the way from the palace to it, which was an English mile, being laid under foot with silks and velvets sewed together, but rolled up as the King passed. They reported the feast and present cost six lecks of roupies, which is 60,000l. sterling *.

From this time Sir Thomas Roe continues his journal as before; but there being nothing in it remarkable for many days, all the business being soliciting for money due to merchants, and such other affairs, in which there is nothing worth observing, that part is thought fit to be wholly left out here, as it was also done by Purchas in his account of this embassy.

June the 18th, the King commanded one of his brother's sons, who had been persuaded to become a Christian, with a design to make him odious to the people, to lay his hand on the head of a lion that was brought before the King, which he refused out of fear; upon which the King bid his youngest son go touch the lion, who did so without receiving any hurt: whereat the King took occasion to send his nephew away to prison, where he is never like to see day-light. The 19th, the King removed with the Prince and all the court to Havar Gemal. The 23d, the King returned to his own house, and sat in public according to custom. The 24th, Prince Couron, whose favour I was labouring to gain, and with whom I had many contests, had a son born; and he preparing to lead the army to Decan, the eyes of all men were fixed on him; some flattering, others envying him, and others to make their advantage, but none loving him. He received twenty lecks of roupies towards his charge, which amounts to 200,000l. sterling †, and began to bestow his money bountifully. Yet notwithstanding this shew of his father's affection and greatness, a Chan told the King that the expedition would prove dangerous in respect of Prince Parvis, whose honour was so deeply concerned that he would not go unrevenged. The King answered, Let them fight, I am so satisfied, and he that proves himself the better commander shall pursue the war. The 25th, I had audience of the King, being sent for by Asaph Chan, and was received with the usual courtesy by His Majesty. This Asaph Chan was the Prince's favourite, and therefore I was unwilling to disoblige him, though he had given several provocations. And at this time Mocreb Chan, another great man, made me offers of his service, being of a contrary faction to the other; but I thought best to make friends of them both. Mocreb told me among other things, that the English carried too much cloth and bad swords, and scarce any thing else, and therefore advised to forbear two or three years, and rather bring such rarities as China and Japan afforded, which would be

* Thevenot says a leck is 100,000, and a roupie worth a crown French and five sols, after which rate the six lecks must amount at least to 150,000l sterling.

† According to Thevenot, who says a roupie is worth a crown, this should be 500,000l.

more acceptable; and from England the best cloth of gold and the richest silks wrought with gold and silver, but above all a good quantity of Arras hangings. The 30th I visited Abdala Hassan, having need of his friendship; and what is rare in that country, he received no presents. He has the command of all soldiers entertained at court, and is treasurer to all the armies. He entertained me with much civility, and we sat to see his soldiers shoot with bows and guns. Most of them with a single bullet hit the mark, being about a hand's breadth in a butt.

July passed most away in soliciting the Prince to sign and seal the articles I had presented to the King, of which an abstract was given before. On the 13th at night I went to the Durbar to visit the King, who sent Asaph Chan to tell me he was informed I had an excellent painter at my house, which I told him was only a young man that drew upon paper, and that very indifferently; however I promised to bring him to His Majesty, who at this time used so many expressions of kindness to me that all men were amazed at it, and profered me any thing I would ask for in his kingdom. I went from him to Asaph Chan's house, where I continued till the King came out again, when I was conducted back to him, carrying with me Mr Hughs, the supposed painter, with whom the King had some discourse. After this I presented the King with a curious picture I had of a friend of mine, which pleased him highly, and he shewed it to all the company. The King's chief painter being sent for, pretended he could make as good; which I denying, a wager of a horse was laid about it between me and Asaph Chan, in the Mogul's presence and to please him; but Asaph Chan afterwards fell off. This done, the Mogul fell to drinking of Alicant wine I had presented him, giving tastes of it to several about him, and then sent for a full bottle, and drinking a cup, sent it to me, saying, it began to sour so fast it would be spoiled before he could drink it, and I had none. This done, he turned to sleep; the candles were popped out, and I groped my way out in the dark. This day a gentlewoman of Normals, the King's favourite Queen, was taken in the King's house in some action with an eunuch. Another capon that loved her killed him. The poor woman was set up to the arm pits in the earth close rammed about her, with her feet tied to a stake, so to continue three days and two nights without any sustenance, her head and arms bare, exposed to the violent heat of the sun. If she died not in that time she was to be pardoned. The eunuch was condemned to the elephants. This damsel was found worth in pearls, jewels, and ready money, 160,000 roupies.

The 22d I received letters from Brampor, in answer to others I had sent long before to Mahobet Chan, who had granted all I desired of him, sending his order to Baroche in ample form to receive the English there, and give them a house for a factory near the governor, strictly commanding all men not to molest them, either by sea or land, not to take any custom of them, or any way trouble them under such pretence. In short, that they might buy, sell, and transport any commodity at their pleasure, without any molestation, giving a strict charge for the execution of this order. Besides, I received a letter from him full of civility, and all kind offers, far exceeding all I had found in India. This was a noble and generous man, well beloved by all men, and the King's only favourite, but cared not for the Prince, so that this was a good retreat in case the merchants should be drove away from Surat by the Prince. As for customs, the King takes none, but the governors exact them for their own private gain, which this worthy man scorned to do, saying, he would not abuse the liberty of the King's ports.

Nothing remarkable happened 'till August the 6th: I was sent for to the Durbar, where I had much talk with the King, who asked me many questions to satisfy his curiosity,

curiosity, and bid me come to the Guzalcan at night, and I should see my picture so exactly copied, that I should not know the one from the other. I came at night, and he shewed me six pictures, five of them painted by his own painter, all pasted upon a board, and so like, that by candle-light I could scarce know one from another. Neither did I at first sight know my own, at which the Mogul was much pleased; but looking closer upon them I shewed it, and the difference between it and the others. The Mogul was overjoyed, and I surprized at their art, not thinking they could have performed so well; and the King after many civilities, promised me his own picture.

The 9th a hundred thieves were brought chained before the Mogul, with their accusation: without further ceremony, as in all such cases is the custom, he ordered them to be carried away, the chief of them to be torn in pieces by dogs, the rest put to death. This was all the process and form. The prisoners were divided into several quarters of the town, and executed in the streets, as in one by my house, where twelve dogs tore the chief of them in pieces, and thirteen of his fellows having their hands tied down to their feet, had their necks cut with a sword, but not quite off, being so left naked, bloody, and stinking, to the view of all men, and annoyance of the neighbourhood. The 10th, 11th, and 12th I spent in giving the King and Prince advice that a Dutch ship lay before Surat, and would not declare upon what design it came, till a fleet arrived; which was expected with the first fit season. This I improved to fill their heads with jealousies of the designs of the Dutch, and the dangers that might ensue from them, which was well taken; and being demanded, I gave my advice to prevent coming to a rupture with them, and yet exclude them the trade of India. The last of these days I went to visit Gemaldin-Ussin, Viceroy of Patan, and seventy years of age. He received me with extraordinary courtesy, offering me a lack of roupies, or all his interest at court; informing me of all the customs of the country, and shewing me a book he had composed of all memorable things that had happened under three Kings, whom he had served; and offering me a copy if I could get it translated. It also treated of the King's revenue, and the manner of raising it. He shewed me that the government of every province did pay a yearly rent; and for instance, he for his government of Patan gave the King eleven lacks of roupies; the roupie is two shillings and twopence *. All other profits were the governor's, and he had regal authority to take what he pleased; which in his viceroyship of Patan was valued at five thousand horse; the pay of each at two hundred roupies a year, whereof he kept a thousand and five hundred, and was allowed the surplus as dead pay. Besides this, the King gave him a pension of a thousand roupies a day, and some smaller governments; yet he assured me there were several that had double his allowance, and above twenty equal to him. He praised the good prophet Jesus and his laws, and had much pleasant and profitable discourse. Some days had passed after this visit, and I thought his kindness had been at an end; when he borrowed the King's pleasure-house and garden called Havar Gemal, a mile out of the town, to treat me in, and invited me over night. At midnight he went himself, and carried his tents and all his furniture, and fitted up a place by the pond-side very handsomely. I went in the morning; he met me with much civility, and carried me into his room prepared for me, where he had some company, and a hundred servants attending two of his sons, he having thirty. He shewed me the King's closets and retiring rooms, which were painted *a l'antique*, and in some panes the pictures of the King of France, and other Christian Princes. He told me he was a poor

* Thevenot says, a roupie is a crown.

man slave to the King; that he was willing to give me some content, and had therefore brought me to a slight banquet to eat bread and salt together, to seal a friendship which he desired me to accept; that others might treat me better, but were not so sincere, but would deceive me, and my interpreters would never deliver the truth, but what those men pleased; and therefore I should never do my business to any purpose, till I had an Englishman that could speak the Persian tongue, and declare my mind freely, which the King would grant, if I could find one, because he had conceived a good opinion of me; and the last night the jewels of Sheck Ferid being brought before him, he remembered me of himself; and finding among them his own picture well done, he had delivered it to Asaph Chan to send it to me to wear for his sake, with many expressions of his favour, which would make all the great men respect me. By this time dinner came in, and we sat down on carpets; a cloth being laid, and variety of dishes set before us, as was a little on one side for the gentlemen that accompanied him, to whom he went to eat, they looking on it as a sort of defiling to mix with us. Hereupon I told him he had promised we should eat bread and salt together, and that I had little appetite without his company. He rose presently and sat by me, and we fell heartily to our meal, there being dishes of several sorts, as raisins, almonds, pistachoes, and fruit. After dinner he played at chess, and I walked; and after some time offered to take my leave. But he said he had desired me to come to eat, and what we had before was but a collation, and therefore I must not depart till we had supped, which I readily consented to. About an hour after the ambassador of one of the Decan Kings came to visit him, whom he presented to me, using him with civility, but much below the respect he shewed to me. He asked me, whether His Majesty, my master, would not take in scorn the offer of service from so poor a man, and would vouchsafe to accept of a present from a stranger; for he would send a gentleman with me to kiss His Majesty's hands, and to see our country. I returned a civil answer; and he went presently, and asked one if he would undertake the voyage. The gentleman seemed willing, and he presented him to me, saying he would provide some trifles, such as the country afforded, for His Majesty, and send him in my company. This to me seemed by the manner to be meant in earnest. At last supper came; two cloths being spread, as in the morning, and before me and my chaplain were set several dishes of sallads, and meat roasted, fryed, boiled, and variety of rice. He desired to be excused himself, because it was their custom to eat among themselves, and his countrymen would take it ill if he did not eat with them. So he and his guests, and I and my company made much of ourselves. The meat was not amiss, but the attendants and order much better; his servants being very diligent and respectful. He gave me for a present, as is the manner when any one is invited, five cases of sugar-candy dressed with musk, and one loaf of the finest sugar as white as snow, about fifty pounds weight, desiring me to accept of a hundred such loaves against I went away; which, said he, you refuse of me thinking I am poor, but it costs me nothing, it is made in my government, and comes gratis. I offered to accept when I was going, but he pressed to take it now, for fear he should be then unprovided. Thus calling himself my father, and I myself his son, we took leave of one another.

The 17th I went to visit the King, who as soon as I came in, called to his women, and reached out his own picture set in gold, hanging at a gold wire chain, with one pendant of fo[illegible]arl, which he delivered to Asaph Chan, warning him not to demand any reverence of me, but what I was willing to make; it being the custom, whensoever he bestows any thing, for the receiver to kneel down, and put his head to the ground, which has been required of the ambassadors of Persia. Asaph Chan came to

 me,

me, and I offered to take it in my hand; but he made ſigns to take off my hat, and then he put it about my neck, leading me right before the King. I underſtood not his meaning, but feared he would require the cuſtom of the country mentioned above, which they call Siza-Da, and was reſolved rather to return my preſent than ſubmit to it. He made ſigns to me to give the King thanks, which I did after my own manner; whereupon ſome officers called to me, to make the Siza-Da, but the King in the Perſian tongue ſaid, No, no. So I returned to my place; but that you may judge of the King's liberality, this gift was not worth in all 30l.; yet was it five times as good as any he gives in that ſort, and looked upon as a ſpecial favour. For all the great men that wear the King's image, which none may do but thoſe to whom it is given, receive only a medal of gold, as big as a ſix-pence, with a little chain of four inches to faſten it on their heads, and this at their own charge; ſome ſet it with ſtones, or adorn it with pendants of pearls.

The 19th Gemaldin-Uſſin, who I ſaid before invited me to Havar Gemal, being newly made governor of Syndu, came to dine with me, with two of his ſons, two other gentlemen, and about a hundred ſervants. He eat ſome of the banquet provided in my houſe by a Mooriſh cook, but would not touch ſuch meat as I had dreſſed after my own faſhion, though his appetite was very good; but he refrained out of a ſort of ſuperſtition. Yet he deſired that four or five diſhes might be ſent to his houſe, ſuch as he would chooſe, being all baked meats, which he had never ſeen before; and ſaid he would dine on them in private, which was accordingly done. He offered me the town of Syndu, and all other courteſies in his power; made haſte to fill his belly, and I gave him a ſmall preſent according to cuſtom.

The 20th, and the night before it, fell a ſtorm of rain, which they call the elephant, and is uſual at the end of the rainy ſeaſon; but this was extraordinary, for there ran ſuch ſtreams into the pond, that though it is encloſed with ſtone, very ſtrong in appearance, yet the water was ſo fierce that it broke through in one place, which cauſed a ſudden fear and conſternation, leſt it ſhould drown all that part of the town where I dwelt; inſomuch that the Prince and all his women forſook their houſe; my next neighbour carried away his wife and goods on his elephants and camels to fly to the hills ſide. All men had their horſes ready at their doors to ſave their lives; ſo that we were much frightened, and ſat up till midnight, becauſe we had no help but to fly ourſelves, and loſe all our goods; for it was reported it would run three feet higher than the top of my houſe, and carry all away, being poor mud buildings; fourteen years before having ſhewed the diſmal experience, the bottom of the pond being level with [illegible] dwelling, and the water extraordinary great and deep, ſo that the top was much h[illegible] than my houſe, which ſtood in the bottom, in the courſe of the water; every o[illegible]ary rain making ſuch a current at my door, that it runs not ſwifter through the arc[illegible] of London bridge, and is for ſome hours impaſſable for man or horſe. The Kin[illegible] the night cauſed a ſluice to be opened to diſcharge the water another way, yet the very rain had waſhed away a great part of the walls of my houſe, and ſo weakened it all, breaking in at ſeveral places, that I feared the fall more than the flood. Thus were we every way afflicted; fires, ſmokes, floods, ſtorms, heat, duſt, flies, and no temperate weather or ſafe ſeaſon. The 27th I received advice from Surat, that the Dutch had obtained leave to land their goods there in a warehouſe, and trade till the Prince's pleaſure was known, upon condition they ſhould depart upon the firſt warning.

The 29th the King went to Havar Gemal, and ſo a hunting. It was reſolved to remove to Mandoa, a caſtle near Brampore, where there is no town; that the King having

having sent away his son Sultan Pervis to Bengala, might be near at hand to countenance his son Sultan Coron, who he designed should command in Decan; contrary to the inclination of all the great men. The 30th the King returning from hunting, sent me a wild boar so large, that he desired the tusks might be sent him back for their extraordinary size, sending word he had killed it with his own hand, and bidding me eat it merrily.

The second of September was the King's birth-day, and kept with great solemnity. On this day the King is weighed against some jewels, gold, silver, stuffs of gold, silver, and silk, butter, rice, fruit, and many other things, of every sort a little, which is all given to the Bramas or Bramans. The King commanded Asaph Chan to send for me to this solemnity, who appointed me to come to the place where the King sits at Durbar, and I should be sent for in; but the messenger mistaking, I went not till Durbar time, and so missed the sight; but being there before the King came out, as soon as he spied me, he sent to know the reason why I came not in, since he had ordered it. I answered according to the mistake, yet he was very angry, and chid Asaph Chan publicly. He was so rich in jewels, that I own in my life I never saw such inestimable wealth together. The time was spent in bringing his greatest elephants before him; some of which being lord elephants, had their chains, bells, and furniture of gold and silver, with many gilt banners and flags carried about them, and eight or ten elephants waiting on each of them, clothed in gold, silk, and silver. In this manner about twelve companies passed by most richly adorned, the first having all the plates on his head and breast set with rubies and emeralds, being a beast of wonderful bulk and beauty. They all bowed down before the King, making their reverence very handsomely; this was the finest show of beasts I ever saw. The keepers of every chief elephant gave a present. Then having made me some favourable compliments, he rose up and went in. At night about ten of the clock he sent for me. I was then abed. The message was, that he heard I had a picture which I had not shewed him, desiring me to come to him and bring it; and if I would not give it him, he would order copies of it to be taken for his women. I got up, and carried it with me. When I came in, I found him sitting cross-legged on a little throne, all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies. Before him a table of gold, and on it about fifty pieces of gold plate, all set with jewels, some very great and extremely rich, some of them of less value, but all of them almost covered with small stones. His nobility about him in their best equipage, whom he commanded to drink merrily, several sorts of wine standing by in great flaggons. When I drew near, he asked for the picture. I shewed him two; he seemed astonished at one of them, and asked whose it was. I told him a friend of mine that was dead. He asked if I would give it him. I answered I valued it above all things, but if His Majesty would pardon me, and accept of the other, which was an excellent piece, I would willingly bestow it on His Majesty. He thanked me, and said he desired none but that picture, and if I would give it him, he should prize it above the richest jewel in his house. I replied, I was not so fond of any thing, but I would part with it to please His Majesty, with other expressions of respect. He bowed to me, and said it was enough, I had given it him; that he owned he had never seen so much art, so much beauty, and conjured me to tell him truly, whether ever such a woman lived. I assured him there did, but she was now dead. He said he would shew it his women, and take five copies, and if I knew my own I should have it again. Other compliments passed, but he would restore it, his painters being excellent at copying in water colours. The other picture being in oil, he did not like. Then he sent me word it was his birth-day, and all men made merry, and asked whether I would drink with them. I answered, I

VOL. VIII. would

would do whatsoever His Majesty commanded, and wished him many happy days, and that the ceremony might be renewed a hundred years. He asked me whether I would drink wine of the grape, or made, whether strong or small. I replied, what he commanded, but hoped it would not be too much, nor too strong. Then he called for a gold cup full of mixed wine, half of the grape and half artificial, and drank; causing it to be filled again, and then sent it by one of the nobles to me with this message, that I should drink it off twice, thrice, four, or five times for his sake, and accept of the cup and appurtenances as a present. I drank a little, but it was stronger than any I ever tasted; insomuch that it made me sneeze, which made him laugh; and he called for raisins, almonds, and sliced lemons, which were brought me on a gold plate, bidding me eat and drink what I would, and no more. I made reverence for my present after my own manner, though Asaph Chan would have had me kneel, and knock my head against the ground; but His Majesty accepted of what I did. The cup was of gold, set all about with small rubies and Turkey stones, the cover with large rubies, emeralds, and Turkey stones in curious works, and a dish suitable to set the cup on. The value I know not, because the stones are many of them small, and the greater, which are many, not all clean; but they are in number about two thousand, and the gold about twenty ounces. Thus he made merry, and sent me word he esteemed me more than ever he had done, and asked whether I was merry at eating the wild boar sent me a few days before, how I dressed it, what I drank, assuring me I should want for nothing in his country: the effects of all which his public favours I presently found in the behaviour of all his nobility. Then he threw about to those that stood below two chargers of new roupies, and among us two charges of hollow almonds of gold and silver mixed; but I would not scramble, as his great men did, for I saw his son take up none. Then he gave sashes of gold and girdles, to all the musicians and waiters, and to many others. So drinking, and commanding others to do the same, His Majesty and all his Lords became the finest men I ever saw, of a thousand several humours. But his son, Asaph Chan, two old men, the late King of Candahar, and myself forbore. When he could hold up his head no longer, he laid down to sleep, and we all departed.

Seven months were now spent in soliciting the signing and sealing of the articles of peace and commerce set down above, and nothing obtained but promises from week to week, and from day to day; and therefore on the 3d September, the English fleet being hourly expected at Surat, I went to the Prince, and delivered him a memorial containing the articles I desired him to give an order to be observed for the unloading of the ships. The articles were,

First, That the presents coming for the King and Prince should not be opened at the port, but sent up to court sealed by the custom-house officers.

Secondly, That curiosities sent for other presents, and for the merchants to sell, should also be sent up to court sealed, for the Prince to take the first choice.

Thirdly, That the gross merchandize be landed, reasonably rated for the custom, and not detained in the custom-house; but that the merchants paying the custom, have full liberty to sell or dispose of it; and that the ships be supplied with provisions without paying custom.

On the 4th, Asaph Chan sent me back my first articles, after so long attendance, and so many false promises, some of them altered, others struck out, and an answer, that there was no articling at all, but it was enough to have an order from the Prince, who was Lord of Surat, to trade there; but for Bengala or Syndu, it should never be granted. Notwithstanding all this vexation, I durst not change my method of proceeding, or wholly quit the Prince and Asaph Chan: therefore I drew up other articles,

leaving out what was displeasing in the former, and desiring Asaph Chan to put them in form, and procure the seal, or else to give me leave to apply myself to the King, to receive his denial, and depart the country. The substance of the new articles was as follows. That all the subjects of the Mogul should receive the English in friendly manner; to suffer them to land their goods peaceably; to furnish them with provisions for their money, without paying any customs for them; to have liberty, after paying custom for their goods, to sell them to any person, and none to oblige them to sell any under rate; to have liberty to pass with such goods to any parts, without any thing being exacted further of them more than at the port; to have the presents for the Mogul and Prince sealed without opening, and sent to the ambassador; to have the goods of any that die secured from cosiscation, and delivered to the other English factors; and in short, that no injury in any sort be offered to any of them.

The 8th of this month, Asaph Chan sent me word in plain terms, he would procure nothing for me sealed; but I might be satisfied with an order signed by the Prince: which made me resolve to apply myself directly to the Prince, and apply no more to Asaph Chan. Accordingly I was with the Prince the 10th, and the 11th he sent me an order, but so altered from what I had given in, that I sent it back. But at night I received a new order from the secretary, containing all my articles; though some words were somewhat ambiguous, which the secretary interpreted favourably, and at my request, writ to the Governor of Surat, explaining them to him as he had done to me. He gave me many assurances of the Prince's favour; and being a man not subject to bribery, I gave the more credit to him. So I accepted of the order, which when translated, I found very effectual. The 16th I visited the Prince, resolving to seem wholly to depend on him, till I had heard what entertainment our ships met with. I found him sad for fear of Prince Pervis coming to court, he being but eight cosses from it; but the power of Normahall, the favourite Queen, diverted it, and he was ordered away directly to Bengala. The Mogul was retired, but whither no man could certainly tell.

Several days passed in soliciting the King and great ones, and paying court to them, without any thing remarkable; till on the 9th of October I received letters from Surat with an account that four English ships were arrived there. Abdala Chan the great governor of Amadabat being sent for to court in disgrace, for many insolencies and contempts of the King's authority: it was at first thought that he would stand on his guard and refuse to appear; but the Prince Sultan Corone, whose ambition laid hold of every advantage, desiring to oblige so great a man, as being one of the chief commanders in India, prevailed with him, on his word, to submit. So he came sixty miles on foot in pilgrim's clothes with forty servants, counterfeiting great humility, and performed the rest of his journey in his palankine, till he came near the court; but had two thousand horse one day's journey behind him. On the 10th of October he was brought to the Jarruco (the place where the King sits in public to see sports, and hear complaints) with chains at his heels, and barefoot, led between two noblemen. He pulled his turban over his eyes, that he might see no man before he had the happiness to behold the King's face. After reverence made, and some few questions, the King forgave him, caused his irons to be knocked off, and him to be clothed with a new vest of gold, with a turbant and girdle suitable.

The Prince, who intended to advance his honour in the wars of Decan, which his elder brother had left with disgrace, and the great commander Chan-Channa did not prosper in, as being supposed to receive a pension from the Decannins; caused his father to recal Chan-Channa, who refusing to come, desired the King not to send Sultan

tan

tan Corone to that war, but one of his youngest sons, about fifteen years of age. This Sultan Corone took to heart, but holding his purpose of carrying on that war, promised Abdala Chan the command of the army under him, removing of Chan-Channa. The King fearing troubles, and being sensible of this son's ambition and factious contrivances, of the discontent of his two elder sons, and the power of Chan-Channa, was desirous to accommodate matters by accepting of peace, and confirming Chan-Channa in his post. To this purpose he secretly writ a favourable letter, and designed to send Chan-Channa a vest according to the ceremony of reconciliation; but before he dispatched it, he made it known to a kinswoman of his living in the seraglio. She, whether it was out of falshood to her friend, or that she was corrupted by Sultan Corone, or out of pride of heart, seeing the top of her family, who had so well deserved, stand on such ticklish terms, said plainly, she did not believe Chan-Channa would wear any thing sent by the King, knowing His Majesty hated him, and had once or twice offered him poison, which he, putting into his bosom instead of his mouth, had made trial of; therefore she was confident he would not dare to put on his body any thing that came from His Majesty. The King offered to wear it himself before her an hour, and that she should write to testify it. She replied, he would trust neither of them with his life; but if he might live quietly in his command, would do His Majesty good service. Upon this the King altered his purpose, and resolved to send Sultan Corone; and to countenance his reception, would himself follow after with another army. Chan-Channa perceiving the storm, practised with the Decannins, who were at his devotion, to offer terms of peace for some time, as finding no other way to dispel this cloud that hung over both, till the King and Prince were departed and settled further off. To this purpose two ambassadors arrived at court this same 10th of October from the Princes of Decan. They brought horses with rich furniture for presents. At first the King refused to hear them, or receive their gifts; but turned them over to his son, saying, it was in his breast to chuse peace or war. The Prince, puffed up with this favour, resolved to proceed on his journey; though the conditions, I was told, were very honourable, and such as the King would have accepted of; answering, he would treat of no peace till he was in the field with his army, and Chan-Channa should not so defraud him of the honour of finishing the war. This young Prince's ambition is notorious, and become the common talk of the people; yet his father designs not the crown for him, for Sultan Corsorone, the eldest brother, is beloved and honoured of all men, even to a degree of adoration, and that deservedly for his excellent qualities. The King knows it, and loves him, but thinks his liberty would be a lessening of his own glory, yet sees not that this sly youth darkens him more by his ambitious practices than the other would by virtuous actions. Thus he nourishes division and emulation among the brethren, and puts such power into the hands of the younger, believing he can reassume it at pleasure, that the wisest men foresee great distractions and troubles like to follow in this kingdom upon the King's death, and that it is in danger to be torn in pieces by a civil war. The history of this country for variety of matter, and the many subtle practices in the time of Ezbar-Sha, father of this King, and these latter troubles, were well worth writing; but because they come from such remote parts, many will despise them; and by reason these people are esteemed barbarous, few will believe them, and therefore I forbear making them public, though I could deliver as many rare and notable acts of state, subtle evasions, policies, answers, and adages, as I believe, for one age, would not easily be equalled: yet I cannot omit one thing that happened lately, to shew wisdom and patience in a father, faith in a servant falshood in a brother, and impudent boldness in a faction that dare attempt any thing, when the supreme Majesty allows them a

 liberty

liberty beyond either the law of their own condition, or the bounds of policy and reason.

The Prince Sultan Corone, Normahall, the beloved Queen, aunt to this Prince's wife, Asaph Chan his father-in-law, brother to the Queen, and Etiman Doulet father to them both, being they that now govern all, and dare attempt any thing, resolved it was not possible for them to stand if Prince Sultan Corforone lived, he being beloved by the nobility, and like to punish their ambition in time, if delivered: therefore they practised how to get him into their power in order to take him off by poison. Normahall attempts the King with crocodile tears, telling him that Sultan Corforone was not safe, nor his aspiring thoughts laid aside. The King heard, and seemed to assent, but would not understand more than she delivered in plain terms. This failing, they took the opportunity of the King's being drunk, when Prince Etiman Doulet, and Asaph Chan moved, that, for the safety of Sultan Corforone, and his honour, it were fitter he were in the keeping of his brother, that their company might be a comfort to one another, and he better taken care of, than in the hands of a Resbote idolater, to whom the King had committed him: therefore they humbly desired His Majesty that he might be delivered into the hands of his dear brother, which the King granted, and so fell asleep. They thought themselves so great, that using the King's authority no man durst refuse them, and if he were once in their possession they would dispute the restoring of him. So the same night Asaph Chan, sent by the Prince in the King's name, came with a guard to demand and receive Sultan Corforone at the hands of Annarah, a Rajah Resbote, that is, a Prince, to whose custody the King had committed him. He refused to deliver his charge, with this answer, That he was Sultan Corone's humble servant, but that he had received his brother from the hands of the King, and would deliver him to no other; that he should have patience till the morning, when he would discharge himself to His Majesty, and be wholly at his disposal. This answer broke the design. In the morning Annarah came to the King, and acquainted him with the Prince's demand, his refusal, and answer, adding, that His Majesty had given him charge of his son, and made him commander of four thousand horse, with all which he would die at the gate, rather than deliver up the Prince into the hands of his enemies. If His Majesty required, he was ready to obey his will, but he would clear his own innocency. The King replied, You have done honestly and faithfully; you have answered discreetly, continue your resolution, and take no notice of any orders; I will not seem to know this, nor do you stir further in it; preserve your fidelity, and let us see how far they will carry it. The Prince and the faction the next day, finding the King took no notice of any thing, and therefore hoping he had forgot what passed in his wine, made no mention of the grant or of the refusal; but the business fell on both sides, yet not without jealousy. This I insert, that the company may not scatter their goods, or engage too far into the kingdom, because the time will soon come when all will be in a combustion; and if Sultan Corforone prevail in asserting his right, this kingdom will be a sanctuary for Christians, whom he loves and honours, favouring learning, valour, and warlike discipline, and abhorring covetousness, and the base custom of taking presents used by his ancestors and the nobility. If the other be superior, we shall be losers, for he is zealous in his superstition, an enemy to all Christians, proud, false, and barbarously tyrannical.

The 13th of this month of October the King returning from hunting, sent me a wild pig. I received advice that the four English ships before mentioned were safe in the port of Solai. There came six out of England, but they lost company of one in bad weather, and another was sent to Bantam. By the way they had fought a Portuguese galeon,

galeon bound for Goa, which burnt itself. Upon this news, on the 14th I sent for a Portuguese jesuit residing at the court, and gave him an account of it, offering a peace upon equal terms, which he promised to acquaint the Viceroy of Goa with. Then I visited the Prince, and proposing to him that we might have a port and place to fortify, and we would defend his ships against the Portugueses, he rejected it with scorn. In the evening I waited on the King with the same account of our ships' arrival, and he presently asked me what presents came for him, which I could not give him an account of. He ordered I should have such things as I required sent up to court sealed, without searching or paying any custom. The 20th, being with the Prince's secretary about the dispatch of our affairs, he moved me by His Highness's order to procure him two gunners out of our fleet to serve him in the Decan wars for good pay, which I undertook to perform, knowing that indifferent artists would serve there. This day Abdala Chan came to visit the Prince, so greatly attended, that I have not seen the like: his drums and music on horse-back, being about twenty, made noise enough, then followed fifty persons carrying white flags before him, and two hundred soldiers well mounted in coats of cloth of gold, velvet, and rich silks, who entered the gate with him in order. Next his person were forty targetiers in such like liveries. He made humble reverence and presented a black Arabian horse with his furniture studded with flowers of gold, enamelled and set with small stones. The Prince, according to custom, returned a turban, a vest, and a girdle.

The Prince holding a resolution of finishing the Decan wars in person, would not give any answer to those ambassadors, but detained them till he came near the frontiers. Being to depart, neither he nor his party thought themselves secure, if Sultan Corsorone remained in the hands of Annarah, because in his absence the King might be reconciled, and he getting his liberty, all the glory and hopes of their faction would vanish, and their ambition and ill practices hardly be pardoned. On the 17th of this month therefore, they again attack the King's constancy, desiring him to deliver up his son into the hands of Asaph Chan, as his guardian under Sultan Corone, pretending it will fright Chan-Channa and the Decans, when they hear this Prince is so favoured, who comes to make war upon them, that the King has delivered up his eldest son to him, and in him, as it were, the whole kingdom, the hope of succession, and the present power. The King, who had yielded himself up into the hands of a woman, could not defend his son from her practices. He either sees not the ambition, or trusts it too far in confidence of his own power, and consents; so that this day he was delivered up, the soldiers of Annarah discharged, and a supply of Asaph Chan's placed about him, with an addition of two hundred of the Prince's horse. His sister and many women in the seraglio mourn, refuse their meat, exclaim against the King's dotage and cruelty, and declare that if he dies, a hundred of his kindred will burn for him in memory of the King's inhumanity toward his worthiest son. The King gives fair words, protests no harm is designed the Prince, promises his delivery, and sends Normahall to appease these enraged ladies, who curse, threaten, and refuse to see her. The common people murmur, and say the King has not delivered his son, but his own life into the hands of an ambitious Prince, and a treacherous faction. That Sultan Corsorone cannot perish without scandal to the father, or revenge from him, and therefore he must go first, and after him his son, and so through their blood this youth must mount the throne. New hopes are spread of his re-deliverance, and soon allayed; every man tells news according to his fears or desires; but the poor Prince remains in the paws of the tiger, refuses meat, and requires his father to take his life, and not suffer it to fall a victim to his enemies. The whole court is full of whispers, the nobility are sad, the multitude like

itfelf, full of rumour and noife, without head or order, and rages, but applies not to any proper means. The confequences of thefe troubles are much to be feared.

The 19th, the Perfian ambaffador Mahomet Raza Beg made his entry into the town about noon, with a great train, partly fent out by the King to meet him with a hundred elephants, and mufic, though no man of greater quality than the ordinary receiver of ftrangers. The ambaffador's own retinue were about fifty horfe, well equipped, and in coats of cloth of gold; their bows, quivers, and targets richly garnifhed, forty fhot, and about two hundred common foot, and attendance on the baggage. He was carried to reft in a room within the King's outward court till evening, when he came to the Durbar, before the King. I fent my fecretary to obferve the fafhion of this ceremony. When he approached, he made at the firft rail three tefelins, and one fizeda, which is proftrating himfelf and knocking his head againft the ground; he did fo again within, and fo prefented Sha Abas' letter, which the King took with a little motion of his body, only afking, how does my brother? without mentioning the title of Majefty. After fome few words he was placed in the feventh rank againft the rail by the door, below fo many of the King's fervants on both fides, which in my opinion was a very mean place for his mafter's ambaffador; but he well deferved it, for doing that reverence which his predeceffors refufed, to the difhonour of his Prince, and to the regret of many of his nation. It is faid he had order from the Sophy to give content, and it is therefore fuppofed his meffage is for fome fupply of money againft the Turk, which has often been liberally granted, though at the fame time it is pretended he comes only to mediate a peace for the Decans, whom Sha Abas pretends to protect, being jealous of the increafe of this empire. The King according to cuftom gave him a handfome turbant, a veft of cloth of gold, and a girdle, for which again he made three tefelins, and one fizeda, or inclination down to the ground. He brought for prefents three times nine Arabian and Perfian horfes, this being a ceremonious number among them; nine mules very fair and large, feven camels laden with velvet, two fuits of European hangings, which I fuppofe were not Arras, but Venetian velvet wrought with gold; two chefts of Perfian hangings, one rich cabinet, forty mufkets, five clocks, one camel laden with Perfian cloth of gold, eight carpets of filk, two rubies ballaces, twenty-one camel loads of wine of the grape, fourteen camels of diftilled fweet waters, feven of rofe-water, feven daggers fet with precious ftones, five fwords fet after the fame manner, feven Venetian looking-glaffes, and thefe fo fair and rich, that I was out of countenance when I heard it. Thefe prefents were not delivered now, but only a note of them. His own equipage was rich, having nine led horfes trapped in gold and filver. About his turbant was wound a ftring of pearls, rubies, and Turkey ftones, and three pipes of gold anfwering to three feathers. I caufed his reception to be diligently obferved, and found he was not favoured above me in any point, but much lefs in many particulars, being placed much inferior than I, and only exceeding in being met out of town, which by reafon of my ficknefs was not demanded; nor did the King receive Sha Abas' letter with fuch refpect as he did my mafter's, whom he called the King of England his brother, and the Perfian barely brother, without any addition; which was an obfervation of the jefuit, who underftood the language.

The 20th of October I received the Prince's letter to fend for Surat, with orders to the governor of that place to fit with the judge of the cuftom-houfe, and take care that no wrong was done the Englifh. But as to the matter of fending up the prefents to me fealed and unfearched, it was fo unintelligible that it was fubject to various conftructions, which I judged to be done defignedly, that they might be fent to him to be his own carver. This made me fend it back to his fecretary, and it being returned

more

more intricate than at first, I went to the Prince on the 21st, and desired him to have that part better explained. He asked me how he should have his presents, or such other curiosities as came up? and moved me to go with him where they were. I answered, I could not do it till I had delivered my message and tokens to the King, but would then attend His Highness with his presents, and all rarities that came to my hands should be sent after him. He pressed me to give my word for the performance, and so I obtained an order to my mind. His Highness looking on a white feather in my hat, asked if I would give it him. I replied, I would not offer what I had worn, but if he pleased to command it, that or any thing in my power was at his service; and I took his acceptance as a great honour. He asked me whether I had any more; I said, three or four of other colours; and he again asked, whether I would give them all, because he was to shew his horses and servants to the King within two days, and wanted some, they being very rare in those parts. I promised to bring them all on the morrow, that His Highness might take what he pleased.

Abdala Chan, in a gallant equipage both as to his person and retinue, though the apparel was strange and antic, but soldier-like in those parts, presented the Prince a white horse, the saddle and furniture gold enamelled, the beast of delicate shape, mettlesome and bold. The Prince returned a plain sword with a leather belt. Many others were brought before him with silver hilts, and chapes set with small stones, and targets covered with velvet wrought with gold, and some painted and bossed with gold and silver, which he gave to his servants against the review. Many saddles and furnitures of his own, all of gold set with stones for led horses, were shewn, his boots embroidered, and all other accoutrements of state. The value is wonderful, and the wealth daily seen inestimable.

It is reported, that this last night six of the Prince's servants went to murder Sultan Corsorone, but were not admitted by the porter; and that the Queen-Mother is gone to the King with an account of all the practice.

In the evening I went to the Durbar to visit the King, where I met the Persian ambassador with the first shew of his presents. He appeared more like a jester or juggler, than a person of gravity, running up and down, and acting all he said like a mimic. He delivered the presents with his own hands, which the King received with smiles, a cheerful countenance, and expressions of satisfaction. His tongue was a great advantage to him in delivering his business; which he did with so much flattery and obsequiousness, that it pleased as much as his gift; ever calling the Mogul, King and Commander of the World, forgetting his own master had a share in it; and upon every slight occasion he made his teselins. When all was delivered for that day, he prostrated himself on the ground, and knocked it with his head as if he would have entered it. The gifts were a quiver for bow and arrows delicately embroidered, all sorts of European fruits artificial in dishes, folding purses, and knacks of leather wrought with needle-work in coloured silks, shoes embroidered and stitched, great glasses in frames inlaid, one square piece of velvet embroidered high with gold in panes, between which were Italian pictures wrought in the stuff, which he said were the King and Queen of Venice; of these six pieces were given, but only one shewed. There were besides many other curiosities of small value; after which came three times nine horses, which had either lost their flesh or beauty, for I thought them all, except two or three, unfit to be sent to, or received by princes; the mules were handsome. After this he returned with many antic tricks to his place, far inferior to that allowed me, which was alone, and above all subjects. This is but the first act of his presenting, the play will not be finished in ten days.

The

The 22d the letter the Prince had promised me for the sending up of the presents unsearched, being again detained, I went to his secretary, who said they could not be sent up without visiting, lest the merchants under that pretence should steal customs. I was offended and going away, but the secretary prevailed with me to go with him to the Prince, who accepted some feathers I brought him; and knowing my resolution, ordered I should be dispatched to content. At night I went to the Durbar to observe the Persian ambassador, and found him standing in his rank, but often removed and set lower, as great men came in. The King once spoke to him, and he danced to that music, but gave no present, and the Mogul ordered he should be feasted by the nobles. The 24th the King removed to Havar Gemal, and sent for the Persian ambassador, who at night eat and drank before the King with the nobility in the same manner as I had done on the birth-day. The difference was, that the Mogul gave him twenty thousand roupees for his expence, for which he made many teselins and sizedaes, not rising from the ground for a considerable time, which extremely pleased the King, and was base, but profitable flattery. The 25th the King returned to court, having been far gone over night in wine. Some either accidentally or maliciously spoke of the last merry night, and that many of the nobility drank wine, which none must do without leave. The King forgetting his order, asked who gave it; and an answer was made, the buxy, for no man dares say it was the King, when he seems to be willing to make a doubt of it. The custom is, that when the King drinks, which is alone, sometimes he will command the nobility to drink after him, which if they do not, it is looked upon as a crime; and so every man that takes a cup of wine of the officer, has his name writ down, and he makes his teselin, though perhaps the King's eyes are clouded. The King not remembering his own command, called the buxy, and asked whether he gave the order; who falsely denied it, for he had it from the King, and by name called all that drank with the ambassador. The King then called for the list, and persons named in it, and fined some one, some two, and some three thousand roupies; and some that were nearer his person he caused to be whipped before him, they receiving a hundred and thirty stripes with a terrible instrument having at the ends of four cords, irons like spur-rowels, so that every stroke made four wounds. When they lay for dead on the ground, he commanded the standers by to spurn them, and after that the porters to break their staves on them. Thus most cruelly mangled and bruised they were carried out; one of them died on the spot. Some would have excused it by laying it on the ambassador; but the King replied, he only ordered a cup or two to be given him. Though drunkenness be a common vice and an exercise of the King's, yet it is so strictly forbidden, that no man can enter the Guzelcan, where the King sits, but the porters smell his breath, and if he have but tasted wine, is not suffered to come in; and if the reason of his absence be known, it will be a difficult matter to escape the whip: for if the King once takes offence, the father will not speak for the son. Thus the King made all the company pay the Persian ambassador's present.

The 28th, the King's day of removal being at hand, I sent to Asaph Chan for a warrant for carriages. The merchants having sought all the town to remove their goods to Agra, could find none. I being enrolled by His Majesty received order for twenty camels, four carts, and two coaches at the King's price. Of these I allowed the factors as many as they needed for their use. I cannot here omit a passage either of wonderful baseness in this great monarch, or else a trial put upon me. The King had condemned divers thieves, among which were some boys. There was no way to save their lives, but to sell them for slaves. His Majesty commanded Asaph Chan to offer two of them to me for money; which he appointed the Cutwall, that is the marshal,

[illegible] My interpreter made answer, without my knowledge, that Christians kept no slaves; and those the King had given me I had set free, and it was in vain to propose it to me. Yet afterwards of himself he told me of it. I suspected it might be a trial of me, to see whether I would give a little money to save the lives of two children; or else, I thought, though it were in earnest, it were no great loss to do a good deed, and try the baseness or scope of this offer. I commanded my interpreter to go to Asaph Chan, and tell him he acquainted me with the motion, and his answer; that I had reproved him for pretending to deliver my thoughts in any case; and therefore my own reply was, that if there were any money to be paid to redeem the lives of two children to those whom they had robbed, or to redeem them from the law, I was ready to give it, both out of respect to the King's commands, and for charity: but I would not buy them as slaves, only pay their ransom, and free them; and therefore if he would know the King's pleasure, that I might give them their liberty without offence, I was very willing to do it. Asaph Chan replied I might dispose of them as I pleased; that it was an extraordinary goodness, and with many commendations accepted of the money, desiring me to send it to the Cutwall, and to use my own discretion with the boys, never offering to inform the King, which was one end of my liberality. But I resolving not to be imposed upon, lest this should be only a trick of the officers to get money, sent to let the Cutwall know what had passed between me and Asaph Chan, and that if at night he would acquaint the King that I had offered to redeem the prisoners out of charity, and His Majesty would consent to their liberty, I was ready to pay the money, but would not buy them as slaves; and desired His Majesty to pardon them upon my redemption. Thus I put them to the test of their own offer. The sum demanded did not exceed 10l. The Cutwall answered, he would know the King's pleasure. Some would persuade me this is one of the Mogul's signal favours, to pitch upon such great men, to whom he will offer the opportunity of doing good, as the redeeming of prisoners; and that the money is to make satisfaction to the party that was robbed; and that these so appointed by the King to ransom others, make the sizeda, as for some benefit received. I went to the Durbar to see if His Majesty would himself speak to me; the Cutwall made many motions, but I understood nothing. This day I sent my secretary to the Persian ambassador, to let him know I would visit him, if he would give his word to repay the visit, with other compliments. Who answered with all respect, that it was the custom of the country for ambassadors not to visit one another without the King's leave, which he would move for, and then receive me with all friendship, and repay my visit, with many more expressions of civility.

November the 1st, Sultan Corone took his leave and went to his tents. The King at noon set out in the Durbar, whither the Prince brought his elephants, being about six hundred richly trapped and furnished, and his followers by computation one thousand horse; many of them in cloth of gold, with herons' feathers in their turbants all very gallant. The Prince himself in a coat of cloth of silver embroidered with great pearl, and glittering with diamonds like the firmament. The King embraced, kissed, and shewed him much affection. At his departure he gave him a sword, the scabbard of which was all of gold set with stones, valued at 100,000 roupies; a dagger at 4000; an elephant and two horses, all their furniture of gold set with stones; and for a close one of the new coaches made in imitation of that sent by the King my master; and commanded the English coachman to drive him to his tents. The Prince went into the coach, and sat in the middle, the sides open, his chiefest nobles a-foot walking by him to his tents about four miles distant. All the way he threw quarters of roupies, being followed

followed by a multitude of people. He reached his hand to the coachman, and put into his hat about 100 roupies.

The 2d the King removed about three miles to his tents with his women and all the court. I went beforehand to attend him; and coming to the palace, found him at the jarruco window, and went upon the scaffold under him. Not having seen this place before, I was glad of the opportunity. Two eunuchs stood on two tressels with long poles and feather fans at the end of them, fanning him. He bestowed my favours, and received presents. What he bestowed he let down by a silk string rolled on a turning instrument; what was given him, a venerable fat deformed old matron, wrinkled and hung round with gimbels like an image, pulled up at a hole with such another clue. At one side in a window were his two principal wives, whose curiosity made them break little holes in a grate of reed that hung before it to gaze on me. I saw first their fingers, and then they laying their faces close, first the one, and then the other, I could sometimes discern their full proportion. They were indifferently white, with black hair smoothed up; but if there had been no other light, their diamonds and pearls had sufficed to shew them. When I looked up, they retired; and were so merry, that I suppose they laughed at me. On a sudden the King rose, we retired to the Durbar, and sat on the carpets, attending his coming out. Not long after he came, and sat about half an hour, till his ladies at their door had mounted their elephants, which were about fifty, all of them richly adorned, but chiefly three with turrets on their backs, all enclosed with grates of gold wire to look through, and canopies over of cloth of silver. Then the King came down the stairs with such an acclamation of health to the King, as would have out-roared cannon. At the foot of the stairs, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty carp, another a dish of white stuff like starch, into which he put his finger, and touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his forehead; a ceremony used presaging good fortune. Then another came, and girt on his sword, and hung on his buckler set all over with diamonds and rubies, the belts of gold suitable. Another hung on his quiver with thirty arrows, and his bow in a case, being the same that was presented by the Persian ambassador. On his head he wore a rich turban with a plume of herons' feathers, not many but long. On one side hung a ruby unset, as big as a walnut, on the other side a diamond as large, in the middle an emerald like a heart, much bigger. His staff was wound about with a chain of great pearl, rubies, and diamonds drilled. About his neck he wore a chain of three strings of most excellent pearl, the largest I ever saw. Above his elbows, armlets set with diamonds, and on his wrist three rows of several sorts; his hands bare, but almost on every finger a ring. His gloves, which were English, stuck under his girdle. His coat of cloth of gold without sleeves, upon a fine semain, as thin as lawn. On his feet a pair of buskins embroidered with pearl, the toes sharp and turning up. Thus armed and accoutred he went to the coach that attended him, with his new English servant, who was clothed as rich as any player, and more gaudy, and had broke four horses, which were trapped and harnessed in gold velvets. This was the first coach he ever sat in, made by that sent out of England, so like that I knew it not but by the cover, which was a Persian gold velvet. He sat at the end, and on each side went two eunuchs, who carried small maces of gold set all over with rubies, with a long bunch of horse-tail to flap the flies away. Before him went drums, base trumpets, and loud music, many canopies, umbrellas, and other strange ensigns of majesty, made of cloth of gold set in many places with rubies. Nine led horses, the furniture some garnished with rubies, some with pearls and emeralds, some only with studs enamelled. The Persian ambassador

fador prefented him a horfe. Next behind came three palankines, the carriages and feet of one plated with gold, fet at the ends with ftones, and covered with crimfon velvet embroidered with pearl, and a fringe of great pearl hanging in ropes a foot deep, a border about it fet with rubies and emeralds. A footman carried a footftool of gold fet with ftones. The other two palankines were covered and lined only with cloth of gold. Next followed the English coach, newly covered and richly adorned, which he had given to Queen Normahall, who fat in it. After them a third, in which fat his younger fons. Then followed about twenty elephants royal, led for him to mount, fo rich in ftones and furniture, that they glittered like the fun. Every elephant had fundry flags of cloth of filver, gilt fattin and taffety. His noblemen he fuffered to walk afoot, which I did to the gate, and left him. His wives on their elephants were carried half a mile behind him. When he came before the door where his eldeft fon is prifoner, he ftayed the coach and called for him. He came and made reverence, with a fword and buckler in his hand, his beard grown to his middle, a fign of disfavour. The King commanded him to mount one of the fpare elephants, and fo rode next to him, with extraordinary applaufe and joy of all men, who were now filled with new hopes. The King gave him one thoufand roupies to caft to the people. His gaoler Afaph Chan, and all thofe monfters were yet afoot. I took horfe to avoid the crowd and other inconveniences, and croffed out of the lefkar before him, waiting till he came near his tents. He paffed all the way between a guard of elephants, having every one a turret on his back, and on the four corners of each four banners of yellow taffety, and right before a piece of cannon carrying a bullet as big as a tennis-ball, the gunner behind it. They were in all about three hundred. Other elephants of ftate went before and behind, being about fix hundred, all which were covered with velvet, or cloth of gold, and had two or three gilded banners. Several footmen ran along the way wit[illegible] of water to lay the duft before the King. No horfe or man was fuffered to c[illegible]ithin two furlongs of the coach, except thofe that walked by afoot. So that I h[illegible] to his tents to attend his alighting. They were walled in about half an Englifh mile in compafs, in form of a fort, with feveral angles and bulwarks, and high curtains of a coarfe ftuff made like arras, red on the outfide, and within figures in panes, with a handfome gate-houfe, every poft that bore thefe up headed with brafs. The throng was great, I had a mind to go in; no man was permitted, the greateft in the land fitting at the door: however I made an offer, and they admitted me, but refufed the Perfian ambaffador, and all the noblemen. Here firft the Perfian ambaffador faluted me with a filent compliment. In the midft of this court was a throne of mother of pearl borne on two pillars raifed on earth, covered over with a high tent, the pole headed with a knob of gold; under that, canopies of cloth of gold, and under foot carpets. When the King drew near the door, fome noblemen came in, and the Perfian ambaffador. We ftood on both fides making a line. The King entering caft his eye on me; I made him reverence, and he laid his hand on his breaft and bowed, and turning to the other fide nodded to the Perfian. I followed at his heels till he went up, and every man cried, joy and good fortune; and fo we took our places. He called for water, wafhed his hands, and departed. His women went in fome other way to their apartment, and his fon I faw not. Within this inclofure were about thirty divifions with tents. All the noblemen retired to theirs, which were in excellent forms, fome all white, fome green, fome mixed, all inclofed as orderly as any houfe, in the moft magnificent manner I ever faw. The vale fhewed like a beautiful city, for the baggage made no confufion. I was ill provided with carriage and afhamed of my equipage; for five years allowance would not have provided me

me an indifferent suit answerable to others, and to add to the grandeur every man has two, so that one goes before to the next ground, and is set up a day before the King rises from the place where he is. So I returned to my poor house.

November the 5th I rode about five miles to the Prince's tents. I made His Highness my compliments of leave, wishing him prosperity and success, but he ordered me to return and take my leave two days after, having presented him some business about debts due to the English, which he promised to examine and dispatch. He sat with the same greatness and magnificence I mentioned of his father, his throne being plated over with silver, inlaid with flowers of gold, and the canopy over it square, borne up on four pillars covered with silver; his arms, sword, buckler, bows, arrows, and lance on a table before him. The watch was set, for it was evening when we came abroad. I observed him curiously now he was absolute, and took notice of his behaviour and actions. He received two letters, and read them standing before he ascended his throne. I never saw so settled a countenance, or any man keep so constant a gravity, never smiling, nor by his looks shewing any respect or distinction of persons, but an extreme pride and contempt of all. Yet I perceived some inward trouble now and then assail him, and a kind of interruption and distraction in his thoughts; answering suitors disorderly, or in confusion, or not hearing them. If I can judge of it, he has left his heart among his father's women, with whom he has the liberty of conversing. Normahall the day before went to visit him in the English coach, and took leave of him. She gave him a cloak all embroidered with pearl, diamonds, and rubies, and carried away, if I mistake not, all his attention for business. The 9th the Prince being to remove, sent one of his guard in haste for me, I was not provided to go, but he pressed me, urging his master staid for me; that he ordered him not to return without me; that all the court did talk of the Prince's favour to me; that it was reported he had desired the King to let me accompany him to the army; and that he had promised to use me so well, that I should confess his favour to our nation. This news made me take horse after dinner; but I found him newly risen and marching, but met a Dutchman, his jeweller, who confirmed all the soldier had said, and added so much more that I believed none of it. I sent word I was come, and he returned answer, that I should pass before the tents, and sit till he came; and he would speak with me. It was night before he came; he only looked on me, sat a little, and went in among his women. As he passed he turned about, and sent a servant to desire me to stay a while, and he would come into the Guzalcan, and take his leave of me. Within half an hour he set out, but I could not get any man to put him in mind of me, and he was fallen to play, and either forgot it, or put a trick of state upon me; so that I staid an hour. Being much troubled I went to the door, and told the waiters that the Prince had sent for me; that I came only to receive his orders; that I had staid long, and must return to my house, it being late; and if His Highness had any business I desired him to send it after me, for I scorned such usage; and so went away to take horse. Before I could mount, messengers came running for me, and I went in. He excused himself, and blamed his officers, using me with much shew of civility; calling me to see his cards, and asking me several questions. The eunuchs and officers told me the Prince would make me a great present, and if I feared to ride home late, I should have ten horse to guard me. The present came, and was a cloak of cloth of gold which he had worn once or twice, and which they put upon my back: I made reverence for it very unwillingly; and it is here reputed the highest favour to give a garment that has been worn by the Prince, or just lain on his shoulders; yet this would have become an actor that had represented his ancestor Tamerlan. Then he bowed and I had my discharge;

 yet

yet first I urged some business, and having my answer, took my leave. Going out, I was followed by his porters and waiters in such shameful manner, that I half paid for my cloak before I got clear of them.

November the 10th almost all the town being removed, I was left behind, having got neither camels nor carts, notwithstanding my warrant; and the Persian ambassador was under the same circumstances, who complained and was soon redressed; whereupon I sent to court, and on the eleventh received two warrants for carts and camels at the King's price; but it was not easy to get either, the great men having soldiers every where to take all up; and indeed it was wonderful how the whole town and two leskars, or camps, that is the King's and Princes, could remove at once. The 16th the King gave orders to fire all the leskars or huts at Adsmere, to oblige the people to follow him; which was daily executed. The Persian ambassador and I were left in bad plight, in danger of thieves, who came daily from the camp to rob, and almost without bread to eat. This made me think of buying beasts and carriages, which would prove as cheap as hiring; but first I sent again to court to make one trial more. Having nothing material to speak of during my solitude at Adsmere, I will here say something of the condition of Sultan Corsorone, of whose late delivery into the hands of his enemies, before mentioned, every man's heart and mouth was full. The King, notwithstanding he had so far condescended to satisfy his proud son at his departure, yet it seems designed not to wink at any wrong offered the elder, and therefore partly to secure him in the hands of Asaph Chan, and partly to satisfy the people, who murmured, and feared some treachery might be practised against him, took occasion to declare his mind in public. Asaph Chan had visited his new prisoner, and in his behaviour did not acknowledge him as his Prince, but rudely prest upon him against his will, and without re[illegible]. Some are of opinion he picked a quarrel, and knowing that the Prince's brave [illegible]e would not bear an affront, tempted him to draw his sword, or to use some violen[illegible] which the guard should presently revenge, or else it should be represented to the King as an attempt to kill his keeper, and make his escape. But the Prince was more patient, and only got a friend to acquaint the King with his gaoler's manners. The King called Asaph Chan at the Durbar, and asked when he saw his charge. He answered, two days before. His Majesty replied, What did you with him? He said, only visit him. The King pressed to know how he behaved himself towards the Prince. Asaph Chan perceiving the King knew what had happened, said he went to see him, and to offer him his service, but the Prince refused to admit him into his chamber; which he, having charge of him, thought necessary for himself to do, and uncivil for the other to refuse, and therefore he prest in. The King presently replied, When you were in, what said you, what did you, what duty shewed you towards my son? Asaph was blank, and confessed he did him no reverence. Whereupon the King told him, he would make his proud heart know him to be his eldest son and beloved heir, his Prince and Lord; and if he once heard of any the least want of respect or duty towards him, he would command his son to set his feet upon his neck and trample on him: that he loved Sultan Corone well, but would make the world know, he did not entrust his son among them for his ruin.

The 20th of this month I received a new warrant for carriages, which procured me eight camels, but such poor ones as would not suffice me, and therefore I was forced to take order to buy the rest. The 22d I removed into my tents. The 25th I removed six cosses, but staid the following days for the caravan that was going from Agra to Surat, to send my papers with safety. December the first I removed four cosses to Ramsor, where the King had left the bodies of a hundred naked men, executed in the fields

fields for robbing. The 2d seven coses; the 3d rested because of the rain; the 4th five coses; in the way this day I overtook a camel laden with three hundred men's heads, sent from Candahar by the governor as a present to the King, those men being in rebellion. The 5th five coses, the 6th four, where I overtook the King at a walled town called Todah, in the best country I saw since my landing, being a fair champaign, at every cose a village, the soil fruitful in corn, cotton, and cattle. The 7th the King only removed from one side to the other of the town, which was one of the best built I ever saw in India, for some houses were two stories high, and most of them such as a pedlar might not scorn to keep shop in, all covered with tile. It had been the seat of Raja Rasboote before the conquest of Ezbar Sha, and stood at the foot of a great rock, very strong, had many excellent works of hewed stone about it, many ponds arched, vaulted, and descents to them large and deep; by it was a delicate grove, two miles long and a quarter broad, planted on purpose with mangoes, tamarinds, and other fruit-trees divided into walks, and full of little temples, and altars of pagods, and Indian idolatry, many fountains, wells, and summer-houses of carved stone curiously arched; so that a banished Englishman might have been content to live there. But it is a general observation, that all goes to ruin and destruction; for since the property of all is come to the King, no man takes care of any thing in particular, so that devastation and the spoils of war appear in every place without any reparation. The 8th I was at the King's Guzalcan, and found him so near drunk, that he made it up in half an hour, so that I could move no business to him.

The 9th I took a view of the leskar, or King's camp, which is one of the greatest wonders I ever beheld, and chiefly for that I saw it set up and finished in less than four hours, except some of the great men, who have double suits of tents, it being no less than twenty English miles in compass, the length some ways three coses, including the skirts; in the middle, where the streets are orderly, and tents joined, there are all sorts of shops, and so regularly disposed, that every man knows whither to go directly for what he wants; each man of quality, and every trade being appointed how far from the King's tents they shall pitch, what ground they shall take up, and on what side, without ever altering. All which as it lies together is almost equal to any town in Europe for greatness; but no man must approach the royal atasckauha, or quarter, by a musket shot every way; which is now so strictly observed, that none are admitted but by name, and the time of the durbar in the evening is omitted, and spent in hunting, or hawking on pools by boat, in which the King takes wonderful delight, and his barges are removed on carts with him. He sits on the sides of these pools, which are often a mile or two over. At the Jarruco in the morning he is seen, but business or speech prohibited, all being concluded at night in the Guzalcan, and there very often the opportunity is missed, His Majesty being overcome by the fumes of Bacchus. There was now a whisper at court about a new affinity of Sultan Corsorone and Asaph Chan, and great hope of the former's liberty. I will find an opportunity to discourse of it, because the particulars are worth observing, and the wisdom and goodness of the King appears above the malice of others; and Normahall fulfils that observation, that a woman has always a great hand at court and in faction; she shews they are not incapable of managing business. This will discover a noble Prince, an excellent wife, a faithful counsellor, a crafty step-mother, an ambitious son, a cunning favourite, all reconciled by a patient King, whose heart was not understood by any of all those. But this will require a peculiar place. The English at Surat complained of ill usage at this time, but their drunkenness and other exorbitances proceeding from it were so great in that place, that it was rather wonderful they were suffered to live.

The

The 18th of this month of December I visited the King, who having been at his sports, and having all his game before him, desired me to take my choice of the fowl and fish, and then distributed the remainder to the nobility. I found him sitting on his throne, and a beggar at his feet, a poor silly old man, all ragged and patched, with a young rogue attending him. The country abounds in this sort of professed poor holy men, and they are held in great veneration; and in works of mortification and voluntary sufferings, they outdo all that ever has been pretended either by heretics or idolaters. This miserable wretch, clothed in rags, crowned with feathers, covered with ashes, His Majesty talked with about an hour so familiarly, and with such seeming kindness, that it must needs argue an humility not found easily among Kings. The beggar sat, which the King's son dares not do; he gave the King a present, a cake mixed with ashes, burnt on the coals, and made by himself of coarse grain, which the King willingly accepted, broke a bit and eat it, which a nice person could scarce have done; then he took the clout and wrapt it up, and put it into the poor man's bosom, and sent for one hundred roupies, and with his own hand poured them into the poor man's lap, and gathered up for him what fell beside. When his collation, or banquet and drink came, whatsoever he took to eat, he broke and gave the beggar half; and rising after many strange humiliations and charities, the old wretch not being nimble, he took him up in his arms, though no cleanly body durst have touched him, embracing him, and three times laying his hand on his heart, and calling him father, left him and all of us, and me in admiration to see such virtue in a heathen Prince, which I mention with emulation and sorrow, that we having the true vine should bring forth the bastard stock of grapes; wishing either our Christian Princes had this devotion, or that this zeal were guided by a true light of the gospel.

The 23d being about three cosses short of a city called Rantepoor, where it was supposed the King would rest, and consult what way to take, he on a sudden turned towards Mandoa, but without declaring his resolution. I am of opinion he took this way for fear of the plague at Agra, rather than out of any design of being near the army; for we marched every other day about four cosses only, with such a train of baggage as was almost impossible to be kept in order. The 26th we passed through woods and over mountains thick of bushes, where many camels perished; many people tired with the difficulties of an impassable way, went away to Agra, and all complained. I lost my tents and carts, but by midnight we met again. The King resteth two days, for the leskar could not in less time recover their order; many of the King's women, and thousands of coaches, carts, and camels lying in the woody mountains, without meat or water: he himself got through on a small elephant that will climb up rocks, and pass such straits, that no horse or beast I have seen can follow him. The 29th we lay by the river of Chambet.

January the first I complained to Asaph Chan of the injuries offered to the English at Surat, though at the same time I was perplexed with several relations which gave as bad an account of their disorders and outrages. Asaph advised me not to make my complaint to the King, which would incense the Prince, but to ask leave of the former to go visit the latter with a letter from him, recommending the dispatch of my business and good usage of our nation. That carrying His Highness a present with this letter, I should please both parties, and succeed in my business. This was the same I had before proposed to myself, and therefore pleased me the better; the King being now certainly designed for Mandoa, which is but eight days' journey from Brampore, where the Prince was, and I had as good ride over to him as lie idle in the fields. This day at noon I visited the Persian ambassador, being the first time we had leisure to do it, and

and he received me with much respect and courtesy. After our first compliments, I proposed to him the settling of trade in his master's dominions, which he undertook to forward as much as in him lay. He made me a banquet of ill fruits, but being a good fellow it appeared well. In his courtesy he outdid all my entertainment in India. He railed at the court, at the King's officers and council, and used a strange liberty. He offered to be my interpreter, desiring I would pitch my tents by his, and he would propose whatever I would to the King. Much more passed between us, but at parting he pressed me to accept of a horse with a good furniture, which was brought to the door, but I refused him; and therefore he sent for nine pieces of Persian silks, and nine bottles of wine, that I might not depart without some testimony of his love, which I also refused with all expressions of affection. He looking earnestly upon my sword, I offered it, and he by my example would not receive. At night I visited the King, who spent his time sadly with an old man, after reading long letters, and few spoke to him. At his rising he gave this gentleman that sat by him, and was a cripple for age, five thousand roupies, and with many embraces took his leave. Here I met the Persian ambassador again, who after some compliments, repenting that he had refused my sword, which he had a liking to, begged it, declaring that liberty among friends was good manners in his country. We continued removing every other day about four or five cosses, and on the 7th came to the goodly river Shind. The 18th the King passed between two mountains, having cut the way through the woods, but with so much trouble and incumbrance to the baggage, that it was left behind, without any provision for man or beast. I found my tents at midnight, having taken up my lodging till then under a tree. This country is full of thieves, and not perfectly under obedience, but as it is kept by force. It belongs to a Raja, who desires not to see the King. The exactor complained, and some few of the people that fled being taken and chained by the necks, were presented to the King; the rest kept the mountains. At night the King fired the town by which he lay, and appointed a new governor of the quarter to re-edify and re-people it, and to reduce it to more civility. He left him some horse to perform this. The 20th those that had fled into the woods, in revenge for the burning of their town, set upon a company of stragglers left behind, killing many and robbing the rest. The 22d having no news of the presents I expected from Surat, I went to visit the King at night, to observe how he received me: I found him sitting after a new manner, so that I was to seek what place to choose. Being loth to mix with his great men, as was offered, and doubting to go into the room where the King was, which was cut down the bank of a river, and none near him but Etimon Doulet his father-in-law, Asaph Chan, and three or four others; I went to the brink and stood alone. The King observed me, and let me stay a while, and then smiling, called me in, and with his hand directed me to stand by him; a favour so unusual, that it pleased and honoured me, and I soon found the effects of it in the behaviour of other men. He provoked me to talk, and I called for an interpreter; he refused it, pressing me to make use of what Persian words I had. Our discourse had not much sense or coherence, but he was pleased with it, and showed his approbation in a very courteous manner.

The 24th news came to court, that the Decans would not be frightened out of their liberty at the hearing of the Mogul's approach, as Asaph Chan and Normahall had pretended, to persuade this expedition; but that they had sent their baggage far into the country, and lay on the borders with fifty thousand horse, resolving to give battle. The Sultan Corone was as yet advanced no farther than Mandoa, being afraid both of the enemy and Chan Channa. Hereupon these counsellors altered their advice, declaring to the Mogul, that they imagined the Decan would have yielded upon the dread of

of his approach, before he had passed the last hills; but finding the contrary, they persuaded him to convert it into a hunting journey, and to turn his face towards Agra, for that the Decan was not an enemy worth his exposing his person. He replied, this consideration came too late, for his honour was engaged, having advanced so far; and therefore he would follow their first council, and his own resolution. He daily sent away fresh troops to his son, both from his own army, and from several governments; they were reported to be thirty thousand horse, but the musters were not so high. Water was sometimes scarce in the camp, and provisions grew daily dear, the country being not well reduced. The King not feeling it, took no care, and his Chans are followed by their provisions, so that they did not inform him; the whole burden lay upon strangers, soldiers, and the poor, who were worst able to bear it. Every other day the King removed three, four, or five cosses, yet the 29th we were sixty short of Mandoa.

February the 3d, leaving the road of the leskar for my ease, and the benefit of the shade, and resting under a tree, Sultan Corsorone on a sudden came upon me, seeking the same conveniency. This was the King's eldest son, before mentioned to have been confined by the practices of his brother Sultan Corone, and his faction, and taken out of their hands by the King at his setting out from Adsmere, as was there observed. He was now mounted on an elephant, with no great guard or attendants. His people desired me to give him room, which I did, but staid to see him, who called for me; and having asked some civil and familiar questions with much courtesy and affability, he departed. His person is comely, his countenance cheerful, his beard grown to his girdle. This only I observed, that his questions shewed ignorance of all that was done at court, insomuch that he had never heard of any English, or their ambassador. The 4th and 5th we did not rest, and the 6th at night came to a little tower newly repaired, where the King pitched in a pleasant place upon the river Sepra, one cosse short of Ugen, the chief city of Mulwa. This place, called Calleada, was formerly a seat of the heathen kings of Mandoa, one of whom was there drowned in his drink, who being once before fallen into the river, and taken up by the hair of the head by a slave that dived, and come to himself, it was told him to procure a reward. He called for his deliverer, and asking how he durst put his hands on his sovereign's head, he caused them to be cut off. Not long after sitting alone with his wife and drunk, he had the same fortune to slip into the water, but so that she might easily have saved him, which she did not; and being asked why? replied, she knew not whether he might not cut off her hands for her reward. The 10th we removed one cosse beyond Ugen. The 11th the King rode to Ugen to speak with a dervise, or religious man, living on a hill, who is reported to be three hundred years old. I thought this miracle not worth my examining. This day I received advice by a foot-post, that the Prince had stopt the presents as they were coming to me, but not broken them open, hoping to compel the English to consent to it, which by my orders they would not do. The Prince at the same time sent to the King to acquaint him with his stopping some goods, without mentioning they were presents, and to desire his leave to buy what he thought fit. This faithless proceeding of the Prince, contrary to his word, and orders under his hand, obliged me to have recourse to the King for redress, being now blameless in the eyes of all the world for taking this course. I was afraid to go to Asaph Chan to introduce me, lest if he knew of the wrong done he should prevent me; and yet I durst not well provoke him by using any other means. The prophet, dervise, or religious man the King went to visit, offered me an opportunity of doing my business; and my new interpreter, a Greek I had sent for from Adsmere, was ready. I rode and met His Majesty

on

on his elephant, and alighted, making signs to speak. The King turned his monster to me, and prevented me; saying, my son has taken your goods and my presents, be not sad, he shall not touch nor open a seal or lock. At night I will send him a command to free them. He graciously added, That he knew I came full of complaint, and to ease me he began first. Upon the way I could do no more; but at night without further seeking to Asaph Chan, I went to the Guzalcan, resolving to prosecute the complaint of forcing back our goods, and all other grievances. As soon as I came in, the King called my interpreter, and declared by his own that he had written and sent his command very effectually, that not a hair should be diminished. I replied, the injury was such, and the charge and abuses of our liberty by the Prince's officers, that I desired redress, being no longer able to endure it. It was answered, that what was past I must remit to his son; but by Asaph Chan's mediation I could procure nothing but good words, for he smoothed on both sides. So I was forced to seem content, and to seek an opportunity in the absence of my false friend and procurator. The good King fell to dispute of the laws of Moses, Christ and Mahomet, and in his drink was so kind, that he turned to me, and said, if I am a King you shall be welcome, Christians, Moors, and Jews; he meddled not with their faith, they came all in love, and he would protect them from wrong; they lived under his protection, and none should oppress them. This he often repeated, but being very drunk, fell to weeping and into divers passions, and so kept us till midnight.

I was much concerned to see the factors had detained the presents four months at Surat, and by this delay given occasion for them to fall into the Prince's hands. It was a second wrong to us that we could receive no redress of the first. Therefore considering that the complaint I had already made against the Prince had sufficiently incensed him, I thought since we must lose him quite, the best way was to use all my interest with the King. I waited for an opportunity of doing it effectually; and immediately sent back the messenger that came to me from Mr. Terry, with orders to stay wherever he met him, and expect the King's commands. During this time the King had caused the chests to be privately brought to him, and had opened them, which I resolved not to put up; and having obtained audience, made my complaint. He received me with much mean flattery, more unworthy him than even the action he had done. I suppose he did it to appease me, seeing by my countenance I was highly provoked. He told me he had found several things that pleased him extremely, and among them two embroidered sweet-bags, two glass cabinets, and the mastiff dogs. That if I would not give him any of those things, he would restore them, for he would have me pleased. I answered, there was little but what was designed for him, but that this was not a civil way of dealing with the King my master, and I knew not how to give him to understand that his presents had been seized, and not delivered by me as he had appointed. That some of the presents were for the Prince, and some for Queen Normahall; the rest to remain in my hands, to make use of as occasion offered, to move His Majesty to protect us against the wrongs offered us by strangers. That there were some few for my friends and for my own use; the rest belonged to the merchants, and were not at my disposal. He desired me not to take it ill that he had caused them to be brought to him; that those things had pleased him so well, he had not the patience to stay till I presented them, and he thought he had done me no wrong, believing it was my intention he should be first served in the distribution of the presents. As for the King of England he would satisfy him, and make my excuse. That the Prince, Queen Normahall and he, were all one; and for the presents to be kept to use as occasion offered, that was a needless ceremony; for he would give me an audience at any time,

and

and I should be well received, though I came empty-handed, he being sensible it was not my fault that I came so. Then he began to talk of his son, and told me he would restore part of what he had taken, and satisfy the merchants for what belonged to them. In conclusion, he desired me not to take what he had done in ill part, for he had no design to wrong me. I made no answer to all this: whereupon he pressed me to speak my mind; asking me several times whether I was satisfied. I replied, I was very well pleased to see His Majesty was so. Then he began to reckon up all the things he had taken, beginning with the mastiffs, the sweet-bags, and the case for combs and razors; and smiling said, You would not have me restore those things, for I have a mind to them. Thus he proceeded, asking about the rest, and caused a chest of pictures to be brought, which were taken out; and there being among them one of a Venus leading a satyr by the nose, he shewed it to all about him, bidding them to expound the signification of it, observing the satyr's horns, the blackness of his skin, and other particulars. Every man spoke as he thought, but the King liked none of their expositions, yet reserved his own thoughts, and asked me what it meant, who told him it was only the painter's fancy, who often represented the fables writ by poets, which was all I could say of it. Then he put the same question to Mr. Terry my chaplain, who could give him no better satisfaction. Whereupon he said, Why do you bring me what you do not understand? I replied, the minister did not concern himself with such things, and only came with them to look to them on the road. This I relate for the information of the gentlemen of the East-India Company, and of all that shall hereafter come in my place, and advise them for the future not to send into those parts things that may be liable to an ill construction, for those people are very jealous. For though the King would not declare his opinion, yet by what he said I had ground to believe he thought that picture was made in derision of the people of Asia, whom he supposed to be represented by the satyr, as being of their complexion, and that Venus leading him by the nose denoted the great power the women in that country have over the men. He was satisfied I had never seen the picture, and therefore pressed no further for me to tell my opinion of it, but believed me to be really ignorant as I pretended. Yet this suspicion remained in his mind, and without expressing any distaste, he told me he accepted of the picture as a present from me. As for the saddle and other trifles, he said he would have them sent to his son for whom they were fit, promising to write to him so effectually, that I should not stand in need of any solicitor near him. After some more discourse about other trifles, he said I must needs help him to one of our large horses, to a brace of Irish greyhounds, dog and bitch, and other sorts of dogs of all sorts of game; which if I would procure him, he protested on the word of a Prince, he would gratify me, and grant me more privileges than I should think of asking. I answered, I would order them to be put aboard the next ships, but could not answer they would outlive so tedious a voyage; but in case they died, to convince him I had obeyed his commands, the skins and bones should be brought him. Upon this promise he bowed to me several times, laid his hand on his breast, and shewed me so much kindness, favour, and familiarity, that all there present protested he had never done the like to any man. This was the reward I had; but he said further he would make amends for the wrong he had done me, and send me home to my country loaden with favours worthy a person of my rank. Nevertheless perceiving I had only fair words for the merchandize, I again asked His Majesty for the pieces of velvet and silks, as commodities belonging to the merchants, making him believe the merchants had put them into those chests, only to prevent their falling into the hands of the Prince's officers. He sent for Mr. Biddolfe to agree with and satisfy him. Then I presented a memorial containing the

 privileges

privileges and franchiſes I deſired, ſaying, if he would not grant them, I ſhould have the diſſatisfaction of being uſeleſs in my employment to my Prince, and conſequently return home in diſgrace. I preſſed the payment of a debt. He anſwered, I ſhould have ſatisfaction in all things, and return home to my Prince with honour; that he would ſend him a noble preſent by me, and with it a letter certifying the good ſervice I had done. Then he preſſed me to tell him what preſent I thought would be moſt acceptable. I ſaid, it would not look well in me to aſk a preſent; that it was not the cuſtom of our country; that it was againſt my maſter's honour to do any ſuch thing: but that I was ſure His Majeſty would receive any thing he ſent with much ſatiſfaction, as coming from a Prince for whom he had a great eſteem. He was ſo earneſt with me, and made ſuch proteſtations of ſincerity, that I was forced to tell him that the great Perſian carpets were proper to ſend, becauſe my maſter did not expect preſents of great value. Whereupon he told me he would chuſe a good quantity of all ſorts and ſizes, and add what he thought moſt proper to convince the King of the eſteem he had for him. There was a quantity of all ſorts of game laid before him. He gave me half a buck, and told me at the ſame time he had killed it with his own hand, and deſigned the other half for his women. That half was accordingly cut in pieces of about four pounds weight each, and immediately the King's third ſon and two women came out of the Seraglio, and took up thoſe pieces of fleſh in their hands, and carried them into the Seraglio, as if they had been beggars that had received them for charity. He then repeated his expreſſions of deſire to ſatiſfy me; and added, I have often admired, that your maſter having ſent you with the character of ambaſſador, your preſents have been inferior to thoſe a merchant you have ſeen here has brought, which have gained him the affection of all men. For you as an ambaſſador, your behaviour ſpeaks you a man of quality, and yet I cannot underſtand why you are kept here with ſo little of grandeur. I am ſatisfied it is not yours nor your Prince's fault, and I will make you ſenſible I value you more than thoſe that ſent you. I will ſend you home with honour, and give you a preſent for your maſter without regarding thoſe I have received; and in return I deſire but one thing of you, which I do not care to commit to the merchants. It is to get me a quiver made in your country to carry my arrows, a caſe for my bow, a pattern whereof ſhall be given you, a pillow after my manner to ſleep on, a pair of buſkins, which you ſhall cauſe to be embroidered in England the richeſt that may be, and a coat of mail for my own wearing. I promiſed to ſend for them, and Aſaph Chan was commanded to give patterns. The night being ſpent in this diſcourſe, the Prince roſe up and diſmiſſed me.

March the 3d, I came to Mandoa: the King was expected to make his entry there, but the day was not yet fixed; for he expected the aſtrologers ſhould aſſign an auſpicious hour for performing that ceremony, ſo we ſtaid without, waiting that happy moment. The ſixth I went into Mandoa. My ſervants, whom I had ſent to take up my quarters, had taken poſſeſſion of a large incloſure ſhut in with good walls, where there was a temple and tomb. Some perſons belonging to the court had alſo taken up their quarters there; but that did not hinder me from keeping poſſeſſion, as being the beſt quarter in the town. It might have been made convenient in all reſpects with a very little charge. The air was wholeſome, and the proſpect pleaſant; for the houſe was on the top of a riſing ground. This inconveniency there was, that it was two miles from the King's palace. The 11th I ſet out to go meet the King, but was told, that a lion having killed ſome horſes of his train, he was gone out to hunt him. I ſpent ſome time in ſeeking water; for though the city was on a hill, there were no wells nor ciſterns; ſuch is the forecaſt of thoſe people. All that multitude of people there was in danger

of perishing with th[illegible] The [illegible] court had taken possession of those few wells there were in the cou[illegible] about, so that I could [illegible] for all beasts and camels to be sent out. All that had [illegible] The great men [illegible] no water. All the poor people were forced to leave the [illegible] and an order was sent forth [illegible] habitations three or four leagues from thence. [illegible] your, were forced to seek other [illegible] He [illegible] pro- visions dear. For my own part I [illegible] duced much confusion at court, and made [illegible] for my house was very good; and thoug[illegible] ently troubled to think what I should do, thought I could live there more commodiously far from the markets and water, yet I have gone to encamp. I mounted on horse-back [illegible] the open country, where I must well that was guarded for a Chan, to whom the King [illegible] water myself, and found a how much I stood in need of his favour, and he granted me it. I acquainted him I valued this favour as it deserved, and returned to my quarters [illegible] of water a day. ing the following days sold some goods, and eased myself of part of my [illegible] and hav[illegible] livered myself from the public calamity. I cannot but declare, that in m[illegible] I de[illegible] lowing the Mogul's court, I endured all the inconveniencies men are subject to unde[illegible] ill government, and in an intemperate climate.

The 12th of March I presented the King for a new-years gift a couple of fine knives and six glasses, from the Company; and he took in good part the excuse I made for the smallness of the present. He commanded one of his officers to call Mr. Biddolfe immediately, and to pay him what he demanded. All our creditors had orders at the same time to pay what they owed the Company. Then the King ordered me to come up the steps of his throne, and draw near him: I obeyed, and found the Persian ambassador on the one side of him, and the old King of Candahar on the other. As soon as I had taken my place near that Prince, he asked me for a knife, which I sent him the next day. Then the King called the Persian ambassador, and gave him some stones and a young elephant. He knelt, and knocked his head against the steps of the throne to thank him. This was the same throne that served the year before, and was then mentioned, having the same ornaments about it. Over the throne were the pictures of the King my master, the Queen, the Lady Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Smith, and some others. Under it were two very fine Persian carpets. The throne itself, as has been said, was of gold set with rubies, emeralds, and Turkey stones. On one side upon a little stage or scaffold was a company of women-musicians. The 30th of this month I sent Asaph Chan a compliment with a present of a pair of gloves and a curious night cap. He sent back the gloves, as of no use in that country; but the cap he received, and sent to beg some Spanish wine of me, which I sent him the next day. The 21st I discovered the Mogul was jealous that the English intended to steal away out of his country, and that they had some design of surprizing Surat; which the Prince had instilled into him, that he might have an opportunity of fortifying that place for his own use: but I satisfied His Majesty as to both points. The complaints made at that court of the misdemeanors of officers are so odious there, that they gained me the ill-will of all the men of note; who made this their own concern, as being the common cause. For they farm all the governments in the kingdom, where they exercise all manner of tyrannical exactions upon those under their jurisdiction, and will not suffer the knowledge of the wrongs they do to reach the King's ear. They grind the people under their government to get money out of them; and are afraid the King should know it; and this made me looked upon, and hated in the Mogul's court as an informer.

The 30th of April the Persian ambassador sent to excuse himself to me, for going away without paying his respects to me. His messenger told me he was not sick as he pretended; but that finding no success in his negociations with the King, he had taken his

privileges and franchiſes I deſired, ſaying, if he would not, in return, preſented the diſſatisfaction of being uſeleſs in my employment to diſſatisfaction at that gift. return home in diſgrace. I preſſed the payment of a d one of them of the ambaſſa- ſatisfaction in all things, and return home to my ower much than what they were ſend him a noble preſent by me, and with it ie meaneſt thinsg the King had given done. Then he preſſed me to tell him in Spaniſh wine ſent him, with their prices, able. I ſaid, it would not look wel two liſts being laid before the ambaſſador, they of our country; that it was ay to make up the balance. This ill uſage made the I was ſure His Majeſty w a ſever to avoid viſiting Aſaph Chan and Etiman Doulet. ing from a Prince ſaid not croſs the town to ſee me without diſcovering the coun- made ſuch make amends he had ſent to let me know the truth, and would ſerve my carpets. country to the utmoſt of his power. I preſented him ſome Spaniſh wine, Wew knives.

May the 12th a lion and a wolf by night broke into my quarters, and fell upon ſome ſheep there were in the court. I ſent to aſk leave to kill them; for in that country none but the King may hunt a lion. Leave being granted, I went out into the court, the lion quitted his prey, and fell upon a little Iriſh maſtiff. One of my ſervants killed the wolf, and I ſent it the King.

June the 14th there was brought to the King a trunk, which the jeſuits had ſent from Cambaya, in which there were medicines and a letter. It was betrayed into the King's hands by him that was entruſted with the carriage of it. The King opened the trunk, cauſed a jeſuit that was then at court to be brought to read the letter, and looked into all the boxes; but finding nothing for his turn, reſtored all to the jeſuit. This I men- tion here as a caution to thoſe who deal in that country to take care what they write or ſend; for it is that Prince's humour to look into the meaneſt things, and the moſt in- conſiderable trifles are in danger when in his hands.

The 30th of July I received advice from Surat that two Dutch ſhips were run aground on the coaſt of Damam. They were loaded with ſpice and China ſilks, and bound for the Red ſea; but meeting with bad weather, they had loſt the ſeaſon for getting into that ſea. They tried to recover Socotora, or ſome port on the coaſts of Arabia; but failing, reſolved to run as far as Surat, hoping to ride it out in that road, as they had done other years: but now they found all years are not alike; for when they were come to an anchor, they were obliged by ſtorms to cut down their maſts by the board. After which, their cables failing, they were caſt upon a bank of ſand. The leſſer veſſel of fifty ton was beaten all to pieces; the other ſaved all the men, and moſt of the goods.

Auguſt the 21ſt, Marre Ruſtan King of Candahar came to viſit me. I treated him with wine and fruit. He ſtaid with me about half an hour, and concluded his viſit, begging a caſk of wine. This day Prince Sultan Corſorone went out of his priſon, and came to take the air in a houſe near mine. The other Prince Sultan Corone had taken a wife at Brampore, againſt the King's will, who had declared his diſlike of it; and at the ſame time there was a diſcovery of ſome practices of his againſt his brother's life. He was ordered to come to court to clear himſelf. Queen Normahall and Aſaph Chan, by the advice of Etiman Doulet, propoſed an alliance with Sultan Corſorone. This news produced an univerſal joy among the people, who now began to hope that good Prince would be reſtored to his full liberty.

The 1ſt of September being the King's birth-day, and of the ſolemnity of weighing him, I was conducted into a fine garden, where beſides others there was a great ſquare pond with trees ſet about it, and in the midſt of it a pavilion or tent, under which were

the scales the King was to be weighed in. The scales were of beaten gold, set with small stones, rubies, and turkoises; they hung by chains of gold, and for more surety there were silk ropes. The beam was covered with plates of gold. The great lords of the nation sat about the throne on rich carpets, expecting the King's coming out. At length he appeared covered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. He had several strings of them about his neck, arms, wrists and turban, and two or three rings on every finger. His sword, buckler, and throne were also covered with precious stones. Among the rest I saw rubies as big as walnuts, and pearls of a prodigious magnitude. He got into one of the scales, sitting on his legs like a tailor. Into the other scale to weigh against him, were put several parcels, which they changed six times. The country people told me they were full of silver, and that the King that day weighed 9000 roupies. Then they put into the same scale gold and precious stones; but being packed up I saw them not. After that he was weighed against cloth of gold, silks, callicoes, spices, and all other sorts of precious commodities, if we may believe the natives, for all those things were packed up. Lastly, he was weighed against honey, butter, and corn; and I was informed all that was be to distributed among the Banians; but I think that distribution was not made, and all those things were carefully carried back. They told me all the money was kept for the poor, the King using to cause some to be brought at night, and to distribute that money among them very charitably. Whilst the King was in one of the scales, he looked upon me and smiled, but said never a word, perhaps because he did not see my interpreter, who could not get in with me. After being weighed, he ascended the throne. Before him there were basons full of almonds, nuts, and all sorts of fruit artificially made in silver. He threw about a great part of them, the greatest noblemen about him scrambled for them. I thought it not decent to do so; and the King observing it, took up one of those basons which was almost full, and poured it out into my cloak. His courtiers had the impudence to thrust in their hands so greedily, that had I not prevented them, they had not left me one. Before I came in, they had told me those fruits were of massive gold; but I found by experience they were only silver, and so light, that a thousand of them do not weigh the value of 20l. I saved the value of ten or twelve crowns, and those would have filled a large dish. I keep them to show the vanity of those people. I do not believe the King that day threw away much above the value of 100l. After this solemnity, the King spent all the night a drinking with his nobles: I was invited, but desired to be excused, because there was no avoiding drinking, and their liquors are so hot they will burn a man's very bowels. I was then ill of a flux, and durst not venture such a debauch.

September the 9th the King went to take the air upon the banks of the river Darbadat, and I took horse to meet him. It is the custom there that the masters of all the houses by whose doors the King passes must make him some present; which gift is called *maubarech*, signifying good news, or good success. These presents the King takes as a good omen of the success of what he has in hand. I had nothing to give him, and it was a shame to appear before him empty handed; besides, it had been ill manners in me not to be at home upon that day. I resolved therefore to present him an Atlas neatly bound, and make him this compliment, that my house affording nothing worthy the acceptance of so great a Prince, I presented him with all the world, he being master of so considerable and so wealthy a part of it. He received my present very courteously, often putting his hand to his breast, and protesting that any thing from me was always very acceptable to him. After other courteous expressions, he told me he had received some wild boars sent him from Goa extraordinary fat, and if I

would

would eat any he would fend me fome. I made my profound obeifance, and anfwered, I fhould receive any thing that came from His Majefty with the utmoft fatiffaction and refpect. He mounted his elephant, and having made a little halt before my lodging, liked it very well; for it was one of the beft in the camp, and I had built it out of the ruins of a temple and an ancient tomb. He took leave of me feveral times, and would needs have me return to my lodging becaufe the way was very bad. I took my leave, and obeyed him.

The 16th I went to pay the King of Candahar his vifit, who fent me word at his door, that he could not receive me without the King's leave, or acquainting Etiman Doulet or Afaph Chan, which he would do at the durbar. I fent him word he might fpare his labour, for I would take care not to come a fecond time to a perfon fo ill bred. His fervants would have ftaid me to carry in my anfwer, but I went away, and at night was at court, where the King afked me feveral queftions about my book of maps.

The 25th, though I was very weak, I went again to court to fee whether there was any thing to be expected from the King in relation to our debts. One of our debtors had lately given me to underftand, he could not pay without felling his houfe. I prefented the merchant's petition to the King, who caufed it to be read aloud, and would hear the names of the debtors, what fecurity they had given, and what fums they owed. Afaph Chan read it: then the King called Aradet Chan the lord fteward of his houfhold, and the Cutwall, and gave them fome directions which I underftood not. As the names were read he enquired into their quality, and what commodities had been fold them. It appeared that fome of them were dead, and others were not the King's fubjects. As for what concerned Sulph, Afaph Chan undertook to fpeak to the Prince about it, and conclude that affair when he came. Then my interpreter was called in, and the King turning to me, told me our merchants had trufted that money according to their own fancies, and to whom they pleafed; that they had not prefented him an inventory of their goods, and therefore if their debtors were not folvent it was their own fault, and they could not expect he fhould pay the debts of private perfons. I thought he meant that of Ergon an officer of his, who was lately dead, and all his goods feized for the King. His Majefty added, that this being the firft time he would eafe me of my trouble, and fee me paid; but that if for the future the merchants fold their goods to his officers without acquainting him, it fhould be at their own peril; but if when the Englifh fhips came they would deliver him an inventory of all their goods, he would take what was for his own turn, and diftribute the reft among others; and if any of thefe proved infolvent, he would pay it out of his own pocket. This is the cuftom of the merchants of Perfia, who carry all they have to the King; and he having taken what he likes for himfelf, diftributes the reft among his nobility. His notaries enter what every man receives, and another officer fettles the price. The merchant has a copy of this entry given him, and he has nothing to do but to go to their houfes for his money. If they happen to be backward, there is a proper officer that makes them pay by force. Then my interpreter was informed what order the King had given, which was, that Arad Chan fhould make the creditors appear before him, and oblige them to pay. Our merchants were not pleafed with this anfwer, but I thought it very juft, and more favourable than could be expected by private perfons from fo great a Prince.

The [illegible] the King fent two Omrahs, who are great commanders, with fome forces, to apprehend a Raja of the Rafbutes, who had rebelled, and was in the mountains, twenty coffes from the camp. That rebel ftood his ground, and in a battle killed one

of

of the Omrahs, and twelve captains. This news being brought to the King he thought it proper to send his son to reduce the Raja.

October the 2d, Prince Sultan Corone made his entry into the town, attended by the chief nobility in great splendor. The King, contrary to our expectation, received him as if he had been his only son; all the great men and the King's mother went five cosses out of town to meet him. I excused myself on account of my weakness.

The 5th I received advice that our admiral was not yet arrived at Surat, and that the ships of the company in their way thither had rescued a ship of the Queen-Mother's coming from the Red Sea, which was chased by two English pirates. If this ship had been taken, it would have been of very ill consequence to us. The 6th I went to visit the Prince upon his arrival, having need of him for our business. I designed to offer him the service of our nation, and present him with a gold chain made in China. When I sent to desire audience, word was brought me I might come in the morning at break of day, or stay till he went out to see the King, which I might have done at the door. I took this as an affront, having never been refused audience by his father; and therefore shewed my resentment, saying, I was none of his slaves, but free, and the ambassador of a King, and would take care not to visit or make court to him any more; and since he refused me justice, I would for the future seek it elsewhere: accordingly at night I went to the King, who received me with much civility. I bowed to the Prince, and he would not take notice he saw me. I gave the King an account of what he had required of me, and told him, I had brought an inventory of goods in pursuance to his commands. He asked several questions, and seemed well pleased at what was in the inventory, promising me all favours and privileges I could desire: He asked whether our ships had brought any pearls, or precious stones; to which I answered, they were dearer in England than in his dominions; which answer seemed to satisfy him. I durst not say there were pearls, fearing that would set the prince upon persecuting our people; besides, I thought those pearls would be the more valued being the less expected, and hoped to make a friend with them; and therefore when Asaph Chan press'd me to tell him whether we had any jewels, I declared to him, I would have him second the answer I had given, that they were dearer in England than in India, and I had something to say to him in private: he took me at half a word, and said no more. The King seeming to me to be then in a good disposition towards us, I thought it proper season to mention our debts; and having then the petition ready drawn about me, took it out, and held it up to present it. The King having his thoughts perhaps otherwise employed at that time, did not observe it; but his courtiers presently imagined what it might be, and believing he would be very angry that his orders were not obeyed, one of them slily drew near, and pulled down my hand, desiring not to present that petition to the King. I told him, Aradet had refused to do me justice. He hearing what I said was very uneasy, and applying himself to Asaph Chan, desired him not to let me make my complaint, I urged, our ships being now come, we could suffer no longer delays and loss of time. They consulted what was to be done, and calling for the Cutwall, told him he must execute the King's orders. This same night our debtors tents were beset, others were pursued, so that I believe this time we shall have justice done us. I had many thanks returned me for the civility used by the English towards the passengers that were aboard the Queen-Mother's ship, and for protecting that vessel against the pirates of our nation. They represented the thing well to the King, and the great men told me they had reason to love the English; that they would do us all service in their

power;

power; but that they wondered our King could not command his subjects, and that any should presume to take ships out of the kingdom without his leave. Asaph Chan and I withdrew to translate the inventory into Persian for the King: I somewhat increased the article of the money, that he might have the better opinion of our trade. I concluded, desiring His Majesty to allow us the liberty of selling the rest. That done, Asaph Chan put me in mind I had something to say to him in private. I told him it was true, I had some rarities come, but I had fared so ill the last year by having my secret divulged, that now I durst trust none but him; and therefore on his word of secrecy and advice, I declared I had a pearl of a great value, and some other rarities, and knew not whether I should tell the king, lest the Prince should become our utter enemy. I gave him an account of what happened going to visit him in the morning, that I was still sensible we stood in need of his favour, and had therefore kept that pearl to make him our friend, to which I desired his advice. He embraced me, and said I had done wisely, but must keep the secret, or it would breed me trouble; that the Prince was a tyrant, and misused all strangers. All this I saw tended to get the pearl out of my hands, advising me to send for it and trust no man, telling me instances of the ill-usage of the Portugueses upon the like occasions; that if I would sell him the pearl, he would deposit the money I should value it at in the hands of a third person; and in return for the confidence I reposed in him, he would solicit our business which could never be done without him. I said I would serve him, but feared he would reveal the secret: he swore he would keep it, and to make the oath the more solemn, we squeezed one another's thumbs, as is the custom of the country. I promised on my part to rely wholly on him, and do all things according to his direction. He said he would get me orders that our goods should not be touched, but left wholly at my disposal; that he would reconcile the Prince and me, and I should be better used than I had been; have a particular judge assigned that should take care of our business, and all the satisfaction we could wish. He said it would be proper to make his sister Queen Normahall a present, and she would prevail with the King to give me money. To this I replied, I had rather His Majesty should bestow his favours on our nation in general. Then he carried me to the King, to whom I presented the inventory translated: I had a favourable reception. He asked me whether there was any tapestry? I said some was sent me, if it were not seized by the way by the Prince's order. He said he would take a good quantity of our cloths, and other commodities, directing me to have them brought, and Asaph Chan to draw up the order for their free passage. I was well pleased with this day's success; for though experience had taught me that there was no faith among those barbarians, yet I had no cause to mistrust Asaph Chan, when it was his interest to be faithful to me, till he had got the pearl, which he might otherwise have missed of; nor could I suspect him afterwards, because he could not betray my secret without discovering his own falsehood to the Prince.

The 12th Asaph Chan according to promise went with me to the Prince, who received me in his chamber, where I presented him a small gold chain made in China, on a salver of that country. Asaph Chan persuaded him to deal more kindly with us than he had done, representing the profit our trade would yield him, and the loss it would be if we went away. The Prince immediately directed his secretary to draw the order to our mind, and write a letter to the governor to see it executed; adding I should have any other letter I desired. This made me sensible of the poor spirits of those people. Asaph Chan was become so much our friend in hopes to buy some trifles, that he would have betrayed his own son to serve us, and was my humble servant. He would needs send one of his servants aboard our ships to this purpose,

which I could not refuse him; besides, it is no loss to us, for he is a good pay-master, bought by wholesale what we must have sold by retail, and saved us the charge of carriage. He obtained an order from the Prince to this effect, and writ a kind letter to the governor in our behalf. I now also obtained an order from the Prince for Bengala, which before he would not hear me speak of. Afterwards I found he prosecuted our debtors, as if they had been his own; and as he passed before the Cutwall's house, called him out to bid him be speedy in our business, which was an unparalleled favour. The next day Asaph Chan sent one of his servants in the Queen's name to acquaint me she had obtained another order from the Prince, that all our goods for the future should be under her protection; that this was done, and she was about sending one to see what else we wanted, and take care that no wrong was offered us. Asaph Chan sent word he had done this for fear of the Prince's passionate temper, and his delays in those affairs: but now we might be secure, since his sister had undertook our protection, for the Prince would meddle in it no more; and that he engaged on his honour that all things directed for me should be delivered to me. That she had sent a positive order directing the person that carried it to be assisting to our factors, that they might have no cause to complain of the officers of Surat. She further desired me to write to the captain of the ship and to the factors, to be kind to her messenger, and let him buy some of those toys that had been laid aside. This I could not refuse, but gave her a list of them, upon condition she would shew me a copy of the order, which was sealed. This shews how easy it is to sell such commodities here. Last year they did not regard us; now the list or inventory is translated, yet without mentioning the pearls I had given the King, every one runs to buy. Most of the great men at court desired me to give them letters to send their servants to deal with our factors; so that if I had been furnished with three times the quantity of goods, they had been sold aboard the ships, and we had saved the duties, carriage, and the seizures made before. I writ to our factors to sell to Normahall's and her brother's servants what goods they desired, even of those set apart, that I might be supported by their interest at court.

The 24th the King went twenty-four cosses from Mandoa. He went from place to place on the mountains; and nobody knowing what he intended, we were at a loss what way to take. The 26th I got an order for ten camels at the King's rates. The 29th I set out, being forced to quit my quarters which were so inconvenient. The 30th I came to the King's tents, who was gone a hunting for ten days, none going with him, but such as he had named. His camp was dispersed and scattered about the country, the water was bad, and provisions dear, much sickness, and other inconveniences; but nothing diverts him from taking his pleasure, when he sets on it. I was informed he had not yet resolved whether he should go to Agra or Guzerat; the latter was most talked of, but the former seemed more probable, because his council thought that a more commodious and pleasant place than the other. To me either was indifferent, because I had no prospect but the compassing my business. Therefore seeing he might stay there a month, I concluded it was the best way to have my presents brought thither, and endeavour to conclude my business, hoping after that I might obtain some rest, which I needed, being very ill, and wanting conveniencies, whilst I followed the court, to recover my health.

November the 2d Steele and Jackman came to me with their pearls, and some other inconsiderable things they had brought ashore privately by my order. These men came with projects of water works to me, made to advance the sale of lead, which I did not approve of, for good reasons; but was satisfied they should make a trial, to please them; and bid them bring their workmen to Amadabat, where with the assistance of

Mocreb Chan, the only man there that loves new inventions, I would offer their service to the King, and see what conditions he would propose; though I was of opinion it was labour and money lost. The company should not so easily give ear to these projectors, who generally mind their own profit more than theirs that employ them. The other project, to oblige the caravans and merchants of Lahor and Agra, who travel generally into Persia through Candahar, to change their method, and send their goods down the river Indus, to be put aboard our ships, and so conveyed into the Gulph of Persia, is a mere chimæra never to be reduced to practice; for though it is easy to run down the river, the Portugueses have a residence at the mouth of it; and then it is a matter of much difficulty to return up the river; besides that, they must insure their commodities. There are many other reasons against this design too long to insert, and needless, because there is no probability the thing should ever be put in execution. The third project of uniting the trade of the Red sea with this, is what I have always recommended, and has already begun to be practised. The danger of pirates in these seas is great, and therefore I did not question but many merchants would put their goods aboard our ships, which would make our friendship necessary for these people; and I advised to employ one of our ships this year in that trade, which might return in September. This I earnestly recommended to the captains and factors; and if executed, the company would find the advantage. Were it my own concern, most of the ships being light by reason of the small stowage the goods here take up, I would send them to the Red sea, though they were empty, for there are many good hits in that sea; and though they did nothing but bring back the goods you have at Mocca, and other ports in that sea, it would pay the charge of the voyage. Steele, Kerridge, and others, are very fond of their notions, insomuch that they do not pay me the respect they ought, and are every day at daggers-drawn with my parson. I have told Steele, his wife cannot live in this country, for she would draw many inconveniences on us, and therefore [illegible] must send her back into England.

The 6th I went to Asaph Chan, and shewed him the pearls according to promise. He told me they were not fit for that country, which was afterwards confirmed to me by others; yet he was so pleased I had kept my word with him, that I believe I may say as Pharaoh did, "The land is before you, settle where you please." We spoke not of the price of the great pearl. He promised to keep the secret, assuring me that for my sake, and because I had confided in him, he would give more for it than it was worth, and pay ready money; for he had a great deal, and would lend me some if I had occasion. I had all imaginable good words from him, and some good actions. He further told me, there was little difference in that country between giving and selling, which I found by experience to be true. After this familiar discourse in his bed-chamber, he rose up to go to dinner, and invited me and my retinue. I dined at a table apart, because they make a scruple of eating with us.

I mentioned before that the King had sent me three criminals condemned to death, offering them to me to buy them as slaves, which is there looked upon as a favour, and what answer I returned. The King ordered the prisoners to be sent to me, and [illegible] him, hoped it was expected I should send him the money; but I hearing [illegible] more of [illegible] forgot, and took no care to pay it. [illegible] night the King's officers brought the prisoners to my steward's house, [illegible] took his word for sixty roupies, which I paid, and set them at liberty. This money is pretended to satisfy those that have been wronged, but the King takes it himself, and makes his advantage of his great men's charity, who look upon it as a favour that he gives them this occasion to exercise it.

The

The 10th I visited Asaph Chan, on account of a complaint I received that we were not allowed to lay our ships ashore, the Prince having been informed we intended to build a fort at Soali, and that our ships were to that purpose loaded with bricks and lime. This jealousy sprung from our men bringing their ships ashore to careen them. The report was so hot, that I was forced to go to court to clear myself, and had much ado to undeceive the King; this conceit being more strongly fixed in them, because I had not long before asked a port of the King for that purpose. Yet this did not prevent his sending down a body of horse to demolish a brick fort that was at the mouth of that river. They disarmed our men, but the arms were put into the custom-house, and only the sailors had theirs taken away. I told Asaph Chan I could not live in servitude; that there was no honour in a Prince who granted a favourable order one day, and recalled it the next; and that I should be blamed if I staid any longer after such usage. He said he would that night acquaint the King before the Prince, and return me his answer. The 30th he told me wonders of the Mogul's kindness for the King my master, my nation, and for me in particular; adding, he had run the hazard of losing the Prince's favour to serve us, but that he should soon be in a condition to do it effectually; for he was about being governor of Surat, which the Prince must quit, having the government of Amadabat and Cambaya conferred on him; and to demonstrate he was real, desired me to be with the King at night, with the King my master's letter translated into Persian, advising me to complain and desire leave to be gone, and I should see how he would second me. In the evening I attended the King, found a great court, presented my letter; and Etimon Doulet at the request of Asaph Chan read the Persian translation. The King said he would take upon him to conclude a peace between us and the Portugueses, answer His Majesty's letter, and perform all he desired in it. However I asked leave to return to England. The King and Prince had some contest about this matter, the latter saying he got nothing by our stay at Surat, and was willing we should be gone. Here Asaph Chan stood up boldly, and said the kingdom gained considerably by our trade, and was in some measure secured by it; that the Prince's officers used us ill, and it was impossible for us to stay without redress; and therefore it were better for His Majesty to dismiss us than keep us to suffer new wrongs. The Prince in a passion said he had never wronged us, but that on the contrary, at his suit, he had lately granted us an order. It is true, replied Asaph Chan, you granted them the order as they desired it, but ten days after you sent another to recal it; adding, that his honour suffered by this breach of faith; that he had no interest in it, and only spoke with respect to the King's justice and reputation. For our usage Asaph Chan referred it to me, who had often complained that our goods were taken from us forcibly these two years last past; that we could never get payment, and his officers still used the same violence every fleet that came; that if the Prince was weary of us, it were better for him to turn us out, and he might be sure we would do ourselves right upon the sea. Does the Prince, or the King, said he, maintain this ambassador? He is a stranger that follows the court at his own expence; if his goods are forcibly taken from him, and he can procure no payment, how can he subsist? This was spoke with much heat, and the King two or three times repeated violence, violence, severely checking the Prince. This open breach with the Prince succeeded as Asaph Chan had forecasted; for we were paid all that was due to us at Surat, and the custom-house officers had orders to treat us better for the future. I am satisfied had I not fallen out with the Prince, I should never have made good of it. I told the Prince's messenger before the English merchants, that if he offered any violence to me

or my merchants, it would cost him some blood; that I would ship myself aboard his own vessels, taking them out of his ports, and would carry them into England.

January the 30th the Dutch came to court with a present of several rarities brought out of China. They were not permitted to come near the third ascent. The Prince asked me who they were. I told him they were Dutch, and lived at Surat. He asked, whether they were our friends. I answered, they were a nation that depended on the King of England, and were not well received in all parts; that I knew not what brought them thither. Since they are your friends, said he, call them. I was forced to send for them to deliver their presents. They were placed near our merchants, without holding any discourse with them.

[Here ends all that is to be found of Sir Thomas Roe's Journal, the rest being lost; though Purchas in his extract says, there was nothing more material in it, but only what peculiarly related to trade, and the business of the company. It will not be amiss to add what little matter could be found worth the reader's knowledge in two volumes of Sir Thomas his letters, which have been perused to take out all that might be of use.]

An Extract of a Letter of Sir Thomas Roe's to the Company, dated at Adsmere, January the 25th 1615. Containing [illegible] remarkable, or not mentioned in the Journal.

AT my first audience, the Mogul received me graciously, bidding me welcome as to the brother of the King my master; and after many compliments I delivered His Majesty's letter, with a copy of it in Persian; then I shewed my commission, and delivered your presents, that is, the coach, the virginals, the knives, a scarf embroidered, and a rich sword of my own. He sitting in his state could not well see the coach, but sent many to view it, and caused the musician to play on the virginals, which gave him content. At night, having [illegible] coachman and a harness, he came down into a court, got into the coach, and into [illegible] it, causing it to be drawn about. Then he sent to me, though it were ten o'clock at night, for a servant to put on his scarf and sword after the English fashion, which he was so proud of, that he walked up and down, drawing and flourishing it, and has never since been without it. But after the English were come away, he asked the Jesuit, whether the King of England were a great King, that sent presents of so small value, and that he looked for some jewels; yet rarities please as well; and if you were yearly furnished from Frankfort, where there are all sorts of knacks and new devices, a hundred pounds would go further than five hundred laid out in England, and be more acceptable here. This country is spoiled by the many presents that have been given, and it will be chargeable to follow the example. There is nothing more welcome here, nor did I ever see men so fond of drink, as the King and Prince are of red wine, whereof the governor of Surat sent up some bottles, and the King has ever since solicited for more: I think four or five casks of that wine will be more welcome than the richest jewel in Cheapside; large pictures on cloth, the frames in pieces, but they must be good, and for variety some story with many faces. For the Queen, fine needle-work toys, bone laces, cutwork, and some handsome wrought waistcoats, sweet-bags, and cabinets will be most convenient. I would wish you to spare sending scarlet, it is dear to you, and no better esteemed here than stammel. I must add, that any fair China bedsteads, or cabinets, or trunks of Japan, are here rich presents.

Lately

Lately the King of Visapour sent his ambassador with thirty-six elephants, two of them with all their chains of wrought beaten gold, two of silver, the rest of brass, and four rich furnished horses, with jewels to the value of ten lecks of roupies. Yet withal he sent China ware, and one figure of chrystal, which the King valued more than all that mass of wealth.

This place is either made, or of itself unfit for an ambassador; for though they understand the character, yet they have much ado to understand the privileges due to it, and the rather because they have been too humbly sought to before.

Extract of a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Dated at Adjmere, January 29, 1615.

LAWS these people have none written; the King's judgment binds, who sits and gives sentence once a week, with much patience, both in civil and criminal causes, where sometimes he sees the execution done by his elephants, with too much delight in blood.

His governors of provinces rule by his firmans, which are his letters, or commissions authorizing them, and take life and goods at pleasure.

There are many religions, and in them many sects. Moors or Mahometans following Hali; and such is the King. Banians or Pythagoreans, believing the transmigration of souls, and these men will not kill the vermin that bite them, for fear of dislodging the soul. They often buy many days respite from killing any flesh in a province or city, merely out of charity. Idolators there are of several sorts, their wives adorning the funeral piles, and casting themselves into the flames with great joy.

The extent of this dominion is on the west to Syndu, on the north-west to Candahar, on the north almost to the mountain Taurus, on the east to the borders of Ganges, and south-east all Bengala, on the south running the gulph down to Decan. It is much greater than the Persian monarchy, and I think, if not quite equal to the Turkish. Agra, the ordinary residence of the King, is near the middle [illegible] from any of the borders, and farther from some. [illegible] Porus is left a King in the midst of the Mogul's dominions, never subdued till last year; and to say the truth, he is rather bought than conquered, won to own a superior by gifts, and not by arms. The pillar erected by Alexander is yet standing at Delhi, the ancient seat of the ancestors of Rama, the successor of Porus.

The buildings are all base, of mud, one story high, except in Surat, where there are some of stone. I know not by what policy the King seeks the ruin of all the ancient cities which were nobly built, and now lie desolate and in rubbish. His own houses are of stone, handsome and uniform. His great men build not, for want of inheritance; but as far as I have yet seen, live in tents, or houses worse than our cottages. Yet where the King likes, as at Agra, because it is a city erected by him, the buildings, as is reported, are fair and of carved stone.

In revenue he doubtless exceeds either Turk or Persian, or any eastern Prince, the sums I dare not name; but the reason. All the land is his, no man has a foot. He maintains all that are not mechanics by revenues bestowed on them reckoned by horse, and the allowance of many is greater than the estates of German Princes. All men rise to greater and greater lordships as they advance in favour, which is got by frequent presents rich and rare. The Mogul is heir to all that die, as well those that gained it by their industry, as merchants, &c. as those that live by him. He takes all their money, only leaving the widow and daughters what he pleases. To the sons of those

that

that die worth two or three millions, he gives some small lordship to begin the world anew.

The King sits out in three several places at three times of the day, except something extraordinary hinder him. An hour at noon to see his elephants fight; from four till five to entertain all comers, to be seen and worshipped; from nine till midnight amidst his principal men in more familiarity, being below among them.

All the policy of his state is to keep the greatest men about him, or to pay them afar off liberally. There is no council, but every officer gives the King his opinion apart.

He (meaning Jehan Guire) is of countenance cheerful, and not proud in nature, but only by habit and custom; for at night he is very affable, and full of gentle conversation.

[There is an account in this letter of Sir Thomas Roe's audience, but that is to be seen before in the journal.]

An Extract of a Letter of Sir Thomas Roe to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Dated at Adsmere, the 30th of October, 1616.

BEFORE the inundation of Temer the Great, that is Tamerlan, the ninth ancestor of this King, these countries were governed by divers heathen petty Princes, worshipping all sorts of creatures after their several manners. Tamerlan's offspring brought in the knowledge of Mahomet, but imposed it on none by the law of conquest, leaving consciences at liberty. So that the natives from the circumcision brought in by the Mahometans, called them Moguls, or chief of the circumcised. Among the Moguls there are many strict Mahometans, many that follow Hali his son-in-law, and other later prophets, who have their Xerifes, Mulhaes, and priests, their mosques, religious votaries, washings, praying, and ceremonies without end. And as for penitents, no sect in the world can shew such strange examples, nor boast of such voluntary poverty, punishments, sufferings, and chastisements as these, who are all esteemed holy men, but of a mixed religion, not upright with their prophet *. The Gentiles are of more sorts, some valiant good soldiers, drinking wine, eating hog's flesh, but worshipping the figure of a beast. Some who will not touch the flesh that is not holy by imputation; others that will not eat any thing that ever had life, nor kill the vermin that bites them, nor drink in the same cup with those that do, superstitious in washing, and most zealous in their profession; but all of them ascribe a sort of divinity to their river Ganges, at which once a year forty or fifty thousand meet, and cast in gold and silver for an oblation. In like manner they reverence a pig's head in a pagod near this city, and all living cows, and some other beasts and creatures. These have their pagods, and holy men, prophets, witches, soothsayers, and all other impostures of the devil. The Mahometan Mulhaes know somewhat in philosophy and the mathematics, are great astrologers, and can talk of Aristotle, Euclid, Averroes, and other authors. The learned tongue is the Arabian. In this confusion they continued till the time of Ezbar Sha, father to this King, without any knowledge of Christianity †. Ezbar Sha being a Prince by nature just and good, inquisitive after novelties, curious of new opi-

* Sir Thomas Roe should have excepted the idolaters in India, who far outdo the Mahometans in this particular.

† This is another mistake in Sir Thomas Roe, for they had always heard of Christianity, and there were Christians both in Persia and some parts of India.

nions,

mions, and excelling in many virtues, especially in piety and reverence towards his parents, called in three Jesuits from Goa, the chief of whom was Jerom Xaverius, a Navarrois. After their arrival he heard them discourse with much satisfaction, and dispute of religion, and caused F. Xaverius to write a book in defence of his religion against both Moors and Gentiles, which when finished he read in every night, and had some part discussed. Finally, he granted them his letters patent to build, preach, teach, convert, and to use all their rites and ceremonies as freely as in Rome, bestowing on them means to erect their churches and places of devotion. In this grant he gave liberty to all sorts of men to become Christians, even to his own court and blood, professing it should be no cause of disfavour. Ezbar Sha himself continued a Mahometan, yet he began to make a breach into the law; for considering that Mahomet was but a man, and a King as he was, and therefore reverenced, he thought he might prove as good a prophet himself. This defection of the King spread not far, a certain outward awe withheld him, and so he died in the formal profession of his sect. Jehan Guire Sha, his son, the present King, being the issue of this new fancy, and never circumcised, bred up without any religion at all, continues so to this hour, and is an atheist. Sometimes he will profess himself a Mahometan, but always observes the holy days, and does all ceremonies with the Gentiles. He is pleased with all religions, but loves none that changes; and falling into his father's conceit, has dared to proceed further in it, and to profess himself for the main of his religion, to be a greater prophet than Mahomet, and has formed to himself a new one, being a mixture of all others, which many have received with such superstition, that they will not eat till they have saluted him in the morning; for which purpose he comes at sun rising to a window open to a great plain before his house, where multitudes attend him. When the Moors about him talk of Mahomet, he will sooth them; but is glad when any one will lash out against him. Of Christ he never utters any disrespectful words, nor do any of all these sects; which is a wonderful secret working of God's truth, and worth observing.

As for the new planted Christian church, he confirmed and enlarged its privileges, spending two hours every night for a year, in hearing disputes; often dropping words of his conversion, but to a wicked purpose. To give the more hope, he delivered many youths into the hands of F. Francisco Corsi, still resident here, to teach them to read and write Portuguese, and to instruct them in human learning, and in the law of Christ. To that purpose the father kept a school some years, to which the King sent two Princes his brother's sons, who being brought up in the knowledge of God, and his Son our blessed Saviour, were solemnly baptized in the church of Agra, with great pomp, being first carried up and down all the city on elephants in triumph; and this by the King's express order, who would often examine them to see what progress they made, and seemed well pleased with them. This made many bend towards the same way, being ignorant of His Majesty's intention; others that knew him better, supposed he suffered this in policy to render those children odious to the Moors for their conversion, the strength of his estate consisting in them: but all men mistook his design, which was thus discovered. When these and some other children were settled, as was thought, in the Christian religion, and had learnt the principles thereof, as to marry but one wife, not to be coupled with infidels, &c. the King set the boys to demand Portuguese wives of the Jesuits; who thinking it only an idle notion of their own, chid them, and suspected no more: but that being the end of their conversion to get a woman for the King, and no care being taken in it, the two Princes came to the Jesuits, and delivered up their crosses, and all other tokens of religion, declaring they would be no longer Christians, because the King of Portugal sent them no presents nor wives, as they expected.

pected. The fathers feeing this, began to doubt there was more in it than the boys difcovered; efpecially feeing their confidence that had caft off the awe of [illegible]; and examining the matter, they confeffed the King commanded them. The Jefuits refufed to receive the croffes, anfwering, they had been given by His Majefty's order, and they would not take notice of any fuch furrender from boys, but bid them defire the King to fend one of thofe who are, according to order, to deliver all His Majefty's commands, whofe words are by privilege a fufficient warrant, and then they would accept of them; hoping the King would not difcover himfelf to any of his officers in this poor plot. The boys returned with this meffage, which enraged the King; but being defirous to break up the fchool, and withdraw the youth without noife, he bid them call the Jefuits to the women's door, where by a lady he gave the order, and without ever taking any notice fince of any thing, his kinfmen were recalled, and are now abfolute Moors, without any tafte of their firft faith: and here have ended the converfions of thefe infidels.

I will add one or two more pleafant relations, and fo conclude.* Not long fince the Jefuit's houfe and church being burnt, the crucifix remained untouched, which was given out for a miracle, and much talked of. The King, who never lets flip any opportunity of new talk, or novelties, hearing of this accident, calls the Jefuit, and queftions him about it. He anfwers ambiguoufly; whereupon His Majefty afked, whether he did not defire to convert him? And being anfwered in the affirmative, replied, You fpeak of your great miracles, and of many done in the name of your prophet: if you will caft the crucifix and picture of Chrift into a fire before me, if it burn not, I will become a Chriftian. The Jefuit refufed the trial as unjuft, anfwering, That God was not tied to the call of man, that it was a fin to tempt him, and that he wrought miracles according to his own will; yet he offered to caft himfelf into the fire for a proof of his faith, which the King would not allow of. Here arofe a great difpute, began by the Prince, a moft ftiff Mahometan, and hater of all Chriftians, urging, that it was reafonable to try our religion after this manner; but withal, that if the crucifix did burn, then the Jefuit fhould be obliged to turn Moor. He urged examples of miracles faid to be wrought for lefs purpofes than the converfion of fo mighty a King, and fpoke fcornfully of Chrift Jefus. The King took up the argument, and defended our Saviour to be a prophet, comparing his works with thofe of their abfurd faints, inftancing the raifing of the dead, which never any of theirs did. The Prince replied, that to give fight to one born blind was as great a miracle. This being hotly debated on both fides, a third man interpofed to end the controverfy, faying, that both the father and the fon were in the right as to their opinions; for to raife a dead body to life muft be owned to be the greateft miracle ever done, but that to give fight to an eye naturally blind was the fame work, becaufe a blind eye was dead, fight being the life of it; therefore he that gave fight to a blind eye, did as it were, raife it from death. Thus this difcourfe ended.

The other ftory is this. A juggler of Bengala, of which craft there are many, and very notable at it, brought before the King a great ape, which, as he faid, could divine and prophefy; and to this beaft fome of the Indian fects attribute a fort of divinity. The King took a ring off his finger, and caufed it to be hid under a boy's girdle, there being a dozen prefent; then bid the ape divine, who went to the right child, and took it out. His Majefty being fomewhat more curious, caufed the names of twelve law-givers, as Chrift, Mofes, Mahomet, Haly, and others, to be writ on twelve papers in the Perfian tongue; and fhuffling them in a bag, bid the beaft divine which was the true law, who putting in his paw, took out that infcribed with the name of Chrift. This

amazed

amazed the King, who suspecting the ape's master could read Persian, and might assist him, wrote them anew in court characters, and presentedthem the second time. The ape found the right, and killed it. At this a great officer grew angry, telling the King it was some imposture, and desiring he might have leave to make the scrolls anew, offering to undergo any punishment if the ape could deceive him. He writ the names, putting only eleven in a bag, and kept the other in his hand. The monkey searched, but refused all; the King commanding it to bring one, it tore them in a fury, and made signs the true law-giver's name was not among them. The King asked where it was, and the ape ran to the nobleman and caught him by the hand, in which was the paper inscribed with the name of Christ Jesus. The King was concerned, and keeps the ape. This was done in public before thousands, and no doubt is to be made of the truth of the matter of fact.

Part of a Letter to the East-India Company, dated at Adsmere, November 24, 1616.

MY HONOURED FRIENDS,

I RECEIVED your letter, &c. (*the first part omitted, as nothing material.*)

Concerning the aiding the Mogul, or wafting his subjects into the Red Sea, it is now useless, yet I made offer of your affections; but when they need not a courtesy, they regard it as a dog does dry bread when his belly is full. The King has peace with the Portugueses, and will never make a constant war, except first we displant them; then his greatness will step in for a share of the benefit; which dares not partake of the peril. When they have peace, they scorn our assistance, and speak as loud as our cannon; if war oppress them, they dare not put out under any protection, nor will they pay for it. You must remove all thoughts of trading to their port, any otherwise than defending yourselves, and leaving them to their fortune: you can never oblige them by any benefits, and they will sooner fear than love you. Your residence you need not doubt, as long as you tame the Portugueses, therefore avoid all other charge as unnecessary. At my first arrival I understood a fort was very necessary, but experience teaches me we are refused it to our own advantage. If he would offer me ten, I would not accept of one. First, where the river is commodious the country is barren, and has no trade; the passages to better parts so full of thieves, that the King's authority avails not, and the strength of the hills secures them in that life. If it had been fit for trade, the natives would have chosen it, for they feel the inconveniency of a barred haven; and it is argument enough of some secret inconveniency, that they make not use of it: but if it were safe without the walls, yet it is not an easy work to divert the course of trade, and draw the resort of merchants from their accustomed mart, especially for our commodity, which is bought by parcels, and cannot be called staple. Secondly, The charge is greater than the trade can bear, for to maintain a garrison will eat out the profit: an hundred men will not keep it, for if once the Portugueses see you take that course, they will use all their endeavours to supplant you. A war and traffick are incompatible. By my consent you shall never engage yourselves but at sea, where you are likely to gain as often as to lose. The Portugueses, notwithstanding their many high residences, are beggared by keeping of soldiers, and yet their garrisons are but mean. They never made advantage of the Indies since they defended them. Observe this well. It has been also the error of the Dutch, who seek plantations here by the sword; they turn a wonderful stock, they prole in all places, they possess some of the best, yet their dead pays consume all the gain. Let this be received as a rule, that if you will profit, seek it at sea, and in quiet trade; for without controversy, it is an error to affect garrisons

and land wars in India. If you made it only against the natives, I should agree to it; but to make it for them, they do not deserve it, and you should be very wary how you engage your reputation in it. You cannot so easily make a fair retreat as an onset. One disaster would either discredit you, or engage you in a war of extreme danger, and doubtful event: besides an action so subject to chance as a war, is most unfitly undertaken, and with most hazard, when the remoteness of the place for supplies, succours, and counsel, subjects it to irrecoverable loss; for where there is most uncertainty, remedies should be so much the nearer upon all occasions. At sea you may take and leave, your designs are not published. The road of Soali, and the port of Surat are the fittest for you in all the Mogul's territories. I have weighed it well, and to deliver you that which shall never be disproved. You need no more. It is not a number of ports, residencies, and factories that will profit you; they will increase charge, but not recompense it. The conveniency of one with respect to your sails, and to the commodity of investments, and the well employing of your servants, is all you need. A port to secure your ships, and a fit place to unlade, will not be found together. The road at Soali, during the season, is as safe as a pond. Surat, Cambaya, Baroche, and Amadabat, are better traded than all India, and seated commodiously. The inconveniences are, the Portuguese at sea, and the landing of goods. To obviate the first, you must bring to pass that your lading be ready by the end of September at the port, which may be effected by a stock beforehand, or by taking up money for three months; and so you may discharge and lade at once, and depart in excellent season for England, and the enemy will not have time to offend you, being newly arrived: and if the preparation be of longer date, we shall know it. For the second, to land goods without danger of frigates, and to save the carriage over land, you must send a pinnace of sixty tons with ten guns, that draws but seven or eight foot water, to pass up the river between Soali and Surat, and so your goods will be safe and in your own command, to the custom-house-key, and it will a little awe the town; she may afterwards proceed according to your appointment. The commodities you sell pass best in that quarter, the goods you seek being indigo and cloth; no one place is so fit for both, and the less inconveniences are to be chosen. Syndu is possessed by the Portuguese; or, if free, were no fitter than Surat, nor safer; as it is, will be more subject to peril.

For the settling your traffick here, I doubt not to effect any reasonable desire, my credit is sufficient with the King, and your force will always bind him to constancy. It will not need so much help at court as you suppose, a little countenance, and the discretion of your factors will, with easy charge, return you most profit, but you must alter your stock. Let not your servants deceive you; cloth, lead, teeth, quicksilver, are dead commodities, and will never drive this trade; you must succour it by change. Articles of treaty on equal terms I cannot obtain, want of presents has disgraced me, and yet by piece-meals I have got as much as I desired at once. I have recovered all bribes, extortions, and debts made and contracted before my time till this day, or at least an honourable composition.

The presents sent are too few to follow examples, they will scarce serve the first day. The rule is, at every arrival of a fleet, the Mogul, and the Prince, during his government of our port, will expect a formal present and some letter from the King, our solicitor from you, which need not be dear if well chosen. Your agent must be furnished with a China shop to serve small turns; for often giving of trifles is the way of preferment; it cannot be avoided, and I have been scorned for my poverty in that kind. At my delivery of the first sent by me, contentment outwardly appeared; but I will acquaint you with the cabinet council's opinion, by which you may judge three exceptions were

 taken

taken and argued by the King and his great ones. First, it was censured to name presents in a King's letter, to be sent by a principal man his ambassador; and such poor ones delivered, meaner and fewer than when they came with less ostentations. That if they had not been named as from a monarch, they had been less despicable; for such is their pride, that though the coach for its form, and as a model, gave much content, yet the matter was scorned, and it was never used till two others of rich stuffs were made by it, and that covered with cloth of gold, harness and furniture, and all the tin nails headed with silver, or hatched: so that it was nine months a repairing, and when I saw it I knew it not. 2. Exception was taken that His Majesty did write his name before the Mogul, but it matters not for that dull pride. 3. That His Majesty in his letter intimated, that honour and profit should arise to this Prince by the English and their trade, which he so much scorns to hear of, that he would willingly be rid of it and us if he durst. The forgetting to send me letters diminishes my credit, which is to be maintained by all ceremonies, and Sultan Corone expected one as an honour to him.

The suffering of volunteers to pass in your fleets is an extreme incommodity. How to dispose of one here honestly, I know not. Assure yourselves they are either some unruly youths that want ground to sow their humours, and are exposed to be tamed, and may do you and me much prejudice in reputation. I have had a bitter experience of some taken by myself in good nature. Here is subject to practise all vice upon, and no virtue to be learned: or else they are sent at your charge to learn to discover the straits and fittest places of interception of Indian goods for a future voyage, and to enable them by experience to do you a mischief who bred them to it. I know many envy you this trade, and would be extreme glad to rob you of it; you cannot do better than keep all men in ignorance but yourselves, or at least as many as necessity does not oblige you to use.

The Dutch are arrived at Surat from the Red Sea, with some money and southern commodities. I have done my best to disgrace them, but could not turn them out without further danger. They come on the same ground we stand on, fear of their ships, against which I suppose you will not warrant the subjects of this King. Your comfort is, here are goods enough for both.

Concerning Persia, the factors do not understand what they have undertaken. Jasques is no port or place for sale of goods, and those they have sent not saleable. In order to secure your safety and the Portugueses, there are but two ways, peace or compulsion. The first I have undertaken by means of a Jesuit, but despair of success. The next is force, which is always used to disadvantage when you are only upon the defensive. My opinion is, that you give orders to all your fleets to make prize of them, and that as you now ride at Solia road to protect one ship, you would send that guard the next year to ride before Goa, to brave or burn them, or at least to stop them that they may not put to sea in December; so you will make them lose their seasons, and one or two returns stopt would undo them. On my word they are weak in India, and able to do your fleet no harm, but by supplies from Lisbon, where you must endeavour to have intelligence, and apply your strength accordingly. Thus you will add much reputation to your cause, and force them to that which their pride will never suffer them to see they want more than you, which is a quiet trade. For your traffick into the Red Sea, it is more important than all other projects: my counsel is, that one of your smallest ships with the fittest English goods, and such others as this country affords, go yearly in company of the Guzarats, and trade for themselves for money, which is taken in abundance, and return in September with them to supply this place. The profit exceeds all

 the

the trades of India, and will drive this alone. The danger is rather jealousy than substantial. When the Turks betrayed Sir Henry Middleton, our factories and courses in those parts were unknown to them; and doubtless, we being strangers in that sea, were mistrusted for pirates. Experience has made us better known, and in company of the Guzarats, for their sake, whom they cannot spare, we shall be admitted. The King would write to the Admiral to entertain our consort ship, and they would be glad of it, and it were one of the best securities of our friendship. The Dutch have practised it this year to great advantage, and were all well received. Our own wariness might secure us. They must ride six months for winds, time enough to send all the goods ashore by parcels, and never trust above one or two factors, and a small quantity of goods at once. They will not declare their treachery for trifles, and I doubt not you may procure the Grand Signior's command to meet them. If I have any judgment, there is not any matter for your profit of such importance. Port Pequenho, in Bengala, you are misinformed in, there is no mart, or resort of merchants; it is traded to by the Portugueses from Pegu with rubies, topazes, and saphires, and returns cloth which is fine, but you may be furnished nearer hand.

I will settle your trade here secure with the King, and reduce it to order, if I may be heard; when I have so done, I must plead against myself, that an ambassador lives not in fit honour here. I could sooner die than be subject to the slavery the Persian is content with. A meaner agent would, among these proud Moors, better effect your business. My quality often for ceremonies, either begets you enemies, or suffers unworthily. The King has often demanded an ambassador from Spain, but could never obtain one, for two reasons; first, because they would not give presents unworthy their King's greatness; next, they knew his reception should not answer his quality. I have moderated according to my discretion, but with a swoln heart. Half my charge shall corrupt all this court to be your slaves.

Postscript.

The best way to do your business in this court is to find some Mogul that you may entertain for a thousand roupies a year, as your solicitor at court. He must be authorised by the King, and then he will serve you better than ten ambassadors. Under him you must allow five hundred roupies for another at your port to follow the governor, and customers, and to advertise his chief at court. These two will effect all, for your other smaller residences are not subject to much inconveniency.

Concerning private trade, my opinion is, that you absolutely prohibit it, and execute forfeitures; for your business will be the better done. All your loss is not in the goods brought home; I see here the inconveniences you think not of. I know this is harsh to all men, and seems hard; men profess they come not for bare wages: but you will take away this plea, if you give great wages to their content; and then you know what you part from, but then you must make good choice of your servants, and use fewer.

The

The feveral Kingdoms and Provinces fubject to the Great Mogul, Sha-Selim Jehan-Guire, with the principal Cities and Rivers, their Situation, Borders, and Extent, in Length and Breadth, as near as I could gather by common Computation. The Names I took out of the King's Regifter, and begin at the North-Weft.

1. CANDAHAR. The chief city and kingdom both of the fame name. It lies N.W. from the heart of the Mogul's territories, and was formerly a province of Perfia, on which it borders.

2. Tatta. A kingdom and chief city fo called, is divided by the river Indus, which falls into the fea at Syndu. It lies fouth of Candahar, and weft fomewhat foutherly from Agra.

3. Buckor. The chief city called Buckorfuckar, lies upon the river of Syndu or Indus to the northward, fomewhat eafterly of Tatta; and on the weft borders on the Baloaches, a kind of rude warlike people.

4. Multan. The chief city called by the fame name, lying alfo upon Indus, fouth-eaft from Candahar, northerly from Backar.

5. Hajacan. The kingdom of the Baloaches, north of Tatta and Backar, and on the weft borders on the kingdom of Lar, fubject to the King of Perfia; Indus winds itfelf along the eaft fide of it, and it has no city of note.

6. Cabul. The city has the fame name. It is a great kingdom, the moft northerly of this empire, and runs up to the confines of the Great Tartary.

7. Kyfhmir, or Cachimir. The chief city of it is called Sirinakra, the river Bhat paffes through it, and falls into Ganges, though others fay it runs into the fea in the north part of the bay Bengala: the kingdom of Cabul is bordered by it on the eaft, foutherly it is all mountains.

8. Bankifh. The chief city of it is called Beifhar, it lies eaft of Cachimir.

9. Atack or Attock. The chief city of the fame name, it lies on one fide of the river Nilob, which runs on the north-weft into the river Indus.

10. The kingdom of the Kakares. Lies at the foot of the mountains. Its principal cities are Dankely and Purchola, and borders on the north-eaft fide of the kingdom of Cachimir.

11. Penjah, which fignifies five waters, becaufe it is feated within five rivers. The chief city is called Lahor. It is a great kingdom, and very fruitful. The city is the mart of India for traffic; it borders on the eaft fide of Multan.

12. Jenba or Jamba. The chief city of the fame name. It lies eaft of Benjab, and is very mountainous.

13. Peitan or Pitan. The chief city fo called lies north-eaft of Jenba, and north of Patna, and is full of mountains.

14. Naugracut. The chief city of the fame name. It lies north between Benjab and Jamba, and is very mountainous.

15. Siba. The chief city of the fame name, north of Jamba, and the bay of Bengala, and very mountainous.

16. Jefval. The chief city is called Rajapore: it reaches down to the kingdom of Bengala, and lies north of it, and eaft of Patna, full of mountains.

17. Delli. The chief city of the fame name. It lies on both fides of the river Gemmi, which falls into Ganges, and runs through Agra. It is an ancient city, and the feat of the Mogul's anceftors, but ruined. Some affirm it to have been the

 feat

seat of Porus conquered by Alexander the Great, and that there still stands a pillar with a Greek inscription.

18. Mevat. The chief city called [illegible]. It lies on the east of Ganges, and Gemna, to the north-east of their meeting.

19. [illegible]. The chief city bears the same name. It lies betwixt the river Ganges and Gemna, north of their meeting.

20. [illegible]. The chief city is called Bikaner. Ganges borders it on the east, and the province of Delli on the west.

21. Agra, a principal and great Kingdom; the chief city of the same name, the heart of the Mogul's dominions, in about [illegible] degrees and a half of north latitude. It lies most on the south-west side of the river Gemma, the city upon the river where one of the Emperor's treasuries is kept. From Agra to Lahor there are three hundred and twenty coss, which is no less than seven hundred miles, all a plain, and the highway planted on both sides with trees, like a delicate walk. It is one of the great works and wonders of the world.

22. Jenupar. The city of the same name upon the river Kaul, which I suppose to be one of the five rivers inclosing Lahor; and the country lies between it and Agra, north-west from the one, and south-east from the other.

23. Bando. The chief city is so called. It borders on Agra on the east, and Jesselmere on the west.

24. Patna. The chief city has the same name. It is inclosed by four great rivers, Ganges, Jemna, Serseli, and Kanda, and lies north-east from Agra, and north of the bay of Bengala, where all these rivers pay tribute.

25. Gor. The chief city is also so called. It lies in the northern part of the Mogul's dominions, and towards the heads of the rivers Ganges and Kanda.

26. Bengala. A mighty kingdom inclosing the east and north side of the bay of that name; whence winding towards the south, it borders on Coromandel, or rather Golconda. The chief cities are Ragmehal and Dekaka. There are many havens, as Port Grande, Port Pequenho, resorted to by Portugueses; Piliptan, Siligam, &c. It contains divers provinces, as that of Prurop, Patan, &c.

27. Udeza. The chief city called Jakanat. It is the utmost extent eastward of the Mogul's dominions, north of the bay, and borders on the kingdom of Maug, a savage people lying between Udeza and Pegu.

28. Kandiana. The chief city is call'd Karakatanka. This and Gor are the north-east bounds of this monarchy, on the west of it is Pitan.

29. Gualeor. The chief city bears the same name, where the Mogul has one of his great treasuries, with an exceeding strong castle, where prisoners are kept. It lies south of Agra.

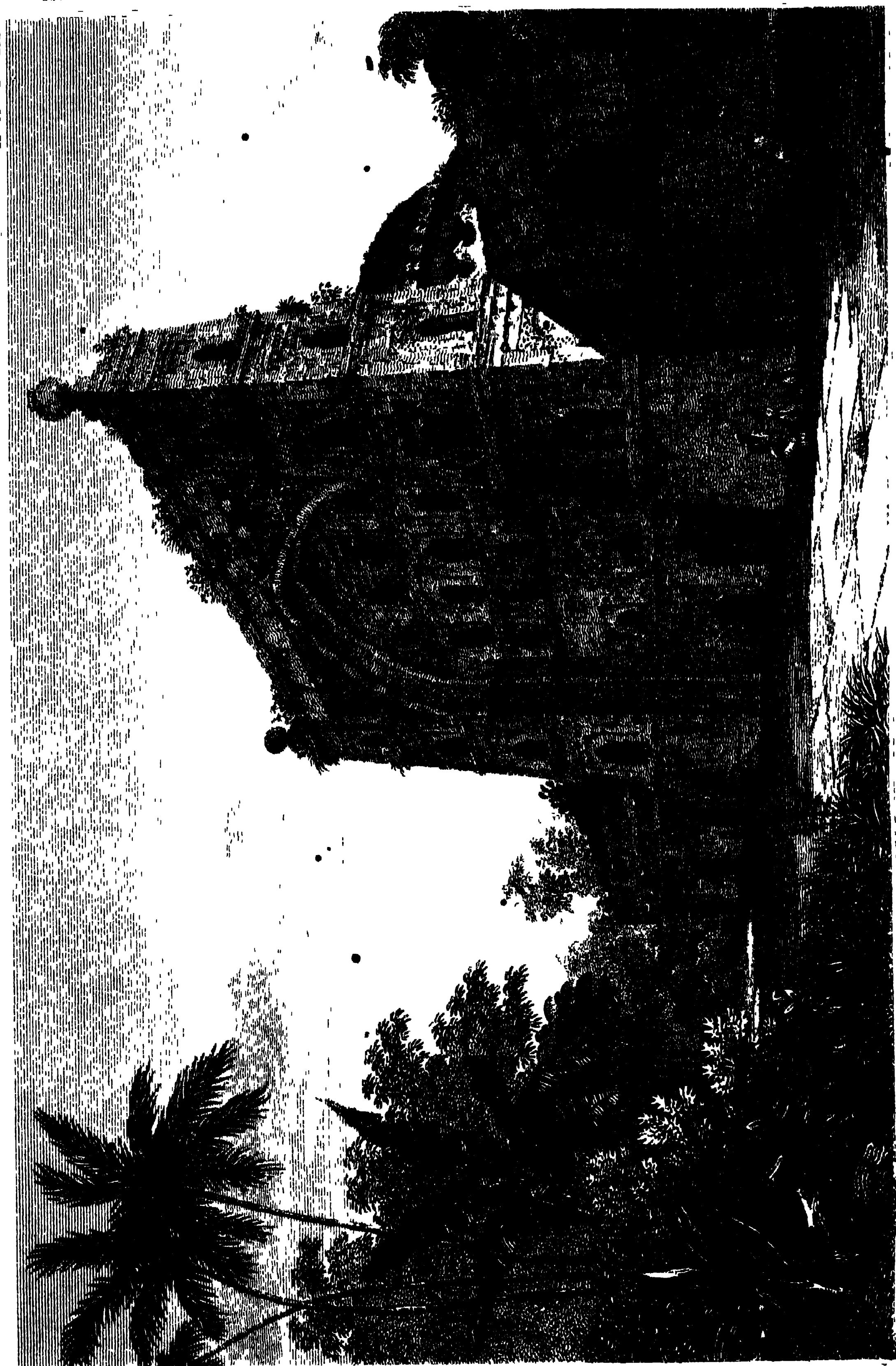
30. Candis. The chief city here is Brampore. It is a great kingdom, and the city one of the antient seats of the Kings of Decan, taken from them. It lies east of Guzarat, south of Chitor, west of Golconda, and north of Decan. It is watered by the river Tabeti, which runs westward into the bay of Cambaya.

31. Malva. The chief cities here are Ugen, Nar, and Seringe. It lies north-east of Chandis, and south-east of the country of Rama, and west of the province of Prurop of the kingdom of Bengala.

32. Berar. The chief city is called Shakpur. It is inclosed by the provinces of Malva, Candis, Golconda, and Prurop.

33. Guzarat. A noble kingdom, inclosing the bay of Cambaya, the chief city is Amadavat. Within it is contained the city and government of Cambaya, the beauty

of





of India. The territory and city of Surat, and that of Baroce. It is watered by many goodly rivers, as that of Cambaya, once fallely fuppofed to be Indus; the river of Narbadda falling into the fea at Baroche, that of Surat, and divers others. It trades into the Red Sea to Acheen and many other places.

34. Surat. The chief city called Gunagur. It lies to the north-weft of Guzarat.

35. Narvar. The chief city of Ghehud, lies eaft of Gualeor, and fouth of Sambal.

36. Chitor. The antient great kingdom. The city of the fame name, walled, and about ten Englifh miles in compafs, on a mighty hill. There are ftill above one hundred churches ftanding, the King's palace, and many fine pillars of carved ftone. There is but one afcent to it cut out of the rock, on which are four magnificent gates. The ruins of above one hundred thoufand houfes all of ftone are ftill to be feen, but it is not inhabited. It was doubtlefs one of the feats of Porus, and taken from his fucceffor Rana by Ezbar-Sha, father to Jehan Guire the Mogul. Rana flying into the ftrength of his kingdom, among the mountains, feated himfelf at Odepore, and was brought to acknowledge the Mogul for his fovereign lord by Sultan Corone, third fon to the prefent Emperor, in the year 1614. This kingdom lies north-weft from Candis, and north-eaft from Guzarat, in the way between Agra and Surat. Rana himfelf keeps the hills to the weft nearer Amadavat.

The Length of the Mogul's Dominions, North-Weft and South-Eaft.

FROM Candahar to Lahor three hundred and fifty coffes, being about eight hundred miles.

From Lahor to Agra three hundred and twenty coffes, about feven hundred and fifty miles.

From Agra to Hagipore Patna three hundred coffes, fix hundred and eighty miles.

From Hagipore Patna to Kirafnad three hundred coffes, about fix hundred and feventy miles.

The whole length one thoufand two hundred and feventy coffes, about two thoufand eight hundred and twenty-two miles.

The breadth in all north-eaft and fouth weft from Harduar to Duarfa fix hundred and thirty coffes, about one thoufand five hundred miles.

The length north and fouth about one thoufand four hundred miles.

A Note of fuch Things as Sir Thomas Roe would have had fent him to beftow as Prefents, inferted for the Reader's Satisfaction, to fhew what Curiofities were acceptable in India to give or fell.

KNIVES large and fair, wrought with amber, coral, gold or filver, or inlaid with glafs.

The figures of the lion, the buck, the greyhound, the bull, the horfe, the talbot, provided they be well formed, and good fhapes, fuch toys will pleafe well for ordinary turns.

Pieces of velvet and fatins, if they be good and rich, and frefh colours, blue is not efteemed.

Fowling-pieces, if they be fair, elfe none.

Branches of polifhed coral, of the largeft.

Some of the faireft amber and coral beads.

Cryftal boxes.

Rich embroidered ſweet-bags.

Embroidered fowling-caſes.

Embroidered pillows.

Saddles rich, with capariſons and furniture.

Swords, if they be very good, and with fine hilts, inlaid with gold or ſilver, or well cut in iron.

Choice pictures, eſpecially hiſtories, or other that have many figures, as church-work, night-work, or landſcape, but good, for they underſtand them as well as we.

Hats.

Alicant wine, Malvaſy, or any that will make Hipocras, and will keep.

Cloth of gold or ſilver, ſatins or flowered ſilks of gold or ſilver, or ſilk, French ſhags; fine Engliſh Norwich ſtuffs, half ſilk, theſe of light, freſh and choice colours.

Fine light armour.

Agats well cut, eſpecially black and white, are highly eſteemed.

Emeralds of the old rock, or any other ſtones, finely ſet and enamelled.

Enamelled work.

Cloth of Arras, ſo it be good, great imagery, and freſh.

Good croſs-bows.

Fine Engliſh long-bows and quivers of fair arrows, the caſes ſhould be made of velvet.

Looking-glaſſes of two foot over, in frames of coloured wood, or covered with cloth of gold; ſmall ones are traſh.

Figures of braſs or ſtone curiouſly cut.

China ware, or large counterpoints embroidered with birds in ſilver, and coloured ſilks.

Fine cabinets, embroidered purſes, needle-work, French eſtuges, or tweezer caſes, fine table-books, perfumed gloves, girdles and belts, rich perfumed ſkins, bone-lace, cut-work, any ſort of embroidery.

Water and land-ſpaniels, Engliſh and Iriſh greyhounds, Engliſh hounds, eſpecially blood-hounds, and good maſtiffs.

Scarlet, though in ſome eſteem, is not according to its value.

Plumes of feathers, ſo they be large and of good colours, eſpecially ſome herons' feathers, pure white and whole.

Comb-caſes covered with velvet, laced or embroidered with handſome glaſſes and all neceſſary furniture.

Some paper cuts, eſpecially of kings, queens, and other great perſons.

Some burning-glaſſes.

Gold chains of curious workmanſhip.

Watches.

Caſes of bottles of ſtrong waters.

Drinking Venice glaſſes.

Proſpective-glaſſes.

Fine baſons and ewers.

In general, any thing curious for workmanſhip, rare, and not ſeen in India, or rich in value, is very acceptable; and theſe people know the beſt of all kinds, and are ſerved by the Portugueſes, Venetians, and Armenians, with all the rarities of Europe. All theſe things will ſell for ready money at the noroſe, or feaſt of the King's birth-day, at good prices.

BERNIER'S VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES:

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY OF THE LATE REVOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGUL;

Together with the most considerable Passages for Five Years following, in that Empire.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A Letter to the Lord Colbert, touching the Extent of Indostan, the Circulation of the Gold and Silver of the World, to discharge itself there; as also the Riches, Forces, and Justice of the same; and the principal Cause of the Decay of the States of Asia.

With an exact Description of Dehli and Agra.

TOGETHER WITH

I. Some Particulars making known the Court and Genius of the Moguls and Indians; as also the Doctrine and extravagant Superstitions and Customs of the Heathens of Indostan.

II. The Emperor of Mogul's Voyage to the Kingdom of Kachemire, in 1664, called the Paradise of the Indies.

*Englished out of French **.

An Extract of a Letter written to Mr. H. O. from Monsieur De Monceaux, the younger, giving a Character of the Book here englished, and its Author.

VIRTUE sometimes is no less interested than affection: both, Sir, are glad to receive, from time to time, pledges mutually answering for those that have united themselves in a close correspondence. Yours, indeed, should demand of me, such as might be a security to you for the advance you have been pleased to make me of your friendship. But since at present I have nothing worth presenting you with, and yet am unwilling to give you any leisure to be diffident of my realness, or to repent for having so easily given me a share in your esteem, I here send you a relation of Indostan, in which you will find such considerable occurrences, as will make you confess, I could not convey to you a more acceptable present, and that Monsieur Bernier, who hath written it, is a very gallant man, and of a mould I wish all travellers were made of. We ordinarily travel more out of unsettledness than curiosity, with a design to see towns and countries, rather than to know their inhabitants and productions; and we stay not long enough in a place to inform ourselves well of the government, policy, interests, and manners of its people. Monsieur Bernier, after he had benefited himself for the space of many years, by the converse of the famous Gassendi, seen him expire in his arms,

* Harl. Coll. ii. 102.

ſucceeded him in his knowledge, and inherited his opinions and diſcoveries, embarked for Egypt, ſtayed above a whole year at Cairo, and then took the occaſion of ſome Indian veſſels, that trade in the ports of the Red Sea, to paſs to Surat; and after twelve years abode at the court of the Great Mogul, is at laſt come to ſeek his reſt in his native country, there to give an account of his obſervations and diſcoveries, and to pour out into the boſom of France, what he had amaſſed in India.

Sir, I ſhall ſay nothing to you of his adventures, which you will find in the relations that are to follow hereafter, which he abandons to the greedineſs of the curious, who prefer their ſatisfaction to his quiet, and do already perſecute him to have the ſequel of this hiſtory. Neither ſhall I mention to you the hazards he did run, by being in the neighbourhood of Mecca; nor of his prudent conduct, which made him merit the eſteem of his generous Fazelkhan, who ſince is become the firſt miniſter of that great empire, whom he taught the principal languages of Europe, after he had tranſlated for him the whole philoſophy of Gaſſendi in Latin, and whoſe leave he could not obtain to go home, till he had got for him a ſelect number of our beſt European books, thereby to ſupply the loſs he ſhould ſuffer of his perſon. This, at leaſt, I can aſſure you of, that never a traveller went from home more capable to obſerve, nor hath written with more knowledge, candour, and integrity; that I knew him at Conſtantinople, and in ſome towns of Greece, of ſo excellent a conduct, that I propoſed him to myſelf for a pattern in the deſign I then had, to carry my curioſity as far as the place where the ſun riſeth; that I have often drowned, in the ſweetneſs of his entertainment, the bitterneſſes, which elſe I muſt have ſwallowed all alone, in ſuch irkſome and unpleaſant paſſages as are thoſe of Aſia.

Sir, you will do me a pleaſure to let me know the ſentiment your illuſtrious ſociety hath of this piece. Their approbation begets much emulation among the intelligent, who all have no other ambition than to pleaſe them. I myſelf muſt avow to you, that if I thought I could merit ſo much, I ſhould not ſo ſtiffly oppoſe, as I do, the publication of the obſervations and notes I have made in the Levant. I ſhould ſuffer my friends to take them out of my cabinet, where, from the ſlight value I have for them, they are likely to be impriſoned, except the King my maſter, by whoſe order I undertook the voyages, ſhould abſolutely command me to ſet them at liberty, and to let them take their courſe in the world. Mean time, Sir, you will oblige me, to aſſure theſe great men, who this day compoſe the moſt knowing company on earth, of the veneration I have for the oracles that come from their mouth, and that I prefer their Lyceum before that of Athens; and laſtly, that of all their admirers, there is none that hath greater concern for their glory, than

DE MONCEAUX

Paris, July 16, 1670.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE LATE REVOLUTION, &c.

1. *What Depth of Policy and Craft was used by Aureng-Zebe, the Heroes of this History, and the third of the four Sons of Chah-Jehan, the Great Mogul, to supplant all his Brothers, and to settle himself in the Throne; and how the first Foundation thereof was laid by the Visier of the King of Golconda, and the Sickness of Cha-Jehan, the Father of Aureng-Zebe.* — 2. *A Mixture of Love Intrigues, practised by the Princess Begum-Shaheb, one of the two Daughters of the Great Mogul, Chah-Jehan.* — 3. *How Aureng-Zebe, having overcome all his Brothers, did secure his Father, and others, whom he had Cause to be jealous of.* — 4. *How the Neighbours of the Empire of Mogul demeaned themselves towards the new Emperor, Aureng-Zebe; and what Embassies were dispatched to him, first by the Usbec-Tartars (where a Description of that Country and People;) then the Dutch of Surat; as also from Mecca, from Arabia Felix, from Ethiopia and Persia; together with an Account of their respective Instructions, Receptions, Entertainments and Dismissions; particularly of that of the Hollanders, securing and improving their Trade by their Embassy.* — 5. *Aureng-Zebe's singular Prudence, and indefatigable Pains, in managing the Government himself; and how he treated him that endeavoured to persuade him to take his Ease and Pleasure, how he was established.* — 6. *Aureng-Zebe's Distaste against his favourite Sister, Rauchenara-Begum, occasioned by some Love-Cabals.* — 7. *His great Care in appointing a Governor and Tutor to his third Son Sultan-Ekbar.* — 8. *With what Wisdom and Severity Aureng-Zebe received and treated his pedantic Tutor, who expected to be made a great Lord for his former Service; together with a Model for the suitable Education of a great Prince, prescribed by Aureng-Zebe on this Occasion.* — 9. *In what Credit judiciary Astrology is over all Asia.* — 10. *How the Kings of India make themselves Heirs of all the Estate of those that die in their Service.* — 11. *Of the reciprocal Appearance of Kindness between Aureng-Zebe and his imprisoned Father and Sister.* — 12. *What passed between Aureng-Zebe and Emir-Jemla, who had laid the first Ground-work to Aureng-Zebe's Greatness.* — 13. *What in these Revolutions was transacted about the Bay of Bengal, and the heathen Kingdom of Rakan.* — 14. *How Aureng-Zebe carried himself towards his two eldest Sons, Sultan Mahmud and Sultan Mahum: and how, for a Trial of the Obedience and Courage of the latter, he commanded him to kill a certain Lion, that did great Mischief in the Country; together with the Success thereof.* — 15. *Divers Particulars, shewing the Interest between Indostan and Persia, supposed by this Author to be unknown, or at least not well known hitherto.* — 16. *How generously Aureng-Zebe recompensed those that had faithfully served him in these Revolutions.* — 17. *Some Account of that small Kingdom of Kachemire, or Cashmere, represented as the Paradise of the Indies; concerning which the Author assures, that he hath a particular History of it in the Persian Tongue.* — 18. *A considerable Relation of Surat's being strangely surprized and plundered by a Stout Rebel of Visapour; and how the English and Dutch saved themselves and their Treasure in that bold Enterprize.* — 19. *A particular Account both of the former and present State of the whole Peninsula of Indostan; the Occasion of its Division into divers Sovereignties, and the several Arts used to maintain themselves one against another; particularly of the present Government and State of the Kingdoms of Golkonda and Visapour, and their Interests in reference to the Great Mogul.* — 20. *Of the Extent of Indostan, and the Trade which the English, Portuguese, and Hollanders have in that Empire; as also the vast Quantities*

tities of Gold and Silver, circulated through the World, and conveyed into Indoſtan, and there ſwallowed up as in an Abyſs. — *21. Of the many Nations, which in that vaſt Extent of Country cannot be well kept in Subjection by the Great Mogul.* — *22. Of the Great Mogul's Religion, which is Mahometan, or the Turkiſh not Perſian Sect.* — *23. Of his Militia, both in the Field and about his Perſon; and how the ſame is provided for, employed, punctually paid, and carefully diſtributed in ſeveral Places.* — *24. Of the Omrahs, that is, the great Lords of Indoſtan; their ſeveral Qualities, Offices, Attendants.* — *25. The Artillery of the Mogul, great and ſmall, very conſiderable.* — *26. Of his Stables of Horſes, Elephants, Camels, Mules, &c.* — *27. Of his Seraglio.* — *28. Of his vaſt Revenues and Expences.* — *29. What Prince may be ſaid to be truly rich.* — *30. An important State Queſtion debated,* viz. *Whether it be more expedient for the Prince and People, that the Prince be the ſole Proprietor of all the Lands of the Country over which he reigns, yea or no?*

THE deſire of ſeeing the world having made me travel into Paleſtina and Egypt, would not let me ſtop there; it put me upon a reſolution to ſee the Red Sea from one end to the other. I went from Grand Cairo, after I had ſtaid there above a year; and in two and thirty hours, going the caravan pace, I arrived at Suez, where I embarked in a galley, which in ſeventeen days carried me, always in ſight of land, to the port of Gidda, which is half a day's journey from Mecca. There I was conſtrained (contrary to my hopes, and the promiſe which the Beig of the Red Sea had made me) to go aſhore on that pretended holy land of Mahomet, where a Chriſtian, that is not a ſlave, dares not ſet his foot. I ſtaid there four and thirty days, and then I embarked in a ſmall veſſel, which in fifteen days carried me along the coaſt of Arabia the Happy to Moca, near the ſtreight of Babel Mandel. I reſolved to paſs thence to the iſle of Maſowa and Arkiko, to get as far as Gouder, the capital town of the country of Alebech, or the kingdom of Æthiopia; but I received certain information that ſince the Portugueſe had been killed there by the intrigue of the Queen Mother, or expelled, together with the Jeſuit patriarch, whom they had brought thither from Goa, the Roman Catholics were not ſafe there, a poor capuchin having loſt his head at Suaken, for having attempted to enter into that kingdom; that indeed, by going under the name of a Greek or an Armenian, I did not run ſo great hazard, and that even the king thereof, when he ſhould know that I could do him ſervice, would give me land to till by ſlaves, which I might buy if I had money; but that undoubtedly they would forthwith oblige me to marry, as they had lately done a certain friar, who had paſſed there under the name of a Greek phyſician; and that they would never ſuffer me to come away again.

Theſe conſiderations, among others, induced me to change my reſolution. I went aboard of an Indian veſſel, I paſſed that ſtreight, and in two and twenty days I arrived at Surat in Indoſtan, the empire of the Great Mogul, in the year 1655. There I found, that he who then reigned there was called Chah-Jehan, that is to ſay, King of the world; who, according to the hiſtory of that country, was ſon of Jehan-Guyre, which ſignifieth conqueror of the world; grandchild to Ekbar, which is great; and that thus aſcending by Houmayons, or the fortunate, father of Ekbar, and his other predeceſſors, he was the tenth of thoſe that were deſcended from that Timur-Lengue, which ſignifieth the lame prince, commonly and corruptly called Tamerlane, ſo renowned for his conqueſts; who married his near kinſwoman, the only daughter of the Prince of the nations of Great Tartary, called Moguls, who have left and communicated their name to the ſtrangers that now govern Indoſtan, the country of the Indians; though thoſe that are employed in public charges and offices, and even thoſe that are liſted in the militia,

be not all of the race of the Moguls, but strangers, and nations gathered out of all countries, most of them Persians, some Arabians, and some Turks. For, to be esteemed a Mogul, it is enough to be a stranger, white of face, and a Mahometan; in distinction as well to the Indians, who are brown, and Pagans, as to the Christians of Europe, who are called Franguis.

I found also at my arrival, that this King of the world, Chah-Jehan, of above seventy years of age, had four sons and two daughters; that some years since, he had made these four sons vice-kings, or governors of four of his most considerable provinces or kingdoms; that it was almost a year that he was fallen into a great sickness, whence it was believed he would never recover; which had occasioned a great division among these four brothers (all laying claim to the empire) and had kindled among them a war which lasted about five years, and which I design here to describe, having been present at some of the most considerable actions, and entertained for the space of eight years at that court, where fortune and the small stock of money left me (after divers encounters with robbers, and the expences of a voyage of six and forty days from Surat to Agra and Dehli, the capital towns of that empire,) obliged me to take a salary from the Grand Mogul in the quality of a physician, and a little while after from Danech-mend-Kan, the most knowing man of Asia, who had been Bakchis, or great master of the horse, and was one of the most powerful and most considerable Omrahs or lords of that court.

The eldest of these four sons of Chah-Jehan was called Dara, that is Darius. The second was called Sultan Sujah, that is, the valiant prince. The name of the third was Aurenge-Zebe, which signifies, the ornament of the throne. That of the fourth was Morad-Bakche, as if you should say, desire accomplished. Of the two daughters, the eldest was called Begum-Saheb, that is, the mistress princess; and the youngest Rachenara-Begum, which is as much as bright princess, or the splendor of princesses.

It is the custom of the country, to give such names to their princes and princesses. Thus the wife of Chah-Jehan, so renowned for her beauty, and for having a tomb, which much more deserved to be reckoned among the wonders of the world, than those unshapen masses and those heaps of stones in Egypt, was called Tage-Mehalle, that is to say, the crown of the Seraglio; and the wife of Jehan-Guyre, who hath so long governed the state, whilst her husband minded nothing but drinking and divertisements, was first called Nour-Mehalle, and afterwards, Nour-Jehan-Begum, the light of the seraglio, the light of the world. The reason why they give such kind of names to the great ones, and not names from their land or dominion (as is usual in Europe) is, because all the land being the King's there are no marquisates, earldoms and duchies, of which the grandees might bear their names; all consists in pensions, either of land or ready money, which the King giveth, increaseth, retrencheth, and takes away, as seems good unto him: and it is even for this reason, that the omrahs have also no other but such names; one (for example) being called Raz Audaze-Kan, i. e. a thunderer; another, Sefe Cheken Kan, a breaker of ranks; a third, Bare-Audaze-Kan, a man of lightning; others, Dianet-Khan, or Danech mend-Kan, or Fazel-Kan, i. e. the faithful lord, the intelligent, the perfect, and the like.

Dara, the eldest son, wanted not good qualities. He was gallant in conversation, witty in repartees, exceeding civil and liberal, but entertained too good an opinion of his person, esteeming himself alone capable of all, and thinking it scarce possible that any body was able to give him council; insomuch that he would give reproachful names to those who pretended to advise him in any thing; whereby it came to pass, that even those who were most affectionate to him, were shy to discover to him the most secret intrigues.

intrigues of his brothers. Besides, he was apt to be transported with passion, to menace, to injure, to affront even the greatest Omrahs or lords; but all passed over like a flash of light. Though he was a Mahometan, and publicly expressed in the ordinary exercises of religion to be so, yet in private, he was heathen with the heathens, and christian with the Christians. He had constantly about him of those heathen doctors, to whom he gave very considerable pensions, and who (as was said) had instilled into him opinions contrary to the religion of the land; of which I may touch something hereafter, when I shall come to speak of the religion of the Indians or Gentiles. He also hearkened of late very willingly to the reverend Father Buzee, a Jesuit, and began very well to relish what he suggested. Yet there are some who say, that at the bottom he was void of all religion, and that whatever he pretended in it, was only for curiosity; or, as others say, out of policy, to make himself beloved by the Christians, who are pretty numerous in his artillery; but above all, to gain the affection of the Rajas, or sovereign Gentiles, that were tributary to the empire, and to make them of his party upon occasion. Mean time, this hath not much furthered his affairs; on the contrary, it will appear in the sequel of this history, that the pretence used by Aureng-Zebe, his third brother, to cut off his head, was, that he was turned Kafer, that is to say, an infidel, of no religion, an idolater.

Sultan Sujah, the second brother, was much of the humour of Dara, but he was more close and more settled, and had better conduct and dexterity. He was fit to manage an intrigue well, and he made, underhand, friends by the force of presents, which he heaped upon the great Omrahs, and principally upon the most powerful Rajas, as Jessomseigne, and some others; but he did somewhat too much indulge his pleasures, in entertaining an extraordinary number of women, among whom he spent whole days and nights in drinking, singing, and dancing. He made them presents of very rich apparel, and he encreased or lessened their pensions according as the fancy took him; by which kind of life his affairs did languish, and the affections of many of his people cooled. He cast himself into the religion of the Persians; also Chah-Jehan, his father, and all his brothers, were of the Turkish.

'Tis known that Mahometanism is divided into several sects, which made that famous Cheek-Sady, author of the Gosliftan, say in verse, which is to this effect in prose: "I am a dervich drinker, I seem to be without religion, and I am known of sixty-two sects." But of all those sects there are two principal ones, whose partizans are mortal enemies to one another. The one is that of the Turks, whom the Persians call Osmantous, that is, sectators of Osman; they believing that 'tis he that was the true and lawful successor of Mahomet, the great caliph or sovereign priest, to whom alone it did appertain to interpret the Alcoran, and to decide the controversies to be met with in the law. The other is that of the Persians, whom the Turks call Chias, Rafezys, Aly-Merdans, that is, sectaries, heretics, partizans of Aly, because they believe, contrary to the belief of the Turks, that this succession and pontifical authority, which I just now intimated, was due only to Aly, the son-in-law of Mahomet. It was by reason of state that Sultan Sujah had embraced this latter sect, considering that all the Persians being Chias, and most of them, or their children, having the greatest power at the court of Mogul, and holding the most important places of the empire, he had most reason to hope, that when occasion served, they would all take his part.

Aureng-Zebe, the third brother, had not that gallantry, nor surpassing presence of Dara; he appeared more serious and melancholy, and was indeed much more judicious, understanding the world very well, and knowing whom to choose for his service and purpose, and where to bestow his favour and bounty most for his interest. He was

 reserved,

reſerved, crafty, and exceedingly verſed in diſſembling; inſomuch that for a long while he made profeſſion to be fakire, that is, poor, derviſe, or devoût, renouncing the world, and feigning not to pretend at all to the crown, but to deſire to paſs his life in prayer and other devotions. In the mean time he failed not to make a party at court, eſpecially when he was made Vice-King of Decan; but he did it with ſo much dexterity, art, and ſecrecy, that it could hardly be perceived. He alſo had the ſkill to maintain himſelf in the affection of Chah-Jehan his father, who, although he much loved Dara, could not forbear to ſhew that he eſteemed Aureng-Zebe, and judged him capable to reign; which cauſed jealouſy enough in Dara, who began to find it, inſomuch that he could not hold from ſaying ſometimes to his friends in private; "Of all my brothers, I apprehend only this Nemazi," that is, this bigot, this great praying-man.

Morad-Bakche, the youngeſt of all, was the leaſt dextrous, and the leaſt judicious. He cared for nothing but mirth and paſtime, to drink, hunt, and ſhoot: yet he had ſome good qualities, for he was very civil and liberal; he gloried in it that he kept nothing ſecret; he deſpiſed cabals, and he bragged openly, that he truſted only in his arm and ſword. In ſhort, he was very brave, and if this bravery had been accompanied with ſome conduct, he would have carried the bell from all his brothers, and been King of Indoſtan; as will appear in what is to follow.

Concerning the two daughters, the eldeſt, Begum-Sahed, was very beautiful, and a great wit, paſſionately beloved of her father. It was even rumoured, that he loved her to that degree as is hardly to be imagined, and that he alledged for his excuſe, that, according to the determination of his Mullahs, or doctors of his law, it was permitted a man to eat of the fruit of the tree he had planted. He had ſo great a confidence in her, that he had given her charge to watch over his ſafety, and to have an eye to all that came to his table; and ſhe knew perfectly to manage his humour, and even in the moſt weighty affairs to bend him as ſhe pleaſed. She was exceedingly enriched by great penſions, and by coſtly preſents, which ſhe received from all parts, for ſuch negociations as ſhe employed herſelf in about her father; and ſhe made alſo great expences, being of a very liberal and generous diſpoſition. She ſtuck entirely to Dara her eldeſt brother, eſpouſed cordially his part, and declared openly for him; which contributed not a little to make the affairs of Dara proſper, and to keep him in the affection of his father; for ſhe ſupported him in all things, and advertized him of all occurrences: yet that was not ſo much becauſe he was the eldeſt ſon, and ſhe the eldeſt daughter (as the people believed), as becauſe he had promiſed her, that as ſoon as he ſhould come to the crown he would marry her; which is altogether extraordinary, and almoſt never practiſed in Indoſtan.

I ſhall not ſcruple to relate here ſome of the amours of this Princeſs, although ſhut up in a ſeraglio, and well kept, like other women; neither ſhall I apprehend that I may be thought to prepare matter for a romance: for they are not amours like ours, followed by gallant and comical adventures, but attended with events dreadful and tragical.

Now it is reported, that this Princeſs found means to let a young gallant enter the ſeraglio, who was of no great quality, but proper, and of a good [illegible]; but among ſuch a number of jealous and envious perſons, ſhe could not carry on [illegible] ſo privily but ſhe was diſcovered. Chah-Jehan, her father, was ſoon advertized of it, and reſolved to ſurprize her, under the pretence of giving her a viſit, as he uſed to do. The Princeſs ſeeing him come unexpected, had no more time than to hide this unfortunate lover in one of the great chaldrons made to bathe in; which yet could not be ſo done,

done. but that Chah-Jehan suspected it. Mean time he quarrelled not with his daughter, but entertained her a pretty while, as he was wont to do; and at length told her, that he found her in a careless and less decent posture; that it was convenient she should wash herself, and bathe oftener; commanding presently, with somewhat a stern countenance, that forthwith a fire should be made under that chaldron, and he would not part thence before the eunuchs had brought him word, that that unhappy man was dispatched. Some time after she made other measures; she chose for her Kanesaman, that is, her steward, a certain Persian called Nazer-kan, who was a young Omrah, the handsomest and most accomplished of the whole court, a man of courage and ambition, the darling of all; insomuch that Cha-Hestkan, uncle of Aureng-Zebe, proposed to marry him to the Princess. But Chah-Jehan received that proposition very ill; and besides, when he was told of some of the secret intrigues that had been formed, he resolved quickly to rid himself of Nazer-kan. He therefore presented to him, as it were to do him honour, a betele, which he could not refuse to chew presently, after the custom of the country. Betele is a little knot made up of very delicate leaves, and some other things, with a little chalk of sea-cockles, which maketh the mouth and lips of a vermillion colour, and the breath sweet and pleasing. This young lord thought of nothing less than being poisoned; he went away from the company very jocund and content into his Palky, but the drug was so strong, that before he could come to his house, he was no more alive.

Rauchenara-Begum never passed for so handsome and spiritual as Begum-Saheb, but she was not less cheerful, and comely enough, and hated pleasure no more than her sister: but she addicted herself wholly to Aureng-Zebe, and consequently declared herself an enemy to Begum-Saheb and Dara. This was the cause that she had no great riches, nor any considerable share in the affairs of the state. Nevertheless, as she was in the Seraglio, and wanted not wit and spies, she could not but discover many important matters, of which she gave secret advertisement to Aureng-Zebe. Chah-Jehan, some years before the troubles, finding himself charged with these four Princes, all come of age, all married, all pretending to the crown, enemies to one another, and each of them making secretly a party, was perplexed enough as to what was fittest for him to do; fearing danger to his own person, and foreseeing what afterwards befell him. For, to shut them up in Goualeor, which is a fortress where the Princes are ordinarily kept close, and which is held impregnable, it being situated upon an inaccessible rock, and having within itself good water, and provision enough for a garrison, this was not so easy a thing: they were too potent already, each of them having a princely train. And again, he could not handsomely remove them far off, without giving them a government fit for their birth; wherein he apprehended they would cantonize themselves, and become little independent Kings, as actually they afterwards did. Nevertheless, fearing lest they should cut one another's throats before his eyes, if he kept them still at court, he at last concluded to send them away: and so he sent Sultan Sujah, his second son, into the kingdom of Bengal; his third, Aureng-Zebe, into Decan; and the youngest, Morad-Bakche, to Guzarat; giving to Dara, the eldest, Cabul and Multan. The three first went away very well content with their government; and there they acted each the sovereign, and retained all the revenues of their respective countries, entertaining great troops, under the pretence of bridling their subjects and neighbours.

As to Dara, because he was eldest, and designed to the crown, he stirred not from the court; which that he should not do, seemed also to be the intention of Chah-Jehan, who entertained him in the hopes of succeeding him after his death. He even permitted

then,



then, that orders were issued out by him, and that he might sit in a kind of throne, beneath his, among the Omrahs; so that it seemed, as if there were two kings together. But as it is very difficult for two sovereigns to agree, Chah-Jehan, though Dara shewed him great observance and affection, always harboured some diffidence, fearing above all things the Morsel; and besides, for as much as he knew the parts of Aureng-Zebe, and thought him more capable to reign than any of the rest, he had always (as they say) some particular correspondence with him.

This it is what I thought fit to premise concerning these four princes, and their father Chah-Jehan, because it is necessary for the understanding of all that follows. I esteemed also, that I was not to forget those two Princesses, as having been the most considerable actors in the tragedy; the women in the Indies taking very often, as well as at Constantinople and in many other places, the best part in the most important transactions, though men seldom take notice of it, and trouble their heads of seeking for other causes.

But to deliver this history with clearness, we must rise somewhat higher, and relate what passed some time before the troubles, between Aureng-Zebe, the King of Golkonda, and his visier Emir-Jemla; because this will discover to us the character and temper of Aureng-Zebe, who is to be the hero of this piece, and the King of the Indies. Let us then see after what manner Emir-Jemla proceeded to lay the first foundation of the royalty of Aureng-Zebe.

During the time that Aureng-Zebe was in Decan, the King of Golkonda had for his visier and general of his armies this Emir-Jemla, who was a Persian by nation, and very famous in the Indies. He was not a man of great extraction, but beaten in business, a person of excellent parts, and a great captain. He had the wit of amassing great treasures, not only by the administration of the affairs of this opulent kingdom, but also by navigation and trade, sending ships into very many parts, and causing the diamond mines, which he alone had farmed under many borrowed names, to be wrought with extraordinary diligence. So that people discoursed almost of nothing but of the riches of Emir-Jemla, and of the plenty of his diamonds, which were not reckoned but by lacks. He had also the skill to render himself very potent and considerable, entertaining, beside the armies of the King, very good troops for his particular, and above all a very good artillery, with abundance of Franguys or Christians to manage it. In a word, he grew so rich, and so puissant, especially after he had found a way to enter into the kingdom of Karnates, and to pillage all the ancient churches of the idols of that country, that the King of Golkonda became jealous of it, and prepared himself to unsaddle him; and that the more, because he could not bear what was reported of him, as if he had used too great familiarity with the Queen his mother, that was yet beauteous. Yet he discovered nothing of his design to any, having patience, and waiting till Emir came to the court, for he was then in the kingdom of Karnates with his army. But one day, when more particular news was brought him of what had passed between his mother and him, he had not power enough to dissemble any longer, but was transported by choler to fall to invectives and menaces; whereof Emir was soon made acquainted, having at the court abundance of his wife's kindred, and all his nearest relations and best friends possessing the principal offices. The King's mother also, who did not hate him, had speedy information of the same; which obliged Emir, without delay, to write to his only son Mahmet Emir-Kan, who then was about the King, requiring him to do the best he could to withdraw with all speed from the court, under some pretence of hunting or the like, and to come and join with him. Mahmet Emir-Kan failed not to attempt divers ways; but the King causing him to be narrowly observed, none of them

all would ſucceed. This very much perplexed Emir, and made him take a ſtrange reſolution, which caſt the King in great danger to loſe his crown and life; ſo true it is, that he who knows not to diſſemble, knows not how to reign. He writ to Aureng-Zebe, who was then in Dualet-Abad, the capital of Decan, about fifteen or ſixteen days' journey from Golkonda, giving him to underſtand, that the King of Golconda did intend to ruin him and his family, notwithſtanding the ſignal ſervices he had done him, as all the world knew; which was an unexampled injuſtice and ingratitude; that this neceſſitated him to take his refuge to him, and to entreat him, that he would receive him into his protection; that for the reſt, if he would follow his advice, and conſide in him, he would ſo diſpoſe affairs, that he would at once put into his hands both the King and kingdom of Golkonda. This thing he made very eaſy, uſing the following diſcourſe: "You need but take four or five thouſand horſe, of the beſt of your army, and to march with expedition to Golkonda, ſpreading a rumour by the way, that it is an ambaſſador of Chah-Jehan that goes in haſte, about conſiderable matters, to ſpeak with the King at Bag-naguer." The Dabir, who is he that is firſt to be addreſſed unto, to make any thing known unto the King, is allied to me and my creature, and altogether mine; take care of nothing but to march with expedition, and I will ſo order it, that without making you known, you ſhall come to the gates of Bag-naguer; and when the King ſhall come out to receive the letters, according to cuſtom, you may eaſily ſeize on him, and afterwards of all his family, and do with him what ſhall ſeem good to you, in regard that his houſe of Bag-naguer, where he commonly reſides, is unwalled and unfortified. He added, that he would make this enterprize upon his own charges, offering him fifty thouſand rupies a day (which is about five-and-twenty thouſand crowns) during the whole time of the march.

Aureng-Zebe, who looked only for ſome ſuch occaſion, had no mind at all to loſe ſo fair a one. He ſoon undertook the expedition, and did ſo fortunately manage his enterprize, that he arrived at Bag-naguer without being otherwiſe known than as an ambaſſador of Chah-Jehan. The King of Golkonda being advertiſed of the arrival of this pretended ambaſſador, came forth into a garden, according to cuſtom, received him with honour, and having unfortunately put himſelf into the hands of his enemy, ten or twelve ſlaves, gurgis, were ready to fall upon and to ſeize his perſon, as had been projected; but that a certain Omrah, touched with tenderneſs, could not forbear to cry out, though he was of the party, and a creature of Emir, "Doth not Your Majeſty ſee that this is Aureng-Zebe? Away, or you are taken." Whereat the King being affrighted, ſlips away, and gets haſtily on horſeback, riding with all his might to the fortreſs of Golkonda, which is but a ſhort league from thence.

Aureng-Zebe, ſeeing he was defeated in his deſign, yet was not therefore diſcompoſed; but ſeized at the ſame time on the royal houſe, taketh all the rich and good things he finds there; yet ſending to the King all his wives, (which over all the Indies is very religiouſly obſerved,) and goeth to beſiege him in his fortreſs. But as the ſiege, for want of having brought along all neceſſaries, held on long, and laſted above two months, he received order from Chah-Jehan to raiſe it, and to retire into Decan again; ſo that, although the fortreſs was reduced to extremities, for want of victuals and ammunition of war, he found himſelf obliged to abandon his enterprize. He knew very well, that it was Cara and Begum that had induced Chah-Jehan to ſend theſe orders, from the apprehenſion they entertained that he would become too powerful; but in the mean time he never diſcovered any reſentment of it, ſaying only, that he ought to obey the orders of his father. Yet he withdrew not, without cauſing underhand payment to be made to him of all the charges of his expedition: beſides, he married his ſon Sul-

 tan

tan Mahmoud to the eldest daughter of that King, with a promise that he would make him his successor, causing him also to give him for a dowry the fortress and the appurtenances of Bainguyre. He also made the King consent, that all the silver money that should be coined for the future in that kingdom, should bear on one side the arms of Chah-Jehan; and that Emir-Jemla should withdraw, with his whole family, all his goods, troops, and artillery.

These two great men were not long together but they framed great designs. On the way they besieged and took Bider, one of the strongest and most important places of Visapour; and thence they went to Daulet-Abad, where they contracted so intimate a friendship together, that Aureng-Zebe could not live without seeing Emir twice a day, nor Emir without seeing Aureng-Zebe. Their union began to cause a new face in all the affairs of those parts, and laid the first foundations of the royalty of Aureng-Zebe.

This Prince having used the art to make himself to be called to the court divers times, went with great and rich presents to Agra to Chah-Jehan, presenting him his service, and inducing him to make war against the King of Golkonda, and him of Visapour, and against the Portugueze. At first he presented to him that great diamond, which is esteemed matchless; giving him to understand, that the precious stones of Golkonda were quite other things than those rocks of Kandahar; that there it was where the war ought to be made, to get the possession thereof, and to go as far as Cape Comery. Chah-Jehan, whether it were that he was dazzled by the diamonds of Emir, or whether he thought it fit, as some believe he did, to have an army in the field, somewhat to restrain Dara, whom he found active in making himself potent, and who with insolence had ill-treated the visier Sadullah-Kan, (whom Chah-Jehan passionately loved, and considered as the greatest statesman that had been in the Indies,) causing him even to be made away with poison, as a man not of his party, but inclined to Sultan Sujah; or rather, because he found him too powerful, and in a condition to be the umpire of the crown, if Chah-Jehan should decease; or lastly, because being neither Persian, nor of Persian extraction, but an Indian, there were not wanting envious persons, who spread abroad, that he entertained in divers places numerous troops of Patans, very gallant men, and well paid, with a design to make himself King, or his son; or at least to expel the Moguls, and to restore to the throne the nation of the Patans, of whom he had taken his wife. However it be, Chah-Jehan resolved to send an army towards Decan, under the conduct of Emir-Jemla.

Dara, who saw the consequence of this affair, and that the sending of troops for those parts was to give strength to Aureng-Zebe, opposed it exceedingly, and did what he could to hinder it. Nevertheless, when he saw that Chah-Jehan was resolute for it, he at last thought it best to consent; but with this condition, that Aureng-Zebe should keep in Daulet-Abad, as governor only of the country, without meddling at all in the war, or pretending to govern the army; that Emir should be the absolute general, who for a pledge of his fidelity, was to leave his whole family at the court. Emir struggled enough within himself, whether he should agree to this last condition, but when Chah-Jehan desired him to give that satisfaction to Dara, and promised him, that after a little while he would send him back his wife and children, he consented, and marched into Decan towards Aureng-Zebe with a very gallant army, and without any stop entered into Visapour, where he besieged a strong place called Kaliani.

The affairs of Indostan were in that condition, as I have been relating, when Chah-Jehan fell dangerously sick. I shall not speak here of his sickness, much less relate the particulars of it: I shall only say this, that it was little suitable to a man of above seventy

years of age, who should rather think on preserving his strength, than to ruin it as he did. This sickness did soon alarm and trouble all Indostan. Mighty armies were levied in Dehly and Agra, the capitals of the empire. Sultan Sujah did the like in Bengal; and Aureng-Zebe in Decan; and Morad-Bakche in Guzaratte: all four assembled to themselves their allies and friends; all four write, promise, and form divers intrigues. Dara having surprised some of their letters, shewed them to Chah-Jehan, and made great noise about them; and his sister Begum failed not to make use of this occasion, to animate the King against them. But Chah-Jehan was diffident of Dara, and fearing to be poisoned, gave order, that particular care should be had of what was brought to his table. It was also said, that he wrote to Aureng-Zebe and that Dara, being advertised thereof, could not forbear to menace, and to break into very passionate expressions. In the mean time the distemper of Chah-Jehan lingered, and it was bruited every where that he was dead. Whereupon the whole court was disordered, the whole town alarmed, the shops for many days shut up, and the four sons of the King made openly great preparations, each for himself: and to say truth, it was not without reason, that they all made ready for war; for they all very well knew, that there was no hopes of quarter, that there was no other way than to vanquish or die, to be King or undone, and that he that should be conqueror would rid himself of all the rest, as formerly Chah-Jehan had done of his brothers.

Sultan Sujah, who had heaped up great treasures in that rich kingdom of Bengal, ruining some of the Rajas or petty kings that are in those parts, and drawing great sums from others, took the field first of all with a puissant army, and in the confidence he had of all the Persian Omrahs, for the sect of whom he had declared himself, he boldly marched towards Agra, giving out openly that Chah-Jehan was dead, that Dara had poisoned him, that he would revenge the death of his father, and, in a word, that he would be King. Dara desired Chah-Jehan to write himself to him, and to forbid him to advance farther; which he did, assuring him that his sickness was not at all dangerous, and that he was already much better. But he having friends at court, who assured him that the sickness of Chah-Jehan was mortal, he dissembled and ceased not to advance, saying still, that he knew very well Chah-Jehan was dead; and if he should be alive, he was desirous to come and kiss his feet, and to receive his commands.

Aureng-Zebe immediately after, if not at the same time, taketh the field also in Decan, maketh a great noise, and prepareth to march towards Agra. The same prohibition was made to him also, as well from Chah-Jehan, as from Dara, who threatened him. But he dissembled for the same reason that Sultan Sujah had done, and giveth the like answer. Mean time, finding that his treasure was low, and his soldiery very inconsiderable, he devised two artifices, which succeeded admirably well; the one, in regard of Morad-Bakche; the other, in respect of Emir-Jemla. To Morad-Bakche he writes with speed a very fair letter, importing, that he had always been his true and intimate friend; that as for himself, he laid no claim at all to the crown; that he might remember, he had all his life time made profession of a Fakire, but that Dara was a person incapable to govern a kingdom; that he was a Kafer, an idolater, and hated of all the greatest Omrahs; that Sultan Sujah was a Rafezy, an heretic, and by consequence an enemy to Indostan, and unworthy of the crown: so that, in a word, there was none but he (Morad-Bakche) that could reasonably pretend to the succession; that the crown did expect him; that the whole court, which was not ignorant of his valour, would be for him; and that for his particular, if he would promise him, that being King, he would give him leave to live quietly in some corner or other of his empire, there

 to

to serve God the remainder of his days, he was ready to make a conjunction with him, to assist him with his council and friends, and to put into his hands his whole army, to fight Dara and Sultan Sujah; that in the mean time he sent him an hundred thousand rupies (which make about fifty thousand crowns of our * money) and prayed him to accept thereof as a pledge of his friendship; and that he would advise him to come with all possible speed to seize on the castle of Surat, where he knew to be the treasure of the land.

Morad-Bakche, who was neither too rich nor too powerful, received with much joy this proposition of Aureng-Zebe, and the hundred thousand rupies sent by him; and shewed Aureng-Zebe's letter to every body, thereby to oblige the flower of that country to take up arms for him, and the substantial merchants to lend him the more willingly, such sums of money as he demanded of them. He began in good earnest to act the King, made large promises to all; and, in short, did so well, that he set a good army on foot; of whom he singled out some three thousand, who, under the conduct of Chah-Abas, one of his eunuchs, but a valiant man, should go to besiege Surat.

Aureng-Zebe sent his eldest son, Sultan Mahmoud, (him whom he had married to the daughter of the King of Golkonda,) to Emir-Jemla, who was yet employed in the siege of Kaliane, to persuade him to come to him to Daulet-Abad, pretending to have matter of the greatest importance to communicate to him. Emir, who soon suspected his intentions, excused himself, saying openly, that Chah-Jehan was not dead, that he had fresh news of his being alive, and that besides, all his family being at Agra in the hands of Dara, he could by no means assist Aureng-Zebe, nor declare himself for him. Whereupon Sultan Mahmoud returned to Daulet-Abad, without effecting any thing, and very much dissatisfied with Emir. But Aureng-Zebe lost no courage for all that, but sent the second time to Emir; yet not Sultan Mahmoud, but Sultan Mazum, his second son, who presented to him his father's letter, and handled him with that dexterity, sweetness, and protestation of friendship, that it was not possible to resist him. Emir therefore pressed the siege of Kaliane, forced the besieged to surrender upon composition, took the choice of his army, and with all diligence went away with Sultan Mazum. At his arrival, Aureng-Zebe courted him in the highest degree, treating him no otherwise than with the name of Baba and Babagy, that is, father, lord-father; and after an hundred embraces, he took him aside, and told him (according to what I could learn from persons who knew of it) that it was not just, that having his family at court, he should adventure to do any thing in his behalf that might come to be known; but that after all, there was nothing so difficult but an expedient might be found. Give me leave therefore (said he) to propose to you a design, which at first will possibly surprize you; but since you apprehend the danger of your wife and children that are in hostage, the best way of providing for their security would be, to suffer me to seize on your person, and to put you in prison. It is out of doubt that all the world will believe it done in earnest: for who would imagine that such a person as you would be content to let yourself be laid in prison? In the interim, I could make use of part of your army and of your artillery, as you shall judge most proper and convenient: you also could furnish me with a sum of money, as you have frequently offered it; and besides, methinks I might tempt fortune farther, and we might together take our measures, to see in what manner I had best to demean myself; if you would also permit that I might cause you to be transported into the fortress of Doulet-Abad, where you should be master;

* French.

and that there I might have you kept by my own son, Sultan Mazum, or Sultan Mahmoud; this would yet better palliate the matter, and I see not what Dara could justly say of it, nor how he could reasonably treat your wife and children ill.

Emir, whether it were by reason of the friendship he had sworn to Aureng-Zebe, or for the great promises made to him, or the apprehension he had, of seeing near him Sultan Mazum, who stood by very pensive and well armed, and Sultan Mahmoud, who looked grim upon him for his coming away at the solicitation of his brother, not at that of his, and had at his very entrance lift up his foot as if he would have hit him; whatever of these considerations might induce him, he consented to all that Aureng-Zebe desired, and approved of the expedient to suffer himself to be imprisoned, so that Aureng-Zebe was no sooner gone, but the great master of the artillery was seen to approach with some fierceness to Emir, and to command him in the name of Aureng-Zebe to follow him, locking him up in a chamber, and there giving him very good words, whilst all the soldiery that Aureng-Zebe had thereabout, went to their arms. The report of the detention of Emir-Jemla was no sooner spread, but a great tumult arose; and those whom he had brought along with him, although astonished, yet put themselves into a posture of rescuing him, and with their swords drawn, ran to force the guards, and the gate of his prison, which was easy for them to do; for Aureng-Zebe had not with him sufficient troops to make good so bold an enterprize; the only name of Emir-Jemla made all tremble. But the whole matter being altogether counterfeited, all these commotions were presently calmed by the intimations that were given to the chief officers of Emir's army, and by the presence of Aureng-Zebe, who there appeared very resolute with his two sons, and spoke now to one, then to another; and at last by promises and presents, liberally bestowed on those that were concerned. So that all the troops of Emir, and even most of those of Chah-Jehan, seeing things troubled, and being without their general, and believing Chah-Jehan to be dead, or at best desperately sick; considering also the ample promises made to them of augmenting their stipend, and of giving them at that very time three months advance, soon listed themselves under Aureng-Zebe; who having seized on all the equipage of Emir, even his very camels and tents, took the field, resolved to march to the siege of Surat, and to hasten the taking it; where Morad-Bakche was exceedingly embarrassed, because that his best troops were employed there, and that he found more resistance in that place than he imagined. But Aureng-Zebe, after some days march, was informed, that the governor had surrendered the place; for which he sent congratulations to Morad-Bakche, acquainting him withal of his transactions with Emir-Jemla, and assuring him that he had forces and money enough, and very good intelligence at the court; that nothing was wanting; that he was directly going to Brampour and Agra; that he had expected him on the way, and therefore desired him to join with him.

It is true, that Morad-Bakche found not so much money in the fortress of Surat as he imagined, whether it were that really there was not so much as was reported, or whether the governor had diverted a part of it, as some believed: yet notwithstanding that little he found there was useful to him, to pay the soldiers that had listed themselves in hopes of the advantages they should make of the imagined vast treasure of Surat. It is not less true, that he had no greater reason to boast of the taking of this place, in regard there was not any regular fortification about it; and yet his army had lain before it above a month, and would never have reduced it without the Hollanders, who furnished them with the invention of springing a mine, which, ruining a great side of the wall, cast the besieged into such a consternation, that it made them immediately surrender. The reduction of this town did much advance his design, fame proclaiming immediately

throughout

throughout these countries, that Morad-Bakche had taken Surat; that he had sprung a mine, which sounded very big among the Indians, who as yet do little understand that practice; and that there he had found a vast treasure. Nothwithstanding this great noise, and all the first advantages, joined to all those frequent letters and great promises of Aurenge-Zebe, the eunuch Chah-Abas, a man of good sense, of a great heart, and exceedingly affectionate to the service of his master, was not of opinion that Morad-Bakche should so much tie himself in interest to Aureng-Zebe, or precipitate his conjunction with him, but advised, that he should amuse him with words, and let him advance alone towards Agra; that in the mean time there would come certain news of the sickness of Chan-Jehan; that he should first see what channel affairs would run in; that he should fortify Surat, as a very good post, able to render him master of a very large and rich country; and that perhaps in time he might seize Brampour, which is a very considerable passage of a river, and as it were a bar of Decan. But the continual letters and protestations of Aureng-Zebe, joined to the small forces, artillery, and treasure of Morad-Bakche, blinded with an excessive ambition to reign, made him regardless of all other considerations; so that he went away from Amadevad, abandoned Guzaratte, and took his way through the woods and mountains, with all expedition, to be at the rendezvous, where Aureng-Zebe had looked for him these two or three days.

Great solemnities of joy were made at the conjunction of the two armies, the Princes visited one another, Aureng-Zebe made a hundred protestations and no less promises to Morad-Bakche, assured him afresh, and solemnly, of his not caring for the crown, as also of his being there for no other end than to assist him against Dara, their common enemy, and to place him in the throne, which expected him.

Upon this interview, and confirmation of friendship, both armies marched together, Aureng-Zebe continuing always, during the march, in the protestations of friendship, and in his courtship to Morad-Bakche, treating him never otherwise, whether in publick or private, but with the title of Hazaret, that is, king and majesty: so that Morad-Bakche was fully persuaded that Aureng-Zebe meant sincerely, from an excess of affection towards him; whence he even willingly, and without ceremony, suffered the submissions and respects he shewed him; instead of remembering what had lately passed at Golkonda, and of considering, that he, who had thus hazarded himself with so much boldness to usurp a kingdom, was not of a temper to live and die a Fakire.

These two armies thus joined made a body considerable enough, which begot a great noise at court, and gave cause of thoughtfulness, not only to Dara, but to Chah-Jehan himself, who knew the great parts and subtle conduct of Aureng-Zebe, and the courage of Morad-Bakche; and who foresaw very well, that a fire was kindling, which would be very hard to quench. It was to no purpose to write letters upon letters, signifying that he was well, and giving order that they should turn back to their respective governments, and expressing also, that he would forget all that had passed hitherto. All his letters were not able to hinder their advance; and as the sickness of Chah-Jehan did still pass for mortal, there being no persons wanting to bring and spread such news, they still continued to dissemble, giving out, that they were letters counterfeited by Dara, that Chah-Jehan was dead indeed; but that in case he were alive, they would go to kiss his feet, and deliver him from the hands of Dara.

What then should Chah-Jehan this unfortunate king do, who seeth that his sons have no regard to his orders; who is informed at all hours, that they march apace towards Agra, at the head of their armies, and who, in this conjuncture, finds himself sick to boot in the hands of Dara, that is, of a man who breatheth nothing but war; who pre-

pareth

pareth for it with all imaginable earneſtneſs, and with all the marks of an enraged reſentment againſt his brothers? But what could he do in this extremity? He is conſtrained to abandon to them his treaſures, and to leave them to their diſpoſal. He is forced to ſend for his old and moſt truſty captains, whom he knows for the moſt part to be not very affectionate to Dara; he muſt command them to fight for Dara, againſt his own blood, his own children, and thoſe for whom he hath more eſteem than for Dara; he is obliged forthwith to ſend an army againſt Sultan Sujah, becauſe it is he that is moſt advanced; and he is to ſend another againſt Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, who no leſs are marching towards him.

Soliman Chekouh, the eldeſt ſon of Dara, a young Prince of about five and twenty years of age, very proper of body, and of good parts and conduct, generous, liberal, and univerſally beloved, eſpecially of Chah-Jehan, who had already enriched him, and who conſidered him rather for his ſucceſſor than Dara, was he that was made general of this army againſt Sujah. Nevertheleſs Chan-Jehan, who wiſhed much rather that Sujah were returned to Bengal, than that the matter ſhould be tried by a bloody combat, which could not but be very tragical, and wherein he run the hazard of loſing one or other of his ſons, gave him for companion an ancient Raja, called Jeſſeigne, who is at preſent one of the powerfuleſt and richeſt Rajas of all Indoſtan, and one of the ableſt in the whole kingdom, with a ſecret order not to fight, except it were altogether unavoidable; as alſo to endeavour by all means to induce Sujah to retire, and to reſerve his forces for a better occaſion; that is to ſay, after they ſhould have ſeen the event of the ſickneſs of Chah-Jehan, and the ſucceſs of Aureng-Zebe, and of Morad-Bakche. But this young Prince, Soliman Chekouh, full of heat and courage, breathing after nothing but to ſignalize himſelf by ſome great action; and Sultan Sujah fearing leſt Aureng-Zebe gaining a battle ſhould firſt make himſelf maſter of the capital towns of the empire, Agra and Dehly; it was impoſſible for the Raja Jeſſeigne to keep them from a combat. The two armies are no ſooner in ſight of one another, but they prepare to fall on, and they were not long from giving ſome vollies of cannon. I ſhall not relate the particulars of this fight; for beſides that the narration of it would be too long and tedious, in the ſequel of this hiſtory we ſhall be obliged to deſcribe more conſiderable ones, by which the reader will be able to judge of this. It is ſufficient to know in general, that the firſt onſet was very ſharp and obſtinate on both ſides, but that at length Soliman Chekouh did urge Sujah with that force and vigour, that he diſordered him, and made him fly: ſo that if Jeſſeigne, and the Patan Delil-kan, who was one of the firſt captains and a valiant man, but an intimate friend of the Raja, and did not act but being moved by him, had ſeconded him in good earneſt, it is thought the whole army of Sujah would have been defeated, and himſelf in danger of being taken: but that was not the deſign of the Raja to deſtroy him, no more than it was that of Chah-Jehan, who had given him orders to the contrary. Thus then had Sujah time to retreat, and that without loſing any conſiderable number of his men; yet becauſe Soliman Chekouh kept the field, and brought away ſome pieces of artillery, it was preſently bruited at court, that Sujah had been totally overthrown. This defeat purchaſed great reputation to Soliman Chekouh, leſſened much the eſteem of Sultan Sujah, and cooled exceedingly all the Perſians that had an inclination for him.

After ſome days were ſpent in the purſuit of Sujah, the Prince Soliman Chekouh, who every day received news from the court, and who learned that Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche did approach with great reſolution, well knowing that his father Dara had no great ſtock of prudence, but good ſtore of ſecret enemies, reſolved to quit the purſuit of Sultan Sujah, and with all ſpeed to return to Agra, where, in all appearance, Dara was

to

to give battle against Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche. This was the best counsel he could take, for no man doubts, that if he could have been there in good time, Aureng-Zebe would not have had the advantage; and it is even believed, he would never have hazarded the combat, the party being too unequal; but the bad fortune of Dara did not permit it.

Whilst all that was thus transacted towards Elabas, which is the place where the Gemna is joined to the Ganges, the scene was very different on the side of Agra. At the court they were much surprized to hear that Aureng-Zebe had passed the river of Brampour, and all the other passages that were most difficult between the mountains; so that with all haste they sent away some troops to dispute with him the passage of the river Eugenes, whilst the whole army was making ready. For which purpose there were chosen two of the most considerable and the most powerful of the kingdom to command it; the one was Kasem-Kan, a renowned captain, and very affectionate to Chah-Jehan, but one that had no great inclination to Dara, and who went not but to oblige Chah-Jehan, whom he saw in the hands of Dara: the other was Jessomseigne, a potent Raja, not inferior to Jesseigne, and son-in-law to that Raja Rana, who was at the time of Ekbar so puissant, as if he had been the Emperor of the Rajas. Dara at their farewel expressed to them great kindness, and presented them nobly; but Chah-Jehan took his time, before their departure, to charge them in secret, as he had done the Raja Jesseigne, when he went away in the expedition against Sultan Sujah with Soliman Chekouh. Neither were they wanting, in their march, to send several times to Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, to persuade them to turn back: but this was in vain, their envoys came not again, and the army advanced with that diligence, that they saw it much sooner than they thought upon a rising ground, not far remote from the river.

It being then summer, and the season of the greatest heats, the river was fordable; which was the cause, that at the same time Kasem-Kan and the Raja prepared themselves to give battle; besides that, they soon knew the resolution of Aureng-Zebe, that he would force them, since that, although his army was not all come up, he gave them some vollies of cannon; his design being to amuse them, fearing lest they themselves should pass the river, not only to prevent his passage, but also to hinder his army from reposing, and from taking an advantageous post; which was indeed in great disorder, and so tired by their march, and so faint by the heat, that if at the very first it had been assaulted, and kept from passing the water, it would doubtless have been routed without much resistance. I was not by in this first encounter, but thus it was generally discoursed of, and it agreeth with the after-relation of many of our Frenchmen, who served Aureng-Zebe in the artillery. But they were content to stay at the river side, to keep Aureng-Zebe from passing it, according to the order they had received.

After that Aureng-Zebe had let his army rest two or three days, and by amusing the enemy, had fitted it to pass the river, he made his whole artillery play, which was very well placed; and he commanded, that under the favour of the cannon they should pass the river. Kasem-Kan and the Raja, on their part, discharged theirs also, and did what they could to repulse the enemy, and to keep him from passing. The combat was sharp enough at first, and very obstinately maintained by the extraordinary valour of Jessomseigne. For as to Kasem-Kan, although a great captain, and a stout man, he gave no great proof of his valour on this occasion; yea, some accuse him of treachery, charging him that he had in the night caused the bullets and powder to be hid under the sand, there being no more of them to be found after two or three discharges.

discharges. However it be, the combat, for all that, was, as I said, very resolutely carried on, and the passage long disputed. There were rocks in the bed of the river, which did much embarrass, and the banks in many places were very high and difficult to climb up; but at last, Morad-Bakche cast himself into the water with so much resolution and force, and shewed so much valour and boldness, that there was no resisting of him. He passed over, and with him a good part of the army, which made Kasem-Kan to give back, and cast Jessomseigne into great danger of his person. For by and by he found the whole body of the enemy upon him, and without the extraordinary resolution of his Rajipous, who almost all were killed about him, he had been a dead man. One may judge of the great danger he was in upon this occasion, by this, that after he had disengaged himself as well as he could, and was come back to his own, not daring to return to Agra, because of the great loss he had suffered, of seven or eight thousand Rajipous, he had but five or six hundred of them remaining.

These Rajipous, who take their name from the Rajas, that is to say, the children of the Rajas, are from father to son such men as make the sword their profession. The Rajas, whose subjects they are, do assign them lands for their subsistence, on condition to be always ready to go to war when summoned. So that one might say, that they were a sort of pagan nobles, if the Rajas gave them their lands in propriety for them and their children. They are great takers of opium; and I have sometimes wondered at the quantity I have seen them take: they accustom themselves to it from their youth. On the day of battle they double the dose, this drug animating, or rather inebriating them, and making them insensible of danger; insomuch that they cast themselves into the combat like so many furious beasts, not knowing what it is to run away, but dying at the feet of the Raja, when he stands to it. They want nothing but order; resolution they have enough. It is a pleasure thus to see them, with the fume of opium in their head, to embrace one another, when the battle is to begin, and to give their mutual farewels, as men resolved to die. And that they do for this reason; that the Great Mogul, though a Mahometan, and by consequence an enemy of the heathen, yet for all that entertains always a good number of Rajas in his service, whom he considers as his other Omrahs, and employs in his armies as if they were Mahometans.

I cannot forbear to relate here the fierce reception which the daughter of the Rana gave to her husband Jessomseigne, after his defeat and flight. When she heard that he was nigh, and had understood what had passed in the battle; that he had fought with all possible courage; that he had but four or five hundred men left; and that at last, not being able to resist any longer the enemy, he had been obliged to retreat: she, instead of sending one to receive him, and to console him in his misfortunes, commanded in a dry mood to shut the gates of the castle, and not to let this infamous man enter; that he was not her husband; that she would never see him; that the son-in-law of the great Rana could not have so low a soul; that he was to remember, that being grafted into so illustrious an house, he was to imitate the virtue of it; and in a word, that he was either to vanquish or die. A moment after she was of another humour; she commands a pile of wood to be laid, that she might burn herself, that they abused her; saying, that her husband must needs be dead; that it could not be otherwise. And a little while after this, she was seen to change her countenance, to fall into passion, and to break out into a thousand reproaches against him. In short, she remained thus transported eight or nine days, without being able to resolve to see her husband, till at last her mother coming in, brought her in some degree to herself, and comforted her, assuring her, that as soon as the Raja had but a little refreshed himself,

himself, he would raise another army, to fight Aureng-Zebe, and repair his honour at any rate.

By which story one may see a pattern of the courage of the women in that country; to which I could add something I have seen some of them do, who burned themselves alive after the death of their husbands; but we must reserve this discourse for another place, where I shall also shew, that there is nothing which opinion, prepossession, custom, hope, and the point of honour, &c. may not make men do or suffer.

Dara having understood what had passed at Eugenes, fell into that choler against Kasem-Kan, that it was thought he would have cut off his head, if he had been upon the place. He was also transported against Emir-Jemla, as the person who was the first and principal cause of the misfortune, and who had furnished Aureng-Zebe with men, money, and cannon. He is ready to kill his son Mahmet Emir-Kan, and will send his wife and daughter to Basar, or the market-place of prostituted women; and it is past doubt, that he would have done some such thing, if Chah-Jehan, with much art and prudence, had not moderated the excess of his passion, in remonstrating to him, that Emir-Jemla had not so little conduct, nor so great a friendship for Aureng-Zebe, as to hazard, and in a manner to sacrifice his family, for the advancing of his interest; that Aureng-Zebe must needs have gulled and ensnared him, by his usual artifice and cunning.

As for Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, the happy success of this first encounter did so swell their hearts, and gave such courage to their whole army, that henceforth they believed themselves invincible, and capable to compass any thing. Besides, Aureng-Zebe, the more to animate his soldiers, bragged openly, that he had thirty thousand Moguls at his devotion in the army of Dara; and there was something in it, as appeared by the sequel. Morad-Bakche was for nothing but fighting, and would march with all diligence: but Aureng-Zebe represented to him, that it was necessary the army should refresh themselves for some time upon the banks of this sweet river; that in the mean time he would write to all his friends, and get a full and certain information of the state of the court, and of the condition of all affairs. So that he marched not towards Agra till he had rested some days, and after that he marched but slowly, to inform himself of all, and to take his time and measures.

Concerning Chah-Jehan, when he plainly saw the resolution of Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, and that there was no hope left to make him turn back, he was in such a perplexity, that he knew not what to resolve, and foreseeing some great calamity, he would fain have hindered the last decisive battle, for which he saw Dara preparing himself with great eagerness. But what could he do to oppose it? He was yet too weak of his sickness, and saw himself still in the hands of Dara, whom, as I have said, he trusted not much; so that he found himself obliged to acquiesce in his will, and to commit to him all the forces of the empire, and to command all captains to obey him. Immediately all was in arms. I know not whether there was ever a more gallant army seen in Indostan. It is said that there were little less than an hundred thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, with four thousand pieces of cannon, without reckoning the incredible number of servants, followers, victuallers, whom historians, methinks, do often put into the number of the combatants, when they speak of those formidable armies of three or four hundred thousand men, of which their books are full. Though this army was very brave, and strong enough to cut in pieces two or three of such as Aureng-Zebe had, in which there were no more than thirty-five or forty thousand men in all, and these tired and harassed by a very long and irksome march, during the height of the heats; and but a small number of

cannon,

cannon, in respect of that of Dara. Mean time (which seems hard to believe) there was scarce any body that presaged well for Dara, all knowing, that most of the chief Omrahs had no affection for him, and that all the good soldiers that were for him, and whom he might confide in, were in the army of Soliman Chekouh, his son. And it was for this reason, that the most prudent and the most faithful of his friends, and Chah-Jehan himself, counselled him not to hazard a battle; Chah-Jehan offering, as infirm as he was, that he would go into the field himself, and be carried before Aureng-Zebe to interpose; which was looked upon as a very good expedient for peace, and for accommodating the affairs of Chah-Jehan. For it is certain, that Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche would never have had the boldness to fight against their own father; and if they should have attempted it, they would have smarted for it, because, besides that the match was not equal, and all the great Omrahs were so affectionate to Chah-Jehan, that they would not have failed to fight resolutely, if they had seen him in the head of the army; besides this, I say, the captains themselves of Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, bore great affection and respect to this Prince, whose creatures they most were; and the whole army, in a manner, was his. So that in all appearance, not one of them would have presumed to draw his sword against him, nor he been at the pains of drawing his.

Then they advised Dara, that if he would not hearken to this expedient, he should at least not precipitate the business, but, delay till Soliman Chekouh, who made all haste to join, were come in. Which was also very good counsel, in regard that that Prince was beloved of all, and was lately come home victorious, and had the most faithful and the bravest soldiers with him. But Dara would never hearken to any proposition that could be made to him, and he thought on nothing else but to give battle presently, and to go against Aureng-Zebe in person. And possibly he did not amiss, as to his own honour and particular interest, if he could have commanded fortune, and made things succeed as he contrived them. For the considerations he had (as he could not forbear now and then to discover) were some such as these.

He looked upon himself as master of the person of Chah-Jehan; that he could dispose of him as he pleased; that he was also possessor of all the treasures and forces of the empire; that Sultan Sujah was half ruined; that his two other brothers, with a weak and tired army, were come to cast themselves into his hands; that if he gained the battle, they could not escape him; that he should all at once be absolute master, and at the end of all his troubles, and at the height of his wishes, so as nobody could contradict him in any thing, or dispute the crown with him. Whereas, if Chah-Jehan should take the field, all affairs would be accommodated, his brothers would return to their government, Chah Jehan, who began to recover his health, would resume the government as before, and all things would return into their first channel; that if he should stay for Soliman Chekouh, his son, Chah-Jehan might take some design to his disadvantage, or contrive something with Aureng-Zebe; that whatever he could do for gaining the victory, the reputation which Soliman Chekouh had purchased, would still give him all the honour of it. And after that, what would not he be capable to undertake, swelled with so much glory and success, and especially being supported, as he was, by the favour and affection of Chah-Jehan, and of the greatest part of the Omrahs? What did he know, whether he would keep any modesty, or any respect for him, and whither his ambition might not carry him?

These considerations made Dara resolve to stand out against the counsel of all, and to pursue his point. And for that purpose, he commanded immediately the whole army to take the field, and thereupon came to take leave of Chah-Jehan, who was in

 the

the fortress of Agra. This good old man was ready to melt in tears, when he embraced him; but withal failed not to represent to him, with a very grave countenance: Well, Dara, since thou art resolved to follow thine own will, go, God bless thee, but remember well these few words, If thou losest the battle, take heed of ever coming into my presence. But this made no great impression upon him; he goeth forth briskly, taketh horse, and seizeth on the passage of the river Tchembel, which is about twenty miles from Agra; where he fortified himself, expecting his enemy. But the subtle and crafty Fakire *, who wanted no good spies, and people that gave him intelligence of all, and who knew that the passage was there very difficult, took good heed to attempt the forcing it. He came to encamp himself near it, so that from the camp of Dara one might discover his tents. But what doth he in the mean time? He inveigles a certain rebel of Raja, called Chempet, presents him richly, and promiseth him a thousand fine things, if he would let him pass through his territories, that so he might go with speed to gain a certain place, where he knew that the river might be passed on foot with ease. Chempet agreeth, and offers of his own accord, that he would himself attend him, and shew him the way through the woods and hills of his country. Aureng-Zebe raised his camp the same night, without any noise, leaving some of his tents to amuse Dara, and marching night and day, made such haste, that he was almost as soon on the other side of the river, as Dara could have notice of it. Which obliged Dara to abandon the river there, and to leave all his fortifications, and to follow his enemy, who, he was told, did advance with great diligence towards Agra, to gain the river of Gemna, and there without trouble, and at his ease, to enjoy the water, to fortify, and to fix himself well, and so to expect Dara. The place where he encamped is but five leagues from Agra, it was formerly called Samonguer, and now Fate-abad, which is to say, Place of Victory. A little while after, Dara also came to encamp there, nigh the bank of the same river, between Agra and the army of Aureng-Zebe.

The two armies were there between three and four days in sight of one another, without fighting. Meantime Chah-Jehan wrote several letters to Dara, that Soliman Chekouh was not far off; that he should not precipitate; that he should come near Agra, and chuse an advantageous place to fortify himself till he came. But Dara answered, that before three days were passed, he would bring to him Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, tied hand and foot, to do with them what he should think fit. And without expecting any longer, he began at that very hour to put his army in battle array.

He placed in the front all his cannon, causing them to be tied the one to the other with chains, to shut the passage of the cavalry. Behind these pieces of cannon, he placed also front-ways a great number of light camels, on the forepart of the bodies whereof they fasten a small piece, of the bigness of a double musket; a man sitting on the hind part of the camel, being able to charge and discharge without lighting. Behind these camels stood the greatest part of the musqueteers. Of the rest of the army, which chiefly consisted in cavalry, furnished with bows and arrows, (as ordinarily are the Moguls, that is, at present, white men, Mahometans, strangers, as Persians, Turks, Arabians, and Usbecks;) or with a sword, and a kind of half-pike, as commonly are the Rajipous. Of all these, I say, there were made three different bodies. The right wing was committed to Calil-ullah-Kan, with thirty thousand Moguls under his command; for he was made great bakhis, that is, great master of the cavalry,

* Aureng Zebe.

in the place of Danechmend-Kan, that was afterwards made Aga, who voluntarily resigned this office, seeing that he was not well beloved of Dara, for having always highly maintained against him the interest and authority of Chah-Jehan. The left wing was given to Rustam-Kan-Dakny, a very renowned and very valiant captain, together with the Raja Chatresale, and the Raja Ramseigne Routlo.

On the other side, Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche put also their army almost into the same order; except that in the midst of the troops of some Omrahs, they had hid some small field pieces, which was, as was said, after the way and art of Emir-Jemla, and with no ill effect.

They hardly made use of any more art, than what hath been now related; only they placed here and there some men casting bannes, which is a kind of granado fastened to a stick, that may be cast very far through the cavalry, and which extremely terrifieth horses, and even hurts and kills sometimes.

All this cavalry turns about very easily, and they draw their arrows with marvellous swiftness; one man being able to draw six of them, before a musqueteer can twice discharge his musket. The same cavalry keeps also very close in several troops under their respective officers, especially when they are going to fight hand to hand. But after all, I see not that this way of putting an army in array is any great matter, in comparison of our armies, when in good order.

All things being thus disposed, the artillery began to play on both sides; for it is always the cannon that makes a prelude amongst them; and the arrows were now seen to fly through the air, when unexpectedly there happened to fall a storm of rain, so violent, that it interrupted the combat. The rain ceasing, the cannon began afresh to roar; and then it was that Dara appeared, who being mounted upon a proud elephant of Ceilau, commanded that an onset should be made on all sides; and himself advanced into the midst of the body of the cavalry, directly towards the enemies artillery, who received him warmly, killed store of his men about him, and put into disorder, not only the main body which he commanded, but also the other bodies of the cavalry that followed him. Yet notwithstanding, because he was seen to keep firm upon his elephant, without any appearance of giving back, and was observed to look every where about him with an undaunted look, and to make signs with his hands to advance and to follow him, this disorder soon ceased, every one resuming his rank, and advancing in the same pace with Dara. But he could not reach the enemy, without receiving another volley of cannon shot, which caused a second and great disorder in his men, and made a good part of them recoil; yet he, without any change in his countenance, stood to it, encouraging his troops, and gave still signs that they should follow him, and advance with speed, without any loss of time. Thus pressing vigorously forward, he forced the enemy's artillery, broke the chains, entered into their camp, and made a rout in their camels and infantry, and in every thing he met with on that side; opening also a great passage to the cavalry that followed him. Then it was that the enemy's cavalry facing him, a sore combat began. A shower of arrows filled the air from both sides, Dara himself putting his hand to that work: but to say truth, these arrows do but little execution, more of them are lost in the air, or broken on the ground, than hit. The first discharge of arrows being made, they fought hand to hand with their sabres, pell-mell, and the combat was stoutly maintained on both sides. Dara is still seen to continue firm on his elephant, encouraging, making a noise, and giving signs on all sides; and at last advancing with so much resolution and force, against all that opposed him in his march, that he overthrew the cavalry, and made them to retire and run away.

Aureng-

Aureng-Zebe, who was not far from thence, and mounted alſo on an elephant, ſeeing this great diſorder, was in great trouble, and laboured with all his might to remedy it, but to no purpoſe. He made the main body of his beſt cavalry advance, to try whether he could make head againſt Dara; but it was not long before this body alſo was forced to give back, and to retreat in great diſorder, whatever Aureng-Zebe could ſay or do to hinder it. Meantime let us take notice of his courage and reſolution. He ſaw that almoſt the whole body of his army was diſordered, and in a flying poſture, inſomuch that he had not a thouſand men about him that kept their ſtanding (ſome told me, that there were ſcarce five hundred). He ſaw that Dara, notwithſtanding the difficulty of the way, which was uneven, and full of holes in divers places, made as if he would ruſh in upon him; yet, for all this, he loſt no courage, and was ſo far from being ſtruck with fear, or from retreating, that he ſtood firmly to it, and called by name moſt of his captains that were about him, crying out to them, *Delirane Kodabe* (theſe are his own words), that is, "Courage my old friends, God is. What hope is there in flying? Know you not, where is our Decan? *Kodabe, Kodabe*, God is, God is." And that none might doubt of his being undaunted, and that he thought on nothing leſs than running away, he commanded before them all (oh ſtrange extremity!), that forthwith chains ſhould be faſtened to the feet of his elephant; and was going to faſten them in good earneſt, but that they all declare their courage and reſolution to live and die with him.

Dara in the interim endeavoured to advance upon Aureng-Zebe, though he was yet at a good diſtance from him; and though the difficulty of the way embarraſſed and retarded him much, he meeting alſo with ſome reſiſtance, even from thoſe diſordered horſe of the enemy that covered all high and low places where he was to march. And this encounter with Aureng-Zebe was looked upon as the thing that was to aſſure Dara of the victory, and to decide the battle. And doubtleſs he would have overcome all theſe difficulties, and Aureng-Zebe, with the ſmall number left him, would not have been able to bid head to this victorious army, if Dara had known how to profit of the prize he had in his hands. But here he failed, of which I ſhall now ſhew the occaſion, and how thereby the ſcale was turned to Aureng-Zebe's advantage.

Dara perceived that his left wing was in great diſorder, and he was informed, that Ruſtem-Kan and Chatreſale were killed; that Ramſeigne Routlé had too far advanced, that he had indeed forced the enemy, and made way through the midſt of them; but that now he was ſurrounded every way, and in very great danger. This it was which made Dara deſiſt from his deſign of making directly towards Aureng Zebe, that he might go to ſuccour his left wing. There at firſt the battle was alſo very ſharp, but Dara at laſt carried it, forcing and routing all, yet ſo as that there ſtill remained ſomething that reſiſted and ſtopped him. Meantime, Ramſeigne Routlé fought with ſo much courage and vigour as was poſſible. He wounded Morad-Bakche, and came ſo near him, that he began to cut the girdles of his elephant, to make him fall down; but the valour and good fortune of Morad-Bakche gave not time enough for it. In ſhort, never any man fought and defended himſelf more bravely than Morad-Bakche did on this occaſion. All wounded as he was, and preſſed by the Rajipous of Ramſeigne Routlé, who were round about him, he was not daunted, nor gave way in the leaſt, but knew ſo well to take his time, that although he was, beſides defending himſelf, to cover with his ſhield a ſon of his, but of ſeven or eight years of age, who was ſitting on his ſide, he made an arrow-ſhot ſo luckily at Ramſeigne Routlé, that it made him fall dead to the ground.

Dara soon heard the sad news of this accident; but at the same time he understood also, that Morad-Bakche was in very great danger, the Rajipous fighting furiously, and like lions, to revenge the death of their master. And though he saw on that side the way was very difficult, and that he still found some small body opposing and retarding him; yet he was determined to rush through to Morad-Bakche. And doubtless this was the best he could do, and that which was capable to repair the fault he had committed in not doing his business thoroughly with Aureng-Zebe. But his bad fortune kept him from it, or rather one of the blackest treacheries that ever was imagined, and the greatest oversight that was ever committed, did cause the entire loss and ruin of Dara.

Calil-ullah-Kan (he that commanded the thirty thousand Moguls which made the right wing, and were alone able to defeat the whole army of Aureng-Zebe) did, whilst Dara and his left wing fought with so much courage and success, keep off, as idle as if he were not concerned in the fray, nor permitting any one of his horsemen to shoot an arrow, with a pretence, that they were for a reserve, and that he had express order not to fight but in the last extremity. But the true cause was, that he reserved in his breast the rancour of an old affront done him by Dara, when he commanded him to be struck. But after all, this treachery would have done no great mischief, if this infamous man had contented himself with this first effect of his resentment. Behold how far he carried his rage and revengefulness! He cut himself off from his main body, and taking only a few men with him, rid with all possible speed towards Dara, at the same time when he was turning to fall on Morad-Bakche; and being come so near as to make himself to be heard, cried out with all his force, *Mobbareckbad*, *Hazaret*, *Salamet*, *Elhamd-ul-ellah*; "God save Your Majesty, you have obtained the victory; what will you do any longer upon your elephant? Is it not enough that you have exposed yourself so long? If the least of those shots that have been made into your Dais had reached your person, what would have become of us? Are there traitors wanting in this army? In the name of God come down quickly and take horse. What remains now to be done, than to pursue those run-aways. Let us do so, nor let us suffer that they should escape our hands."

If Dara had had wit enough to discover the cheat, and to consider upon a sudden the consequences of his not appearing any more upon the elephant, and being no more seen by the whole army, always eyeing him, or rather, if he had presently commanded to cut off the head of this parasitical traitor, he had been master of all. But the good Prince suffered himself to be blinded by these sweet words: he hearkened to this advice, as if it had been very true and very sincere; he descended from his elephant and took horse. But I know not whether there passed one quarter of an hour, but he perceived the treachery of Calil-ullah-Kan, and repented himself extremely of the great fault he had committed. He looks about him, he seeketh, he asketh where he is; he saith he is a traitor, he will kill him. But the perfidious villain is by this time at a good distance; the occasion is lost. Would it be believed, that as soon as the army perceived Dara to be no more upon the elephant, they imagined that there was treason, that Dara was killed; and all were struck with such a terror, that every one thought on nothing but how to escape the hands of Aureng-Zebe, and to save himself. What shall I say? All the army disbands and flieth. A sudden and strange revolution! He that saw himself just now victorious, finds himself in a few moments vanquished, abandoned, and obliged to fly himself to save his life. Aureng-Zebe, by holding out firm a quarter of an hour upon his elephant, seeth the crown of Indostan upon his head; and Dara, for having

come

come down a little too soon, seeth himself precipitated from the throne, and the most unfortunate Prince of the world. Thus fortune taketh pleasure to make the gain or loss of a battle, and the decision of a great empire, depend upon a nothing.

These great and prodigious armies, it is true, do sometimes great things; but when once terror seizeth, and disorder comes among them, what means of stopping the commotion? It is like a great river broke through its dams; it must over-run all, without a remedy. Whence it is, that as often as I consider the condition of such armies, destitute of good order, and marching like flocks of sheep, I persuade myself, that, if in these parts one might see an army of five-and-twenty thousand men, of those old troops of Flanders, under the conduct of Monsieur le Prince, or of Monsieur de Turenne, I doubt not at all but they would trample under foot all those armies, how numerous soever they were. And this it is that now maketh me not find it any longer strange or incredible, what we are told of ten thousand Greeks; and of fifty thousand men of Alexander, overcoming six or seven hundred thousand men of Darius (if it be true that there were so many, and that the historian did not reckon the servants, and all those number of men which were to follow the army, to furnish it with forage, cattle, corn, and all other necessaries). Bear only the first brunt, which would be no very difficult thing for us to do, and behold, they are all astonished. Or do like Alexander, set vigorously upon one place, if that hold not out (which will be very hard of them to do), you may be sure the work is done; all the rest presently take fright and flight together.

Aureng-Zebe, encouraged by such a wonderful success, is not wanting to turn every stone, to employ skill, dexterity, subtilty, craft, courage, to profit by all the advantages which so favourable an occasion put into his hands. Calil-ullah-Kan is presently with him, offering him his service, and all the troops he could be master of. He, on his side, wants not words of thanks and acknowledgements, nor a thousand fair promises; but he was very cautious to receive him in his own name; he carried him presently and presented him to Morad-Bakche, who, as we may easily think, received him with open arms; Aureng-Zebe in the mean time congratulating and praising Morad-Bakche, for having fought so valiantly, and ascribing to him all the honour of the victory; treating him with the title of King and Majesty before Calil-ullah-Kan, giving him uncommon respect, and doing submissions to him becoming a subject and servant. In the interim, he labours night and day for himself; he writeth round about to all the Omrahs, making sure to-day of one, and the next day of another. Chah-hest-Kan, his uncle, the great and old enemy of Dara, by reason of an affront he had received from him, did the same for him on his part; and as he is the person who writeth best and subtilest of the empire of Indostan, so he contributed not a little by his cabals to the advancement of the affairs of Aureng-Zebe, making strong parties every where against Dara.

In the mean time, let us still observe the artifice and dissimulation of Aureng-Zebe. Nothing of what he doth, treateth, promiseth, is for himself, or in his own name; he hath still (forsooth) the design of living as a fakire. All is for Morad-Bakche, it is he that commands, Aureng-Zebe doth nothing; it is Morad-Bakche that doth all, it is he that is designed to be king.

As for the unhappy Dara, he comes with all speed to Agra, in a desperate condition, and not daring to go see Chah-Jehan, remembring, doubtless, those severe words which he let fall, when he took leave of him before the battle, viz. That he should remember not to come before him if he were overcome. Yet for all that, the good old father sent secretly a trusty eunuch to him, to comfort him, to assure him of the continuance of

his affection, to declare to him his trouble for his misfortune, and to remonstrate to him, that the case was not yet desperate, considering that there was a good army with Soliman Chekouh, his son, that he should go to Dehli, where he should find a thousand horse in the royal stables; and that the governor of the fortress had order to furnish him with money and elephants; for the rest, that he should not go farther than he needs must; that he would often write to him; and lastly, that he very well knew how to find out and chastise Aureng-Zebe.

I have been informed, that Dara was then in such a confusion, and sunk so low, that he had not the power to answer a word to the eunuch, nor the courage to send any one to Chah-Jehan; but that, after having sent several times to Begum-Saheb, his sister, he went away at midnight, taking with him his wife, his daughters, and his grandchild Sepe-Chekouh; and that (which is almost incredible) he was attended with not above three or four hundred persons. Let us leave him in his voyage to Dehli, and stay at Agra, to consider the dexterity and craft wherewith Aureng-Zebe proceeded to manage affairs.

He well knew that Dara, and those of his party, could yet place some hopes in the victorious army of Soliman Chekouh, and therefore he resolved to take it from him, or to make it useless to him. To this end, he wrote letters upon letters to the Raja Jesseigne and to Delil-Kan, who were the chief heads of the army of Soliman Chekouh, telling them, that there was no hope left for Dara and his party; that he had lost the battle; that his whole army had submitted to him; that all had abandoned him; that he was fled alone towards Dehli; that he could never escape him, and that orders were distributed every where to seize on him. And as for Chah-Jehan, that he was in a condition hopeless of recovery; that they should take good care of what they had to do; and if they were men of understanding, and would follow his fortune, and be his friends, they should seize on Soliman Chekouh, and bring him to him.

Jesseigne found himself perplexed enough what he should do, still much apprehending Chah-Jehan and Dara, and more to lay hands upon a royal person, well knowing that some mischief might therefore fall on him, sooner or later, even from Aureng-Zebe himself. Besides, he knew that Soliman Chekouh had too much courage to let himself be taken after that manner, and that he would rather die in defending himself. Behold, therefore, what he at last resolved. After having taken council with Delil-Kan, his great friend, and after they had renewed to one another the oath of mutual fidelity, he went directly to the tent of Soliman Chekouh, who with great impatience expected him (for he also had heard the news of the defeat of Dara his father), and had already divers times sent for him. To him he frankly discovered all things, shewed him the letter of Aureng-Zebe, told him what course was for him to take, represented to him the danger he was in; that there was no reason he should trust in Delil-Kan, or in Daoud-Kan, or in the rest of his army; but that as soon as he could, he should gain the mountains of Serenaguer; that that was the best expedient he could take; that the Raja of that country, being in unaccessible places, and not apprehending Aureng-Zebe, would doubtless receive him gladly; and for the rest, he would soon see how things would go, and be always in a condition to come down from the mountains, when he should think good.

The young Prince understood well enough by this kind of discourse, that there was no ground to trust henceforth in this Raja, and that there was no more safety for his person; and that the rather, because he knew that Delil-Khan was altogether devoted to him; and he saw well enough, that there was a necessity to take this course suggested.

2 Where-

Whereupon he soon commanded, that his baggage should be put up to march towards the mountains. Some of his most affectionate friends, as a good number of Manseb-Dars, of Sajeds, and others, put themselves in order to attend him; the rest of the army, altogether astonished, remained with the Raja. But that which was very mean for a great Raja, and a very sordid barbarousness, was, that he and Delil-Kan, sent under hand, some to fall upon his baggage, who also took other things, and among them an elephant laden with rupies of gold, which caused a great disorder among those small troops that followed him; and which was an occasion that many of them returned and abandoned him, and invited also the country people to set upon his men, pillaging them, and even killing some of them: yet he made a shift to gain the mountains, with his wife and children, where the Raja of Serenaguer received him with all the honour and civilities he could desire, assuring him, that he was in safety, as much as if he were king of that country, and that he would protect and assist him with all his forces. In the mean time, behold what happened on Agra's side.

Three or four days after the battle of Samonguer, the victorious Aureng-Zebe, together with Morad-Bakche, came directly to the gate of the town into a garden, which may be a little league distant from the fortress, and sent from thence an able eunuch, and one of those whom he most confided in, to Chah-Jehan, to salute him with a thousand fair protestations of his affection and submission; that he was exceedingly sorry for what had passed, and for having been obliged, by reason of the ambition and evil designs of Dara, to proceed to all those extremities; that for the rest, he rejoiced extremely to hear that he began to find himself better, and that he was come thither for no other end than to receive his commands.

Chah-Jehan was not wanting to express to the eunuch much satisfaction, as to the proceedings of Aureng-Zebe, and to receive the submissions of this son with all possible appearances of joy; though he saw very well that matters had been carried too far, and sufficiently knew the reserved and crafty humour of Aureng-Zebe, and his secret passion for reigning, and that therefore he was not much to be trusted, for all his fair words. And yet notwithstanding he suffers himself to be circumvented, and instead of playing the surest chart, by using his utmost power, by stirring, by appearing, by causing himself to be carried through the town, and by assembling all his Omrahs, (for it was yet time to do all this) he goes about to outwit Aureng-Zebe, him that was his craft's-master, and attempts to draw him into a snare, wherein he will be found taken himself. He then sends also an eunuch to this son to let him know, that he well understood the ill conduct and even the incapacity of Dara, that he could not but call to mind the particular inclination he always had expressed towards him, that he could not doubt of his affection; and lastly, that he should come to see him, and to advise with him, what was fit to be done in these disorders; and that he passionately wished to embrace him.

Aureng-Zebe, on his side, saw also well enough, that he was not to trust too much to the words of Chah-Jehan, knowing especially, that Begum-Saheb, his enemy as well as sister, was night and day about him, and that it was very probable he acted nothing but by her motion. And he apprehended, that if he should come into the fortress, he might be seized on, and ill treated; as it was said, that the resolution was indeed taken to do so, and several of those lusty Tartarian women, which serve in the Seraglio, were armed to set upon him as soon as he should enter. Whatever it be, he would never hazard himself, and yet spread a rumour abroad, that the next day he would go to see his father Chah-Jehan. But when the day was come, he put it off till another, and so delayed it from day to day without ever making the visit. In the mean time he continued

tinued his secret negociations and cabals, and sounded the mind of all the greatest Omrahs so far, that at last, after he had well and closely laid his design, and politicly disposed all things for the success thereof, all were amazed to see, that one day, when he had sent Sultan Mahmoud, his eldest son, to the fortress, under a pretence of seeing Chah-Jehan in his name; this young Prince, bold and undertaking, falls presently upon the guards that were at the gate, and vigorously driveth all before him, whilst a great number of men appointed, who were there all ready, did enter with fury, and made themselves masters of the walls.

If ever a man was astonished, Chah-Jehan was, seeing that he was fallen into the snare which he had prepared for others, that himself was imprisoned, and Aureng-Zebe master of the fortress. It is said, that he sent presently to sound the mind of Sultan Mahmoud, promising him upon his crown and upon the Alcoran, that if he would be faithful to him, and serve him in this conjuncture, he would make him king; that he should come presently to see him within, and not lose this occasion; besides, that it would be an action that would accumulate on him the blessings of Heaven, and an immortal glory; in regard it would be said for ever, that Sultan Mahmoud had delivered Chah-Jehan his grandfather out of prison.

And certainly, if Sultan Mahmoud had been resolute enough to give this stroke, and Chah-Jehan could have come abroad to shew himself to the town, and to take the field, no man doubts but that all his great Omrahs would have followed him; nor would Aureng-Zebe himself have had the boldness nor the savageness to fight against his own father in person, especially since he must have apprehended, that all the world would have abandoned him, and possibly Morad-Bakche himself. And it is the great fault which Chah-Jehan is observed to have committed after the battle, and the flight of Dara, not to have come out of the fortress. But yet I have conversed with many, who maintained, that Chah-Jehan did prudently in it. For this hath been a question much agitated among the politicians, and there are no reasons wanting to countenance the sentiment of the latter sort; who also add, that men almost always judge of things by the event; that often very foolish enterprizes have been observed to succeed, and which therefore are approved by all; that if Chah-Jehan had prospered in his design, he would have been esteemed the most prudent and the most able man in the world; but now being taken, he was nothing but a good old man, that suffered himself to be led by a woman, his daughter Begum, who was blinded by her passion, and had the vanity to believe, that Aureng-Zebe would come to see her, that the bird of itself would fly into the cage, or at least that he would never be so bold as to attempt the seizure of the fortress, nor have the power to do so. These same reasoners maintain also stifly, that the greatest fault that Sultan Mahmoud could possibly commit, was, that he knew not how to take the occasion to assure himself of the crown, by the rarest and the most generous action that ever was, to put his grandfather at liberty, and thus to do himself right and justice, as the sovereign umpire of affairs; whereas, as things now stand, he must one day go and die in Goualeor. But Sultan Mahmoud (whether it was that he feared his grandfather would not keep his word with him, or that he should be himself detained within, or that he durst not play tricks with his father Aureng-Zebe) would never hearken to any thing, nor enter into the apartment of Chah-Jehan, answering very closely, that he had no order from his father to go and see him, but that he was by him commanded not to return, without bringing him the keys of all the gates of the fortress, that so he might come with all safety to kiss the feet of His Majesty. There passed almost two whole days before he could resolve to surrender the keys; during which time, Sultan-Mahmoud staid there unalterable in his resolutions, keeping himself upon his guard night and day, with all

his troops about him; till at length Chah-Jehan, feeing that all his people that were upon the guard at the little gate, little by little difbanded, and that there was no more fafety on his fide, gave him the keys, with an order to tell Aureng-Zebe, that he fhould come prefently if he were wife, and that he had moft importunate things to difcourfe with him about. But Aureng-Zebe was too cunning to commit fo grofs a fault: on [illegible] contrary, he made his eunuch Etbar-Khan, governor of the fortrefs, who prefently [illegible] up Chah-Jehan, together with Begum-Saheb, and all his women; caufing divers gates to be walled up, that fo he might not be able to write or fpeak to any body, nor go forth out of his apartment without permiffion.

Aureng-Zebe in the mean time writ to him a little note, which he fhewed to every body before he fealed it; in which, among other things, he told him with dry expreffions, that he knew from good hands, that notwithftanding thofe great proteftations of efteem and affection he made to him, and of contempt he made of Dara, he had, for all that, fent to Dara, two elephants charged with rupies of gold, to raife him again, and to re-commence the war; and that therefore, in truth, it was not he that imprifoned him, but Dara, and that he might thank him for it, as the caufe of all thefe misfortunes; and if it had not been for him, he would have come the very firft day to him, and paid him all the moft dutiful refpects he could have looked for from a good fon: that for the reft, he begged his pardon, and a little patience; as foon as he fhould have difabled Dara from executing his evil defigns, he would come himfelf and open the gates to him.

I have heard it faid concerning this note, that Chah-Jehan in very deed, the fame night that Dara departed, had fent to him thefe elephants laden with rupies of gold, and that it was Rauchnara-Begum that found a way to difcover it to Aureng-Zebe; as fhe alfo had detected to him that plot which was laid againft him with thofe Tartarian women; and that Aureng-Zebe himfelf had intercepted fome letters of Chah-Jehan to Dara.

I have converfed with others, that maintain there is no fuch thing, and that this writing which Aureng-Zebe fhewed to all, was only to caft fand into the eyes of the people, and to labour, in fome degree, to juftify himfelf in fo ftrange an action, and to devolve the caufe of it upon Chah-Jehan and Dara, as if he had been forced to fuch proceedings. They are things, which are difficult enough well to difcover. However it be, as foon as Chah-Jehan was fhut up, almoft all the Omrahs were in a manner neceffitated to go and make their court to Aureng-Zebe and Morad-Bakche; and (which is almoft incredible) there was not one that had the courage to ftir, or to attempt the leaft in the behalf of his King, and for him that had made them what they were, and raifed them from the duft, and perhaps from flavery itfelf (which is ordinary enough in that court), to advance them to riches and honour. Yet fome few there are, as Danechmend-Kan, and fome others, that took no fide; but all the reft declared for Aureng-Zebe.

It is notwithftanding to be noted what I faid, that they were neceffitated to do what they did. For it is not in the Indies, as in France, or other ftates of Chriftendom, where the grandees and nobles have large poffeffions of land, and great revenues, which enables them for a while to fubfift of themfelves. There they have nothing but penfions (as I have already touched above), which the King can take away from them at all hours, and thus ruin them in an inftant; fo that they fhall be confidered no more than if they never had been, nor have any credit to borrow a farthing.

Aureng-Zebe therefore having thus affured himfelf of Chah-Jehan, and of all the Omrahs, took what fums of money he thought fit out of the treafury; and then having

left

left Chah-hest-Khân, his uncle, governor of the town, he went away with Morad-Bakche, to pursue Dara.

The day that the army was to march out of Agra, the particular friends of Morad-Bakche, especially his eunuch Chah-Abas, who knew, that the excess of civility and respect is ordinarily a sign of imposture, counselled him, that since he was King, and every body treated him with the title of majesty, and Aureng-Zebe himself acknowledged him for such, he should let him go to pursue Dara, and stay himself with his troops about Agra and Delhi. If he had followed this counsel, it is certain, that he would have embarrassed Aureng-Zebe not a little; but it was fatal, that he should neglect so good advice: Aureng-Zebe is too fortunate; Morad-Bakche entirely confideth in his promises, and in the oaths of fidelity they had sworn to one another upon the Alcoran. They went away together, and went with the same pace towards Delhi.

When they were come to Maturas, three or four small days journey from Agra, the friends of Morad-Bakche, who perceived something, endeavoured again to persuade him that he should beware, assuring him that Aureng-Zebe had evil designs, and that beyond all doubt some mischief was upon the anvil; that they had notice of it from all parts, and that by no means, for that day at least, he should go to see him; that it would be much better to prevent the stroke the soonest it might be; that he was only to forbear going to visit him that day, excusing himself with some indisposition. But whatsoever could be said to him, he believed nothing of it, his ears were stopped to all the good advice that was given him, and as if he had been enchanted by the friendship of Aureng-Zebe, he could not hold to go to him that very night, and to stay at supper with him. As soon as he was come, Aureng-Zebe, who expected him, and had already prepared all things with Mirkan, and three or four of his most intimate captains, who not wanting in embracements, and in redoubling his courtship, civilities and submissions, in so much as gently to pass his handkerchief over his face, and to wipe off his sweat and dust, treating him still with the title of king and majesty. In the mean time, the table is served, they sup, the conversation grows warm, they discourse of various things as they use to do; and at last there is brought a huge bottle of excellent Chiras wine, and some other bottles of Caboul wine, for a debauch. Then Aureng-Zebe, as a grave serious man, and one that would appear a great Mahometan, and very regular, nimbly riseth from table, and having with much kindness invited Morad-Bakche, who loved a glass of wine very well, and who relished the wine that was served, scrupled not to drink of it to excess. In a word, he made himself drunk, and fell asleep. This was the thing that was wished; for presently some servants of his, that were there were commanded away, under a pretence, to let him sleep without making any noise; and then his zable and poynard were taken from about him; but Aureng-Zebe was not long, but came himself and wakened him. He entered into the chamber, and roughly hit him with his foot, and when he began to open a little his eyes, he made to him this short and surprizing reprimand: What means this? (said he) What shame and what ignominy is this, that such a king as you are, should have so little temper, as thus to make himself drunk! What will be said both of you and me? Take this infamous man, this drunkard, tie him hand and foot, and throw him into that room to sleep out his wine. No sooner said but it was executed; notwithstanding all his appeal and out-cry, five or six persons fall upon him, and fetter his hands and feet. These things could not be done, but some of his men that were thereabout had news of it, they made some noise, and would enter forcibly; but Allah-Couly, one of his chief officers, and the master of his artillery, that had been gained long before, threatened them, and made them draw back. Without any delay, men were sent through the whole army to calm this first commotion,

tion, which also might have proved dangerous; they made them believe it was nothing, they having been present; that Morad-Bakche was only drunk; that in that condition he had railed at every body, and Aureng-Zebe himself, in so much that there had been a necessity, seeing him drunk and furious, to keep him apart; that the next day they would see him abroad, after he had digested his wine. In the mean time, the presents walked about all night among the chief officers of the army, their pay was forthwith increased, they had great promises made them; and as there was none, that had long since had not apprehended some such thing; there was no great wonder to see almost all things quieted the next morning; so that the very next night this poor Prince was shut up in a little close house, such an one as is wont to be placed on elephants to carry women, and he was carried directly to Dehli into Slimager, which is a little old fortress in the midst of the river.

After that all was thus appeased, except the eunuch Chah-Abas, who caused difficulty enough, Aureng-Zebe received the whole army of Morad-Bakche into his service, and went after Dara, who marched apace towards Lahor, with an intention well to fortify himself in that place, and thither to draw his friends. But Aureng-Zebe followed him with so much speed, that he had not time to do any great matter, finding himself necessitated to retreat, and to take the way of Multan, where also he could do nothing considerable, because that Aureng-Zebe, notwithstanding the great heat, marched night and day; insomuch, that to encourage all to make haste, he sometimes advanced, almost all alone, two or three leagues before the whole army, finding himself often obliged to drink ill water like others, to be content with a crust of dry bread, and to sleep under a tree, staying for his army in the midst of the highway, laying his head on his shield like a common soldier. So that Dara found himself constrained to abandon Multan also, that he might avoid being near Aureng-Zebe, whom he was not able to encounter. Here it is that the statesmen of this country have reasoned very diversly: for it is said, that if Dara, when he went out of Lahor, had cast himself into the kingdom of Caboul, as he was advised, he would there have found above ten thousand warlike men, designed against the Augars, the Persians and the Usbecs, and for a guard to that country, the governor whereof was Mohabet-Khan, one of the most potent and most ancient of Indostan, and that had never been Aureng-Zebe's friend; that, besides, he would have been there at the gate of Persia and Usbec; that it was likely, that there being no want of money, all that militia, and Mohabet-Khan himself, would have embraced his party, and that further he might have drawn assistance, not only from Usbec, but also from Persia, as well as from Houmayon; whom the Persians had restored to his country against Zaher-Khan, King of the Patans, who had driven him thence. But Dara was too unfortunate to follow so good advice. Instead of that, he went towards Scimdy, to cast himself into the fortress of Tatabakar, that strong and famous place, seated in the midst of the river Indus.

Aureng-Zebe seeing him take this way, found it not fit to follow him further off, being extremely glad that he had not taken the way to Caboul. He contented himself to send after him seven or eight thousand men, under the conduct of Mir-baba, his foster-brother, and turned back with the same expedition to the place whence he was come, much apprehending lest any thing should fall out about Agra; lest some or other of those potent Rajas as Jesseigne, or Jessomseigne, should make an attempt in his absence, to free Chah-Jehan out of prison; or lest Soliman Chekouh, together with the Raja of Serenaguer, should descend from the hills; or lest also Sultan Sujah should approach too near Agra. Behold a little accident, which one day befel him, for too great precipitation.

When

When he thus returned from Multan towards Lahor, and marched his ordinary swift pace, he saw the Raja Jesseigne come against him, accompanied with four or five thousand of his Rajipous, in a very good equipage. Aureng-Zebe who had left his army behind, and who also knew that this Raja was very affectionate to Chah-Jehan, was sufficiently surprized, as may easily be imagined, fearing lest this Raja should make use of this occasion, and do a master-piece of state, by seizing on him to draw Chah-Jehan, out of prison, which at that time was very easy to do. Neither is it known, whether this Raja had not some such design; for he had marched with extraordinary speed, in so much that Aureng-Zebe had no news of it, believing him yet to be at Dehli. But what may not resolution and presence of mind do? Aureng-Zebe, without any alteration of his countenance, marched directly towards the Raja, and as far off as he could see him, maketh signs to him with his hands, importing that he should make haste to a nearer approach, crying out to him with a loud voice, Salamed Bached Rajagi, Salamed Bached Babagi, treating him with the titles of Lord Raja and Lord Father. When the Raja was come to him, I expected you, said he, with great impatience; the work is done, Dara is lost, he is all alone; I have sent Mir-baba after him, from whom he cannot escape: and for an excess of kindness to him, he took off his neck-lace of pearls, and put it about the neck of this Raja: and the sooner to rid himself handsomely of him, (for he wished him far enough) Go, saith he, with all the expedition you can to Lahor, my army is somewhat tired; go quickly to attend me there; I apprehend that else something sinister might fall out there; I make you governor of that place, and put all things into your hands. For the rest, I am exceedingly obliged to you for what you have done with Soliman Chekouh: where have you left Delil-Kan? I shall find my revenge of him. Make all possible dispatch, Salamed Bached, farewel.

Dara being arrived at Tata-bakar, made governor of that place a very understanding, gallant, and generous eunuch, with a very good garrison of Patans and Sayeds, and for cannoneers, a good number of Franguis, Portugals, English, French, and Germans, who had followed him out of great hopes he had given them (for, if his affairs had prospered, and he were become King, we must all have resolved to be Omrahs, as many Franguis as we were). He there left also the greatest part of his treasure; he wanted as yet no gold nor silver, and staying there but a very few days he marched away with two or three thousand men only, descending along the river Indus towards Scindy, and from thence crossing with an incredible celerity all those territories of the Raja Katche, he arrived in Guzaratte, and came to the gates of Amadevat. The father-in-law of Aureng-Zebe called Chah-Navaze-Kan was governor there, with a very good garrison, able to resist. Yet notwithstanding, whether it was that he was surprized, or that he wanted courage, (for although that he was of those antient princes of Machate, yet he was no great soldier, though a man of a very obliging and civil conversation) he did not oppose Dara, but rather received him very honourably, and even managed him afterwards with so much dexterity, that Dara was so simple as to trust himself with him, and to communicate to him his designs; insomuch that he shewed him the letters which he received from the Raja Jessomseigne, and of many other of his friends, which prepared themselves to come to him; although it proved too true, what every body told him, and his friends confirmed by letters, that certainly this Chah-Navaze-Kan would betray him.

Never was any man more surprised than Aureng-Zebe, when he heard that Dara was in Amadevat: for he well knew that he wanted no money, and that all his friends, and all the discontented party, which was numerous, would not fail to betake themselves by

by little and little to him: and on the other side, he found it not safe to go and find him out himself in that place, by removing himself so far from Agra and Chah-Jehan, to go and embarrass himself in all those countries of the Rajas Jesseigne, Jessomseigne, and others that are in those provinces. Besides he apprehended, lest Sultan Sujah should advance with a strong army, which was already about Elebas, and lest the Raja of Serenaguer should descend from the hills with Soloman Chekouh; so that he was sufficiently perplexed and troubled, not knowing what way to turn. At last he believed it best to leave Dara for a time quiet where he was, and to go thither where his presence and army was most necessary, which was towards Sultan Sujah, who had already passed the river Ganges at Elabas.

This Sultan Sujah was come to incamp in a little village called Kadjoue, and had conveniently seized himself of a great Talob, or reservatory of water, which is there in the way; and Aureng-Zebe came to place himself on the side of a small torrent, at the distance of a mile and an half from thence on Agra's side. Between both was a very fair campaign, very proper for a battle. Aureng-Zebe was no sooner arrived, but being impatient to end this war, at break of day he went to face Sujah, leaving his baggage on the other side of the torrent. He fell upon Sujah with an effort unimaginable. Emir-Jemla, prisoner of Decan, and who arrived just on the day of the combat, fearing Dara no more, because his family was more in safety, did there also lay out all his force, courage and dexterity. But seeing that Sultan Sujah had well fortified himself, and was accompanied with a very good artillery, advantageously placed, it was not possible for Aureng-Zebe to force him, nor to make him retreat from thence, so as to make him lose those waters. On the contrary, he was obliged himself to draw back several times, so vigorously was he repulsed, in so much that he found himself in great perplexity. Sultan Sujah not being willing to advance too far into the campaign, nor to remove from that advantageous place where he was, pretending only to defend himself; which was very prudently done. For he foresaw, that Aureng-Zebe could not stay there long, and that in that hot season he would be absolutely obliged to turn back towards the torrent for the water; and that, when he should do so, he would fall upon his rear. Aureng-Zebe also foresaw well enough the same thing, and that was the reason why he was so forward and pressing; but behold another more troublesome accident.

In this very time he receiveth intelligence, that the Raja Jessomseigne, who in appearance had accommodated himself with him, was fallen upon his rear, and plundered his baggage and treasure. This news astonished him much, and the more, because he perceived that his army which had heard of it was thereby frighted, and fallen into disorder. Yet he loses not his judgment for all this; and being well aware, that to turn back was to hazard all, he resolved, as in the battle of Dara, to bear up the best he could, and to expect with a steady foot all events. In the mean time, the disorder grew worse and worse in his army: Sujah, who was resolved to profit of the occasion, taketh his time, and presseth him vigorously. He that led Aureng-Zebe's elephant is killed with the shot of an arrow; he leads the beast as well as he can himself till another could be had in that leader's place. Arrows rain upon him; he returns many himself, his elephant begins to be frighted, and to go back. Behold him now in great extremity, and brought to that point, that one foot of his was out of the seat, as if he meant to cast himself to the ground; and no man knows what in that trouble he had not done, if Emir Jemla, being nigh, and performing like a great man as he was, beyond imagination, called to him, in holding up his hand, Decan-kou, Decan-cou, where is Decan? This seems to have been the greatest extremity, to which Aureng-

 Zebe

Zebe could be reduced. One would have said, it was now and here that fortune had abandoned him, and there is almost no appearance of a possibility to escape. But his good fortune is stronger than all that: Sultan Sujah must be routed, and take flight like Dara to save his life: Aureng-Zebe must remain victorious, carry away the bell, and be king of the Indies.

We are to remember the battle of Samonguer, and that, in appearance, slight accident which ruined Dara; it is the same over sight, or rather the same treason, which is now destroying Sultan Sujah. One of his chief captains, Allah-verdi-Kan, who, as some say, had been gained, with the same artifice that Calil-ullah-Kan had employed towards Dara; though there are some who believed, that there was no malice in the case, and that it was a mere piece of flattery. For seeing that the whole army of Aureng-Zebe was in disorder, he run towards Sultan Sujah, telling him the same thing that Calil-ullah-Kan did to Dara, and begging of him with folded hands, that he would stay no longer in so great danger upon his elephant. Come down, said he, in the name of God, mount on horse-back. God hath made you sovereign of the Indies, let us pursue those fugitives, let not Aureng-Zebe escape us.

But not to stay long from declaring the strange fortune of Aureng-Zebe, and the incredible conjuncture that recovers his desperate condition; Sultan Sujah, not more considerate than Dara, commits the same fault; and he was no sooner come down from his elephant, but his army seeing him no more, was struck with a terror, believing there was treason, and that he was either taken or slain. Whereupon they disbanded without any more ado, as Dara's army did in the battle of Samonguer; and the defeat was so great, that the Sultan was fortunate in that he could save himself.

Jessomseigne hearing this unexpected news, and perceiving it was not very safe for him to tarry there, contented himself with the spoil he had got, and with all diligence marched straight to Agra, thence to pass to his country. The noise was already in Agra, that Aureng-Zebe had lost the battle, that he was taken together with Emir-Jemla, and that Sultan Sujah brought them both prisoners. Insomuch that Chah-hest-Kan, who was governor of the town, and uncle to Aureng-Zebe, seeing Jessomseigne, whose treachery he had heard of, at the gates, and despairing of his life, had taken into his hand a cup of poison to make himself away, and had, as they say, in very deed swallowed it, if his women had not fallen upon him and hindered him: so that it is thought, if Jessomseigne had had the wit and courage to stay longer in Agra, if he had threatened boldly, and promised and acted vigorously for the freedom of Chah-Jehan, he might have drawn him out of prison; so much the more easily, because all Agra was for two whole days in that belief, that Aureng-Zebe was overcome. But Jessomseigne, who knew how all things went, and who durst not long stay there, nor attempt any thing, did nothing but pass, returning with all speed homewards.

Aureng-Zebe, who apprehended mischief from Agra, and feared lest Jessomseigne should undertake something for Chah-Jehan, was not long in the pursuit after Sultan-Sujah, he turned short for Agra with his whole army, where he staid a good while giving order for all things. Meantime he received intelligence, that Sultan Sujah had not lost many men in his being routed, for want of farther pursuit; that also from the lands of the Rajas, which are in those quarters, on the right and left of Ganges, he raised great forces upon the score of the reputation he had of being very rich, and very liberal, and that he fortified himself in Elabas, that important and famous passage of Ganges, which with its fortress is the first inlet into Bengal. And then he considered also, that he had about him two persons, which indeed were very capable to serve him, Sultan Mahmoud his eldest son, and Emir-Jemla; but he well knew, that those who have

have done good service to their prince, grow often insolent, in the belief that all is due to them, and that they cannot be recompensed enough. He perceived already, that the former of them began very much to emancipate himself, and that every day he became more arrogant for having seized on the fortress of Agra, and by that means had broken all the designs which Chah-Jehan could have formed, and as to the latter he knew indeed the force of his understanding, his conduct, and valour; but that was the very thing which made him apprehend him the more: for knowing that he was very rich, that his reputation was great, that he passed for the first mover in affairs, and for the ablest man in all the Indies, he doubted not, but that after the example of Sultan Mahmoud, he entertained himself with big hopes. All this certainly would have been able to perplex an ordinary spirit, but Aureng-Zebe found a remedy to all. He knew to remove them both with so much prudence, and even with so much handsomness, that neither of them found any cause to complain of it. He sent them both against Sultan Sujah with a puissant army, letting Emir secretly know, that the government of Bengal, which is the best quarter of Indostan, was designed for him to hold it during his life, and for his son after his decease; and that thereby he would begin to express to him his acknowledgements for the great services he had done him; and that therefore it belonged only to him to defeat Sujah, and that as soon as he should have compassed it, he would make him Mir-ul Omrahs, which is the first and most honourable place of Indostan, and no less than the Prince of the Omrahs.

To Sultan Mahmoud, his son, he said only these few words: Remember that thou art the eldest of my children, that it is for thyself that thou goest forth to fight; that thou hast done much, but yet nothing, if thou overcomest not Sujah, who is our greatest and powerfulest enemy; I hope, God assisting me, to be soon master of the rest.

With these words he dismissed them both, with ordinary honours, that is, with rich vests, some horses and elephants gallantly harnessed, making in the meantime Emir-Jemla to consent that his only son, Mahmet-Emir-Kan, should stay with him for a good education, or rather for a pledge of his fidelity; and Sultan Mahmoud, that his wife should remain in Agra (which was the daughter of the above-mentioned King of Golkonda) as too troublesome a thing in an army, and in such an expedition.

Sultan Sujah, who was always in the apprehension lest the Rajas of the lower Bengal, which he had ill treated, should be raised against him, and who feared nothing more than to have to do with Emir-Jemla, had no sooner received this news, but apprehending that the passage to Bengal would be obstructed, and that Emir would pass in some other place of the river Ganges, either lower or higher than Elabas, raised his camp, and went down to Benares and Patna, whence he betook himself to Mogiere, a small town seated upon the Ganges, a place commonly called the key of the kingdom of Bengal, being a kind of streight between the mountains and the woods, which are not far from thence. He thought fit to stay in that place, and there to fortify himself; and for greater safety, he caused a great trench to be made, which I have seen, passing that way some years after, from the town and river unto the mountain, being well resolved there to attend Emir-Jemla, and to dispute that passage with him. But he was sufficiently astonished, when he was told that the troops of Emir, which slowly descended along the river Ganges, were certainly for nothing but to amuse him; that himself was not there; that he had gained the Rajas of those mountains which are on the right hand of the river; and that he and Sultan Mahmoud marched apace over their lands with all the flower of the army, drawing straight to Rage-Mehall[illegible] intercept him, so that he was constrained to quit, as soon as he could, his fortification[illegible] yet notwith-

withstanding he made so much haste, that though he was obliged to follow those windings, which the river Ganges on that side maketh toward the left hand, he prevented Emir by some days, and arrived first at Rage-Mehalle, where he had time to fortify himself; because Emir having heard this news, took his march to the left-hand towards Ganges, through very ill ways, there to expect his troops, which came down with the body of the artillery and the baggage along the river. As soon as all was come, he went to attack Sultan Sujah, who defended himself very well for five or six days; but seeing that the artillery of Emir, which played incessantly, ruined all his fortifications which were made but of sandy earth and faggots, and that he could not but with much difficulty make resistance in that place, besides that the season of the rain began, he retired himself, at the favour of the night, leaving behind two great pieces of cannon. Emir durst not follow him in the night for fear of some ambush, putting off the pursuit till the next morning: but Sujah had the good luck, that at the break of day there began to fall a rain, which lasted above three days; so that Emir could not only not stir out of Rage-Mehalle, but saw himself obliged to pass the winter there, by reason of the excessive rains in that country, which render the ways troublesome for more than four months, viz July, August, September, and October, that the armies cannot possibly march. And hereby Sultan Sujah had the means to retire himself, and to chuse what place he would, having time enough to fortify his army, and to send out of the inferior Bengal for many pieces of cannon and a good number of Portuguese that were retired thither because of the great fertility of the country: for he much courted all those Portugal fathers, missionaries that are in that province, promising them no less than that he would make them all rich, and build churches for them wheresoever they would. And they were indeed capable to serve him, it being certain, that in the kingdom of Bengal, there are to be found no less than eight or nine thousand families of Franguize, Portuguese, and these either natives or mesticks.

But Sultan Mahmoud, who for the reason above-mentioned was grown fierce, and aspired perhaps to greater things than at that time he ought, did pretend to command the army absolutely, and that Emir-Jemla should follow his orders, letting also from time to time fall insolent words in reference to his father Aureng-Zebe, as if he were obliged to him for the crown, and uttering expressions of contempt against Emir-Jemla; which caused great coldness betwixt them two, which lasted a pretty while, until Sultan Mahmoud understood that his father was very much dissatisfied with his conduct; and apprehending lest Emir had order to seize on his person, he went away to Sultan Sujah, accompanied with a very small number, and to him he made great promises, and swore fidelity. But Sujah, who feared Aureng-Zebe and Emir-Jemla's snares, could not trust him, having always an eye upon his actions, without giving him any considerable command; which he so disgusted, that some months after, not knowing what would become of him, he left Sultan Sujah, and returned to Emir, who received him well enough, assuring him, that he would write in his behalf to Aureng-Zebe, and do his utmost to make him forget that fault.

I think fit here to take notice, by the bye, of what many have told me, viz. that this escape of Sultan Mahmoud was altogether made by the artifices of Aureng-Zebe, who cared not much to hazard this son of his to try to destroy Sujah, and who was glad enough, that whatever the event were, he might have a specious pretence to put him in a place of surety. However it be, he afterwards shewed himself much dissatisfied with him, and wrote to him a severe letter, in which he enjoined him to return to Dehli, but giving order in the mean time that he should not come so far: for he no

ſooner had paſſed the river Ganges, but he met with troops that ſtopped him, and put him up in a ſmall chair, (as was done to Morad-Bakche) and carried him to Goualeor, whence it is thought he will never be ſet at liberty: Aureng-Zebe by this means freeing himſelf from great perplexity; who then alſo let his ſecond ſon, Sultan-Mazum, know that the point of reigning is ſo delicate a thing, that kings muſt be jealous even of their own ſhadow; adding, that if he be not diſcreet, the like may befal him which had befallen his brother, and that he ought to think Aureng-Zebe was not a man that would ſuffer that to be done to himſelf, what Chah-Jehan did to his father Jehan-Guyre, and what he had alſo lately ſeen done to Chah-Jehan.

And indeed we may on this occaſion ſay, that if this ſon continue to behave himſelf as he hath done hitherto, Aureng-Zebe will have no cauſe to ſuſpect him, and to be diſſatisfied with him: for no ſlave can be more tractable, and Aureng-Zebe himſelf never appeared more careleſs of greatneſs, nor more given to devotion than he: yet I have known men of parts who believed that he is not ſo in good earneſt, but by ſuperlative policy and craft, like that of his father, which we may have the proof of in time.

Whilſt all theſe things were thus tranſacted in Bengal, and that Sultan Sujah reſiſted, the beſt he could, the forces of Emir-Jemla, paſſing now on one ſide of the river Ganges, of a channel, or ſome other river, (for that country is full of them,) then on the other; Aureng-Zebe kept himſelf about Agra, going to and fro, and at length, after he had alſo ſent Morad-Bakche to Goualeor, he came to Dehli, where in good earneſt he took upon him publicly to act the King, giving order for all affairs of the kingdom, and eſpecially thinking on means to catch Dara, and to get him out of Guzaratte, which was a very hard thing, for the reaſons already mentioned. But the great good fortune, and the ſingular dexterity of Aureng-Zebe ſoon drew him thence; which now follows next to be related.

Jeſſomſeigne, who had retired himſelf to his country, and made the beſt of what he had taken in the battle of Kadjoue, raiſed a ſtrong army, and wrote to Dara, that he ſhould come to Agra as ſoon as he could, and that he would join with his forces. Dara, who had by this time ſet on foot a pretty numerous army (though it conſiſted, for the moſt part, but of gathered people,) and who hoped, that approaching to Agra, many of his old friends, ſeeing him with Jeſſomſeigne, would not fail to join with him alſo, immediately leaveth Amadevad, and marcheth with great ſpeed to Aſmire, ſeven or eight days journey from Agra. But Jeſſomſeigne kept not his word with him: the Raja Jeſſeigne interpoſed to make his peace with Aureng-Zebe, and to faſten him to his party, or at leaſt to hinder his deſign, which was capable to ruin himſelf, and to make all the Rajas riſe; and wrote to him ſeveral letters, giving him to underſtand the great danger he went to expoſe himſelf to, by eſpouſing a party in that extremity, as that of Dara's was; that he ſhould well conſider what he was going to do; that he went about wholly to deſtroy himſelf, and all his whole family; that Aureng-Zebe would never forgive him; that he was a Raja as himſelf, that he ſhould think on ſparing the blood of the Rajipous; that if he thought to draw the Rajas to his party, he would find thoſe that would hinder him from it. In a word, that it was a buſineſs which concerned all the gentry of Indoſtan, and expoſed them to danger, if they were given to kindle a fire, which would not be extinguiſhed at pleaſure. And laſtly, if he would leave Dara to himſelf, Aureng-Zebe would forget all that had paſſed, and preſent him with all he had taken, and give him that very inſtant the government of Guzaratte, which would be very convenient for him, that country being near his lands; that he could be there in liberty and ſafety, and as long as he pleaſed, and that himſelf would

re

be caution for all. In a word, this Raja acted his part so well, that he made Jessomseigne return to his land, whilst Aureng-Zebe approached with his whole army to Asmire, and encamped in the sight of that of Dara.

And now what could this poor Prince Dara do? He seeth himself abandoned and frustrated of his hopes. He considers, that to turn back safe to Amadevad was impossible, in regard that it was a march of thirty and five days; that it was in the heat of summer; that water would fail him: that they were all the lands of Rajas, friends or allies of Jessdigne or Jessomseigne; that the army of Aureng-Zebe, which was not harassed like his, would not fail to follow him. "It is as good," saith he, "to perish here; and although the match be altogether unequal, let us venture all, and give battle once more." But alas! what does he mean to do? He is not only abandoned by all, but he hath yet with him Chah-Navaze-Kan, whom he trusts, and who betrays him, and discovers all his designs to Aureng-Zebe. It is true, that Chah-Navaze-Kan was punished for his perfidiousness, and killed in the battle; whether it was by the hands of Dara himself, as many told me, or (which is more probable) by some of Aureng-Zebe's army, who being secret partisans of Dara, found means to get to him and dispatch him, fearing lest he should discover them, and have some knowledge of the letters they had written to Dara. But what did it benefit him at that time that Chah-Navaze-Kan was dead? Dara should have sooner followed the advice of his friends, and never have confided in him.

The fight began between nine and ten of the clock in the morning: Dara's artillery, which was very well placed on a little eminency, was loud enough; but, as was said, most of the pieces without bullets, so was he betrayed by all. It is needless to relate the other particulars of this battle; it was properly not a battle, but a rout. I shall only say, that hardly the onset was begun, but Jessdigne was near and in sight of Dara, to whom he sent word, that he should fly presently, unless he would be taken. So that this poor Prince, being altogether surprised, was constrained to run away instantly, and with so much disorder and precipitation, that he had not leisure to put up his baggage. It was no small matter, that he was able to get away with his wife, and the rest of his family. And it is certain, that if the Raja Jessdigne would have done what he could, he could never have escaped; but he always had a respect to the royal family; or rather, he was too crafty and politic, and had too great forecast to venture to lay hands on a Prince of the blood.

This unfortunate Prince, deserted by almost all, and finding himself accompanied but of two thousand men at most, was forced in the hottest of summer to cross, without tents or baggage, all those countries of the Rajas, that are almost from Asmire to Amadevad. Meantime the Koullis, which are the country people, and the worst of all the Indies, and the greatest robbers, follow him night and day, rifle and kill his soldiers, with so much cruelty that no man could stay two hundred paces behind the body but he was presently stripped naked, or butchered upon the least resistance. Yet notwithstanding Dara made shift to get near Amadevad, when he hoped that the next day, or soon after, he should enter into the town to refresh himself, and to try once more to gather again some forces: but all things fall out contrary to vanquished and unfortunate men.

The governor whom he had left in the castle of Amadevad, had already received both menacing and promising letters from Aureng-Zebe, which made him lose courage, and incline to that side; insomuch that he wrote to Dara, forbidding him to come nearer, if he did, he would find the gates shut, and all in arms.

Three days before I met this unhappy Prince, by a strange accident, when he obliged me to follow him, having no physician about him; and the night before that he re-

ceived this news from the governor of Amadevad, he did me the favour to make me come into the Karavan-Serrak where he was, fearing lest the Koullis should assassinate me: and (what is hard enough to believe in Indostan, where the grandees especially are so jealous of their wives) I was so near to the wife of this Prince, that the cords of the Kanates, or wind-screen, which enclosed them (for they had not so much as a poor tent) were fastened to the wheels of my chariot. I relate this circumstance by the bye only, to shew the extremity Dara was reduced to.

When these women heard this sad news (which was at the break of day, as I well remember) they broke out upon a sudden into such strange cries and lamentations that they forced tears from one's eyes. And now behold all was in an inexpressible confusion: every one looks upon his neighbour, and nobody knows what to do, or what will become of him. Soon after we saw Dara come forth, half dead, now speaking to one, then to another, even to the meanest soldiers. He seeth all astonished, and ready to abandon him. What council? whither can he go? He must be gone instantly. You may judge of the extremity he must needs be in, by this small accident I am going to mention. Of three great oxen of Guzaratte, which I had for my chariot, one died the night before, another was dying, and the third was tired out (for we had been forced to march for three days together, almost night and day, in an intolerable heat and dust:) whatever Dara could say or command, whether he alleged it was for himself, or for one of his women that was hurt in the leg, or for me, he could not possibly procure for me, whether ox, or camel, or horse: so that he was obliged, to my good fortune, to leave me there. I saw him march away, and that with tears in his eyes, accompanied with four or five hundred cavalries at most, with two elephants, that were said to be laden with gold and silver; and I heard them say, that they were to take their march towards Tatabakar; for he had no other game to play, though even that seemed in a manner impossible, considering the small number of people left him, and the great sandy desarts to be waded through in the hottest season, most of them without water fit to drink. And indeed most of those that followed him, and even divers of his women, did there perish, either of drought, or the unwholesome waters, or the tiresome ways and ill food, or lastly, because stripped by the Koullis above mentioned. Yet notwithstanding all this, Dara made hard shift to get to the Raja Katche; unhappy even herein, that he perished not himself in this march.

This Raja at first gave him a very good reception, even so far as to promise him assistance with all his forces, provided he would give his duaghter in marriage to his son. But Jesseigne soon wrought as much with this Raja, as he had done with Jessomseigne. So that Dara one day seeing the kindness of this barbarian cooled upon a sudden, and that consequently his person was in danger there, he betakes himself to the pursuit of his expedition to Tatabakar.

To relate how I got away from those robbers the Koullis, in what manner I moved them to compassion, how I saved the best part of my small treasure, how we became good friends by the means of my profession of physic, my servants (perplexed as well as myself) swearing that I was the greatest physician of the world, and that the people of Dara, at their going away, had ill-treated me, and taken me from all my best things; how, after having kept me with them seven or eight days, they had so much kindness and generosity as to lend me an ox, and to conduct me so far, that I was in sight of Amadevad: and lastly, how from thence after some days I returned to Delhi, having lighted on an occasion to go with a certain Omrah, passing thither; in which journey I met from time to time, on the way, with carcases of men, elephants, oxen, horses, and camels,

the

doubt,

whether

the remainder of that unfortunate army of Dara. These are things, I say, I must not insist upon to describe them.

Whilst Dara advanced towards Tatabakar, the war continues in Bengal, and much longer than was believed, Sultan Sujah putting forth his utmost, and playing his last game against Emir Jemla. Yet this did not much trouble Aureng-Zebe, who knew it was a great way between Bengal and Agra, and was sufficiently convinced of the prudence and valour of Emir-Jemla. That which disquieted him much more was, that he saw Soliman-Chekouh so near (for from Agra to the mountains it is but eight days' journey) whom he could not master, and who perpetually alarmed him by the rumours that went continually about, as if he were coming down the mountains with the Raja. It is certainly very hard to draw him thence: but behold how he manages the matter to compass it.

He maketh the Rajah Jessingne write one letter after another to the Raja of Serenaguer, promising him very great things, if he would surrender Soliman Chekouh to him, and menacing war at the same time, if he should obstinately keep him. The Raja answers, that he would rather lose his estate, than do so unworthy an action. And Aureng-Zebe, seeing his resolution, taketh the field, and marcheth directly to the foot of the hills, and with an infinite number of pikemen causeth the rocks to be cut, and the passage to be widened. But the Raja laughs at all that; neither hath he more cause to fear on that side. Aureng-Zebe may cut long enough, they are mountains inaccessible to an army, and stones would be sufficient to stop the forces of four Indostans; so that he was constrained to turn back again.

Dara in the mean time approacheth to the fortress of Tatabakar, and when he was but two or three days journey off, he received the news, that Mir-baba, who had long held it besieged, had at length reduced it to extremity: as I afterwards learned of our French, and other Franguis that were there, a pound of rice and meat having cost there above a crown, and so of other victuals in proportion: yet the governor held out, made sallies, which extremely incommoded the enemy; and shewed all possible prudence, courage and fidelity; deriding the endeavours of the general, Mir-baba, and all the menaces and promises of Aureng-Zebe.

And this also I learned afterwards of my countrymen, the French, and of all those other Franguis that were with him; who added, that when he heard that Dara was not far off, he redoubled his liberalities, and knew so well to gain the hearts of all his soldiers, and to encourage them to do bravely, that there was not one of them, that was not resolved to sally out upon the enemy, and to hazard all to raise the siege, and to make Dara enter; and that he also knew so well to cast fear and terror into the camp of Mir-baba, by sending spies about very cunningly to assure that they had seen Dara approach with great resolution, and very good forces; that if he had come, as was believed he would do every moment, the army of the enemy was for disbanding upon his appearance, and even in part go over to him. But he is still too unfortunate, to undertake any thing prosperously. Believing therefore, that to raise the siege with such an handful of men as he had was impossible, he did deliberate to pass the river Indus, and to endeavour to get into Persia; although that would also have had mighty difficulties and inconveniencies, by reason of the deserts, and the small quantity of good waters in those parts; besides, that upon those frontiers there are but mean Rajas and Pantans, who acknowledge neither the Persian nor the Mogul. But his wife did very much dissuade him from it, for this weak reason, that he must, if he did so, expect to see his wife and daughter slaves to the king of Persia; that that was a thing altogether unworthy

worthy of the grandeur of his family, and it was better to die, than to undergo this infamy.

Dara being in great perplexity, remembered that there was thereabout a certain Patan, powerful enough, called Gion-Kan, whofe life he had formerly faved twice, when Chah-Jehan had commanded he fhould be caft under the feet of an elephant, for having rebelled divers times; he refolved to go to him, hoping that he could give him fufficient fuccours to raife the fiege of Tatabakar; making account, that thence he would take his treafure, and that going from thence, and gaining Kandahar, he could caft himfelf into the kingdom of Caboul, having great hopes of Mohabet-Kan, who was governor of it, becaufe he was both potent and valiant, well-beloved of his country, and had obtained this government by his (Dara's) favour. But his grandchild, Sepe-Chekouh, yet but very young, feeing his defign, caft himfelf at his feet, intreating him for God's fake not to enter into the country of that Patan. His wife and daughter did the fame, remonftrating to him, that he was a robber, a revolted governor, that he would infallibly betray him; that he ought not to ftand upon raifing of the fiege, but rather endeavour to gain Caboul, that the thing was not impoffible, forafmuch as Mi-baba was not like to quit the fiege to follow him, and to hinder him from getting thither.

Dara being carried headlong by the force of his unhappy deftiny, rejected this council and would hearken to nothing of what was propofed to him, faying, as was true, that the march would be very difficult, and very dangerous; and maintained always, that Gion-kan would not be fo mean as to betray him, after all the good he had done him. He departed, notwithftanding all that could be faid to him, and went to prove, at the price of his life, that no truft is to be given to a wicked man.

This robber, who at firft believed that he had numerous troops following him, gave him the faireft reception that could be, and entertained him with very great kindnefs and civility in appearance, placing his foldiers here and there among his fubjects, with a ftrict order to treat them well, and to give them what refrefhments the country afforded: but when he found that he had not above two or three hundred men in all, he quickly fhewed what he was. It is not known whether he had not received fome letters from Aureng-Zebe, or whether his avarice had not been tempted by fome mules famen to be laden with gold; which was all that could be faved hitherto, as well from the hands of robbers, as of thofe that conveyed it. Whatever it be, on a certain morning, when nobody looked for any fuch thing, all being taken up with the care of refrefhing themfelves, and believing all to be fafe; behold this traitor, who had beftirred himfelf all night to get armed men from all parts, fell upon Dara and Sepe-Chekouh, killed fome of their men that ftood up to defend themfelves; forgot not to feize on the loads of the mules, and of all the jewels of the women; made Dara to be tied faft upon an elephant, commanding the executioner to fit behind, and to cut off his head upon the leaft fign given, in cafe he fhould be feen to refift, or that any one fhould attempt to deliver him. And in this ftrange pofture he was carried to the army before Tatabakar, where he put him into the hands of Mir-baba, the general, who caufed him to be conducted in the company of this fame traitor to Labor, and thence to Dehli.

When he was at the gates of Dehli, it was deliberated by Aureng-Zebe, whether he fhould be made to pafs through the midft of the city, or no, to carry him thence to Goualeor. Many did advife, that that was by no means to be done; that fome diforder might arife; that fome might come to fave him; and befides, that it would be a great difhonour to the family royal. Others maintained the contrary, viz. that it was abfolutely neceffary he fhould pafs through the town, to aftonifh the world, and to fhew the abfolute power of Aureng-Zebe, and to difabufe the people, that might ftill doubt,

whether it were himself, as indeed many Omrahs did doubt; and to take away all hopes from those, who still preserved some affection for him. The opinion of these last was followed; he was put on an elephant, his grandchild, Sepe-Chekouh, at his side; and behind them was placed Bhadur-Kan, as an executioner. This was none of those brave elephants of Ceilan or Pegu, which he was wont to ride on, with gilt harness and embroidered covers, and seats with canopies very handsomely painted and gilt, to defend themselves from the sun: it was an old caitiff animal, very dirty and nasty, with an old torn cover, and a pitiful seat, all open. There was no more seen about him, that necklace of big pearls, which those princes are wont to wear, nor those rich turbans and vests embroidered. All his dress was a vest of coarse linen, all dirty, and a turban of the same, with a wretched scarf of Kachimere over his head, like a varlet; his grandson, Sepe-Chekouh, being in the same equipage. In this miserable posture he was made to enter into the town, and to pass through the greatest streets of merchandize, to the end that all the people might see him, and entertain no doubt any more whether it was he.

As for me, I fancied we went to see some strange massacre, and was astonished at the boldness of making him thus pass through the town, and that the more, because I knew that he was very ill guarded, neither was I ignorant, that he was very much beloved by the lower sort of people, who at that time exclaimed highly against the cruelty and tyranny of Aureng-Zebe, as one that kept his father in prison, as also his own son Sultan-Mahmoud, and his brother Morad-Bakche. I was well prepared for it, and with a good horse and two good men I went, together with two others of my friends, to place myself in the greatest street where he was to pass. But not one man had the boldness to draw his sword, only there were some of the Fakires, and with them some poor people, who seeing that infamous Gion-Kan ride by his side, began to rail and throw stones at him, and to call him traitor. All the shops were ready to break for the crowd of spectators, that wept bitterly; and there was heard nothing but loud outcries and lamentations, invectives and curses, heaped on Gion-Kan. In a word, men and women, great and small (such is the tenderness of the hearts of the Indians) were ready to melt into tears for compassion; but not one there was that durst stir to rescue him. Now after he had thus passed through the town, he was put into a garden called Heider-Abad.

There were not wanting to tell Aureng-Zebe, how the people at this sight had lamented Dara, and cursed the Patan that had delivered him; and how the same was in danger to have been stoned to death, as also that there had been a great apprehension of some sedition and mischief. Hereupon another council was held, whether he should be carried to Goualeor, as had been concluded before; or whether it were not more expedient to put him to death without more ado? Some were of opinion, that he should go to Goualeor with a strong guard; that that would be enough; Danechmend-Kan, though Dara's old enemy, insisting much upon that. But Rauchenara-Begum, in pursuance of her hatred against this brother of hers, pushed Aureng-Zebe to make him away, without running the danger there was of sending him to Goualeor; as also did all his old enemies, Calil-ullah-Kan, and Chah-hest-Kan, and especially a certain flatterer, a physician, who fled out of Persia, first called Hakim-Daoud, and afterwards being become a great Omrah named Takarrub-Kan: this villain boldly rose up in a full assembly, and cried out, that it was expedient for the safety of the state, to put him to death immediately, and that the rather, because he was no Mussulman; that long since he was turned Kafire, idolater, without religion, and that he would charge the sin of it upon his own head; of which imprecation he soon after felt the smart; for within a short time he fell into disgrace, and was treated like an infamous fellow, and died miserably. But

Aureng-Zebe,

Aureng-Zebe, carried away by these instances and motives, commanded that he should be put to death, and that Sepe-Chekouh, his grandchild, should be sent to Goualeor.

The charge of this tragical execution was given to a certain slave called Nazer, that had been bred by Chah-Jehan, and was known to have been formerly ill treated by Dara. This executioner, accompanied with three or four parricides more, went to Dara, who was then himself dressing some lentils with Sepe-Chekouh his grandchild. He no sooner saw Nazer, but cried out to Sepe-Chekouh, "My dear son, behold those that come to kill us!" laying hold at the same time of a small knife, which was all the arms that were left him. One of these butchers immediately fell upon Sepe-Chekouh; the others upon the arms and legs of Dara, throwing him to the ground, and holding him under, till Nazer cut his throat. His head was forthwith carried to the fortress to Aureng-Zebe, who presently commanded it to be put in a dish, and that water should be fetched; which when brought, he wiped it with an handkerchief, and after he had caused the face to be washed clean, and the blood done away, and was fully satisfied that it was the very head of Dara, he fell a weeping, and said these words; *Ah, Bedbakt!* "ah, unfortunate man!" Take it away, and bury it in the sepulchre of Houmayon.

At night, the daughter of Dara was brought into the seraglio, but afterwards sent to Chah-Jehan, and Begum-Saheb, who asked her of Aureng-Zebe. Concerning Dara's wife, she had ended her days before at Lahor: she had poisoned herself, foreseeing the extremities she was falling into, together with her husband. Sepe-Chekouh was sent to Goualeor. And after a few days, Gion-Kan was sent for, to come before Aureng-Zebe in the assembly: to him were given some presents, and so he was sent away; but being near his lands, he was rewarded accorded to his desert, being killed in a wood. This barbarous man not knowing, or not considering, that if kings do sometimes permit such actions for their interest, yet they abhor them, and sooner or later revenge them.

In the mean time the governor of Tatabakar, by the same orders that had been required of Dara was obliged to surrender the fortress. It was indeed upon such a composition as he would have, but it was also with an intention not to keep word with him; for the poor eunuch, arriving at Lahor, was cut in pieces, together with those few men he had then with him, by Kalil-ullah-Kan, who was governor thereof. But the reason of the non-observance of the capitulation was, that there was come intelligence, that he secretly prepared himself to go directly to Soliman-Chekouh, sparing no gold, which underhand he conveyed into the hands of our Franguezé, and to all those that were come with him out of the fortress to follow him, under pretext of accompanying him as far as Dehli to Aureng-Zebe, who had often said, that he should be very glad to see so gallant a man, and who had so valiantly defended himself.

There remained therefore none of the family of Dara, but Soliman-Chekouh, who could not easily be drawn away from Serenaguer, if the Raja had been steady to his first declarations. But the secret practices of the Raja Jesseigne, the promises and threats of Aureng-Zebe, the death of Dara, and the other Rajas his neighbours that had been gained, and were prepared by the orders, and at the cost of Aureng-Zebe, to make war against him, did at last shake the faith of this perfidious protector, and made him consent to their demands. Soliman-Chekouh, who was advertised of it, fled through the midst of those horrid countries and fearful desarts, towards the great Tibet. But the son of the Raja, soon pursuing and overtaking him, caused him to be assaulted with stones. The poor Prince was hurt, seized, and carried to Delhi, where he was imprisoned in Serenguer, that little fortress, where at first they had put Morad-Bakche.

 Aureng-Zebe,

Aureng-Zebe, to obferve what he had practifed towards Dara, and that nobody might doubt it was Soliman-Chekouh himfelf, commanded him to be brought before him in the prefence of all the grandees of the court. At the entry of the gate, the chains were taken from his feet, leaving thofe he had about his hands, which feemed gilt. When this proper young man, fo handfome and gallant, was feen to enter, there was a good number of Omrahs that could not hold their tears; and, as I was informed, all the great ladies of the court, that had leave to fee him come in, fell a weeping. Aureng-Zebe, who appeared himfelf to be touched at his misfortunes, began to fpeak very kindly to him, and to comfort him; telling him, amongft other things, that he fhould fear nothing, that no hurt fhould be done to him; on the contrary, that he fhould be well treated, and therefore be of good courage; that he had caufed his father to be put to death for no other reafon, than that he was turned Kafer, and a man without religion. Whereupon this young prince returned him the falem, and bleffed him, abafing his hands to the earth, and lifting them, as well as he could, up to his head, after the cuftom of the country; and told him with refolution enough, that if he were to drink the pouft, he intreated him that he might die prefently, being very willing to fubmit to his fate. But Aureng-Zebe promifed him publicly that he fhould drink none of it; that he fhould reft fatisfied as to that, and not entertain any fad thoughts about it. This being faid, he once more repeated the falem; and after they had afked him feveral queftions, in the prefence of Aureng-Zebe, touching that elephant which was charged with roupies of gold, taken from him when he went to Serenaguer, he was fent to Goualeor to the reft. This pouft is nothing elfe but poppy expreffed, and infufed a night in water. And it is that potion, which thofe that are kept at Goualeor, are commonly made to drink, I mean thofe princes whofe heads they think not fit to cut off. This is the firft thing that is brought them in the morning, and they have nothing given them to eat till they have drank a great cup full of it; they would rather let them ftarve. This emaciates them exceedingly, and maketh them die infenfibly, they lofing little by little their ftrength and underftanding, and growing torpid and fenfelefs. And by this very means it is faid that Sepe-Chekouh, and the grand-child of Morad-Bakche, and Soliman-Chekouh, were difpatched.

As to Morad-Bakche, he was made away by a more violent death. For Aureng-Zebe feeing that, though he was in prifon, yet the generality had an inclination to him, and that many verfes were fpread in praife of his valour and courage, thought himfelf not fafe enough by putting him to death in private, by giving him pouft like others; apprehending, that his death would be ftill doubted of, and that that might one time or other occafion fome commotion, and therefore devifed the following charge againft him.

The children of a certain Sayed, very rich, whom he had caufed to be put to death in Amadevad, to get his eftate, when he there made his preparations for war, and borrowed, or took by force, great fums of money from all the rich merchants, appeared in full affembly, making their complaints, and demanding juftice, and the head of Morad-Bakche, for the blood of their father. Not one of the Omrahs durft contradict it, both becaufe he was a Sayed, that is, one of Mahomet's kindred, to whom great veneration was paid; and that every body fufficiently underftood the defign of Aureng-Zebe, taking this for a pretence to rid himfelf openly of Morad-Bakche, under a fhew of juftice. So that the head of him, that had killed the father of the plaintiffs, was granted them without any other form of procefs. Whereupon they went with neceffary orders iffued out for that purpofe, to cut it off in Goualeor.

6 There

There remained no other thorn in the foot of Aureng-Zebe but Sultan Sujah, who kept himself still in Bengal; but he also was forced to yield at last to the power and fortune of Aureng-Zebe. There were sent so many troops of all sorts to Emir-Jemla, that at last he was encompassed on all sides, both on this and that side of the river Ganges; so that he was necessitated to fly to Dake, which is the last town of Bengal on the sea side; and here comes the conclusion of this whole tragedy.

This prince being destitute of ships to put to sea, and not knowing whither to fly, sent his eldest son, Sultan Banque, to the King of Racan or Moy, a heathen or idolatrous king, to know whether he would give him leave to make his country his place of refuge only for some time, and do him the favour, when the monsons, or the season winds should come, to furnish him with a vessel for Mecha, from thence to pass into some part of Turkey or Persia; that king sent answer, that he should be very welcome, and have all possible assistance. So Sultan Banque returned to Dake with some galeasses, manned with Franguis, (I mean with those fugitive Portugueze, and other straggling Christians, that had put themselves in service to that King, driving no other trade than to ravage all this lower Bengal;) upon which Sultan Sujah embarked, with his whole family, viz. his wife, three sons, and daughters. They were well enough received; whatever was necessary for their subsistence, such as that country would afford was provided for them, in the name of the King. Some months pass, the season of the favourable winds come in, but not a v[illegible] the vessel, though he demanded it no otherwise than for his money; for as yet [illegible]ted no roupies of gold, nor silver, nor gems: he had too great a plenty of them: his riches were, in all appearance, the cause of his ruin, or at least contributed much to it. Those barbarous kings have no true generosity, and are not much restrained by the faith they have given, regarding nothing but their present interests, without so much as considering the mischiefs that may befall them for their perfidiousness and brutality. To get out of their hands, one must either be the stronger, or have nothing that may tempt their avarice. Sultan Sujah may long enough solicit for a vessel; all is in vain, he effects nothing: on the contrary, the King begins to shew much coldness, and to complain of his not coming to see him. I know not, whether Sultan Sujah thought it unworthy of himself, and too mean a thing to give him a visit; or rather, whether he feared, that being in the King's house, he might not there be seized on, to take away all his treasure, and then be delivered into the hands of Emir-Jemla, who for that purpose promised, in the name of Aureng-Zebe, great sums of money, and many other considerable advantages. Whatever the matter was, he would not go thither himself, but sent his son Sultan Banque, who being near the King's house, began to shew liberality to the people, throwing out to them a good quantity of half rupies, and whole rupies, of gold and silver. And being come before the King, he presented him with store of embroideries, and of rare pieces of goldsmith's work, set with precious stones of great value, excusing his father Sultan Sujah, as being indisposed, and beseeching him in his name, that he would remember the vessel, and the promise made to him thereof. But all that did not advance his business; on the contrary, five or six days after, this king sent to Sultan Sujah, to ask of him one of his daughters in marriage; which he could never resolve to grant him, whereat this barbarous prince was highly offended. What then could he do in this case? The season passeth away. What shall become of him? What other resolution can he take but to do a desperate action? Behold a strange undertaking, which may give a great example of what despair can do!

Although

Although this King Racan be an heathen, yet there is in his dominions store of Mahometans mingled with the people, that are retired thither, or have been, for the most part, taken slaves, here and there by those Franguis above mentioned. Sultan Sujah did under-hand gain these Mahometans; and with two or three hundred men, whom he yet had remaining of those that had followed him from Bengal, he resolved, one day to fall unexpectedly upon the house of this barbarian, to kill all, and to make himself proclaimed king of Racan. This was a very bold enterprize, and such a one, as had more of a desperado in it, than of a prudent man. Yet notwithstanding, as I was informed, and by what I could learn from many Mahometans, and Portugueze, and Hollanders, that then were there present, the thing was feasible enough. But the day before the stroke was to be given, the design was discovered; which did altogether overthrow the affairs of Sultan Sujah, and was soon after the cause of his ruin. For not finding hereafter any way more to recover himself, he attempted to fly towards Pegu; which was a thing in a manner impossible, by reason of the vast mountains and forests to be passed. Besides, he was immediately pursued so close, that he was overtaken the same day he fled. It may well be thought, that he defended himself with as much courage as possible. He killed so many of those barbarians, that it will scarce be believed; but he was so overpowered by the multitude of pursuers, that he was obliged to quit the combat. Sultan Banque, who was not so far advanced as his father, defended himself also like a lion; but at length, being all bloody of the wounds, by stones poured upon him from all sides, he was seized on, and carried away, with his two little brothers, his sisters, and mother.

As to the person of Sultan Sujah himself, all that could be learnt of it, is this: that he, with one woman, one eunuch, and two other persons, got up to the top of the mountain; that he received a wound in his head by a stone, which struck him down, and yet he rose again, the eunuch having wound his head about with his turban, and that they escaped through the midst of the woods.

I have heard the relation three or four other manner of ways, even by those persons that were upon the place. Some did assure, that he had been found among the dead, but was not well known; and I have seen a letter of the chief of the Dutch factory, confirming this. So that it is difficult enough to know aright what is become of him. And this it is, which hath administered ground to those so frequent alarms, given us afterwards at Dehli: for at one time it was rumoured, that he was arrived at Masslipatan, to join with the kings of Golkonda and Visapour; another time it was related for certain, that he had passed in sight of Suratte with two ships, bearing the red colours, which the King of Pegu or the King of Siam had given him; by and by, that he was in Persia, and had been seen in Chiras, and soon after in Kandahar, ready to enter into the kingdom of Caboul itself. Aureng-Zebe one day said smiling, that Sultan Sujah was at last become an agy or pilgrim. And at this very day there are abundance of persons who maintain, that he is in Persia, returned from Constantinople, whence he is said to have brought with him much money. But that which confirms more than enough, that there is no ground for any of these reports, is that letter of the Hollanders; and that an eunuch of his, with whom I travelled from Bengal to Masslipatan, as also the great master of his artillery, whom I saw in the service of the King of Golkonda, have assured me, that he is no more in being, though they made difficulty to say any more concerning him; as also, that our French merchants, that lately came out of Persia and from Kandahar, when I was yet at Dehli, had in those parts heard no news at all of him; besides that, I have heard that a while after his defeat

defeat, his sword and poignard had been found; so that it is credible, that if he was not killed upon the place, he soon died afterwards, and was the prey of some robbers, or tigers, or elephants, of which the forests of that country are full. However it be, after this last action his whole family was put in prison, wives and children, where they were treated rudely enough; yet some time after they were set at more liberty, and they received a milder entertainment; and then the King called for the eldest daughter, whom he married.

Whilst this was doing, some servants of Sultan Banque, joined with divers of those Mahometans which I have mentioned, went to plot another conspiracy like the first. But the day appointed for it being come, one of the conspirators, being half drunk, began too soon to break out. Concerning this also I have heard forty different relations, so that it is very hard to know the truth of it. That which is undoubted is this, that the King was at length so exasperated against this unfortunate family of Sujah, that he commanded it should be quite rooted out. Neither did there remain any one of it, that was not put to death, save that daughter, which the King had made his wife. Sultan Banque, and his brothers had their heads cut off with blunt axes; and the women were immured up, where they died of hunger and misery.

And thus endeth this war, which the lust of reigning had kindled among those four brothers, after it had lasted five or six years, from 1655, or thereabout, to 1660 or 1661; which left Aureng-Zebe in the peaceable possession of this puissant empire.

Particular Events: or the most considerable Passages after the War of five Years, or thereabout, in the Empire of the Great Mogul.

THE war being ended, the Tartars of Usbec entertained thoughts of sending ambassadors to Aureng-Zebe. They had seen him fight in their country, when he was yet a young prince; Chah-Jehan having sent him to command the succours which the Kan of Samarkand had desired of him, against the Kan of Balk. They had experienced his conduct and valour on many occasions, and they considered with themselves, that he could not but remember the affront they did him, when he was just taking Balk, the capital town of the enemy; for the two Kans agreed together, and obliged him to retreat, alledging, that they apprehended he might render himself master of their whole state, just as Ekbar had formerly done of the kingdom of Kachimere. Besides, they had certain intelligence of all he had done in Indostan, of his battles, fortunes, and advantages; whence they might sufficiently estimate, that though Chah-Jehan was yet living, yet Aureng-Zebe was master, and the only person that was to be owned King of the Indies. Whether then they feared his just resentments, or whether it was that their inbred avarice and sordidness made them hope for some considerable presents, the two Kans sent to him their ambassadors to offer him their service, and to congratulate him upon the happy beginning of his reign. Aureng-Zebe saw very well, that the war being at an end, this offer was out of season, and that it was nothing but fear or hope, as we said, that had brought them. Yet for all this, he received them honourably; and, since I was present at their audience, I can relate the particulars of it with certainty.

They made their reverence at a considerable distance from him, after the Indian custom, putting thrice their hands upon their heads, and as often letting them down to the ground. Then they approached so near, that Aureng-Zebe himself might very well

well have taken their letters immediately from their hands; but yet it was an Omrah that took and opened them, and gave them to him. He forthwith read them with a very grave countenance; and afterwards commanded, there should be given to each of them an embroidered vest, a turban, and a girdle of silk in embroidery, which is that which they call ser-apah, that is, an habit from head to foot. After this, their presents were called for, which consisted in some boxes of choice lapis lazulus, divers camels with long hair, several gallant horses, some camel-loads of fresh fruit, as apples, pears, raisins, and melons (for it is chiefly Usbec that furnishes these sorts of fruit, eaten at Dehli all the winter long); and in many loads of dry fruit, as prunes of Bokara, apricots, raisins without any stones that appeared, and two other sorts of raisins, black and white, very large and very good.

Aureng-Zebe was not wanting to declare how much he was satisfied with the generosity of the Kans, and much commended the beauty and rarity of the fruit, horses, and camels; and after he had a little entertained them of the state of the academy of Samarkand, and of the fertility of their country, abounding in so many rare and excellent things, he desired them to go and repose themselves, intimating withal, that he should be very glad to see them often.

They came away from their audience full of contentment and joy, not being troubled, that they had been obliged to make their reverence after the Indian custom, though it have something of slavish in it; nor much resenting it, that the King had not taken their letters from their own hands. I believe if they had been required to [illegible] the ground, and even to do something of a lower nature, they would have complied with it. It is true, it would have been in vain, if they had desired to make no other salute but that of their own country, and to deliver to the King their letters with their own hands; for that belongs only to the ambassadors of Persia, nor have these this favour granted them but with much difficulty.

They stayed above four months at Dehli, what diligence soever they could use to be dispatched, which did incommode them very much; for they fell almost all sick, and even some of them died, because they were not accustomed to such heats as are in Indostan, or rather because they were sordid, and kept a very ill diet. I know not whether there be a more avaricious and uncleanly nation than they are. They laid up the money, which the King had appointed them for their maintenance, and lived a very miserable life, altogether unworthy of ambassadors. Yet they were dismissed with great honour. The King, in the presence of all the Omrahs, presented each of them with two rich ser-apahs, and gave order, that eight thousand rupies should be carried to their lodgings, which amounted to near two thousand crowns each. He also gave them, for presents to the Kans their masters, very handsome ser-apahs, store of the richest and best wrought embroideries, a good quantity of fine cloth, and silk stuffs, wrought with gold and silver, and some tapestries, and two poniards set about with precious stones.

During their stay, I went thrice to see them, being presented to them as a physician by one of my friends, that was son of an Usbec, that had made his fortune in that court. I had a design to have learned something in particular of their country, but I found them so ignorant, that they knew not so much as the confines of their state, much less could they inform me of any thing concerning the Tartars that have conquered China of late years. In short, they told me nothing that I knew not before. I had once the curiosity to dine with them, which liberty I obtained easily enough. They are not men of much ceremony; it was a very extraordinary meal for such a one as I, it being mere horse-flesh; yet for all [illegible] I got my dinner with them; there was a certain ragout

which

which I thought paſſable: and I was obliged to expreſs a liking of ſo exquiſite a diſh, which they ſo much luſt after. During dinner there was a ſtrange ſilence; they were very buſy in carrying in with their whole hands, for they know not what a ſpoon is; but after that this horſe-fleſh had wrought in their ſtomachs, they began to talk, and then they would perſuade me, they were the moſt dextrous at bows and arrows, and the ſtrongeſt men in the world. They called for bows, which are much bigger than thoſe of Indoſtan, and would lay a wager, to pierce an ox or my horſe through and through. Then they proceeded to commend the ſtrength and valour of their women, which they deſcribed to me quite otherwiſe than the Amazons; telling me very wonderful ſtories of them, eſpecially one which would be admirable indeed, if I could relate it with a Tartarian eloquence as they did. They told me, that at the time when Aureng-Zebe made war in their country, a party of twenty-five or thirty Indian horſemen came to fall upon a ſmall village; whilſt they plundered and tied all thoſe whom they met with to make them ſlaves, an old woman ſaid to them; "Children, be not ſo miſchievous, my daughter is not far off, ſhe will be here very ſhortly, retreat if you be wiſe, you are undone if ſhe light upon you." They laughed at the old woman and her advice, and continued to load, to tie, and to carry away herſelf; but they were not gone half a mile, but this old woman, looking often backward, made a great outcry of joy, perceiving her daughter coming after her on horſeback; and preſently this generous ſhe-Tartar, mounted on a furious horſe, her bow and arrows hanging at her ſide, called to them at a diſtance, that ſhe was yet willing to give them their lives, if they would carry to the village all they had taken, and then withdraw without any noiſe. The advice of this young woman affected them as little as that of her old mother; but they were ſoon aſtoniſhed, when they found her let fly at them in a moment three or four great arrows, which ſtruck as many of their men to the ground, which forced them to fall to their quivers alſo. But ſhe kept herſelf at that diſtance from them, that none of them could reach her. She laughed at all their effort and at all their arrows, knowing how to attack them at the length of her bow, and to take her meaſure from the ſtrength of her arm, which was of another temper than theirs; ſo that after ſhe had killed half of them with her arrows, and put them into diſorder, ſhe came and fell upon the reſt with the ſabre in her hand, and cut them all in pieces.

The ambaſſadors of Tartary were not yet gone away from Dehli, when Aureng-Zebe fell exceeding ſick; a violent and continued fever made him ſometimes loſe his underſtanding: his tongue was ſeized with ſuch a palſy, that he loſt almoſt his ſpeech, and the phyſicians deſpaired of his recovery; nothing was heard for the time, than that he was gone, and that his ſiſter Rauchenara Begum concealed his death out of deſign. It was already bruited, that the Raja Jeſſomſeigne, governor of Guzaratte, was on the way to deliver Chah-Jehan; that Mohabet-Kan (who had at length obeyed the orders of Aureng-Zebe), quitting the government of Caboul, and being already on this ſide Lahor to come back, made haſte alſo with three or four thouſand horſe for the ſame end; and that the eunuch Etbar-Kan, who kept Chah-Jehan in the fortreſs of Agra, would have the honour of his delivery. On one ſide we ſee Sultan Mazum beſtir himſelf exceedingly with bribes, endeavouring by promiſes to aſſure himſelf of the Omrahs, ſo far, as that one night he went diſguiſed to the Raja Jeſſeigne, entreating him with expreſſions of deep reſpect, that he would engage himſelf for his intereſt.

We knew from other hands, that Rauchenara-Begum, together with Teday-Kan, the great maſter of artillery, and many Omrahs, declared for the young Prince Sultan Ekbar, the third ſon of Aureng-Zebe, though he was but ſeven or eight years old; both parties in the mean time pretending, they had no other deſign than to deliver Chah-

 Jehan:

Jehan: so that the people believed, that now he was going to be set at liberty, though none of the grandees had any such thing in their thoughts, spreading this rumour only to gain credit and concourse, and because they feared, lest by the means of Ekbar-Kan, or some other secret intrigue, he should one day appear in the field. And indeed of all the parties, there was not one that had reason to wish for his liberty and restoration to the throne, except Jessomseigne, Mohabet-Kan, and some others, that as yet had done no great matter to his disadvantage. The rest had been all against him, at least they had vilely abandoned him. They knew very well he would be like an unchained lion if he came abroad: who then could trust him? And what could Etbar-Kan hope for, who had kept him up so close? I know not, if by some adventure or other he should come out of prison, whether he would not have stood single, and been alone of his party.

But though Aureng-Zebe was very sick, yet for all this he gave order for all things, and particularly for the sure custody of Chah-Jehan his father; and though he had advised Sultan Mazum to go and open the gates to Chah-Jehan, in case he should die, yet he omitted not to have Etbar-Kan incessantly writ to. And the fifth day, in the height of his sickness, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly of the Omrahs to shew himself, and to disabuse those who might believe him to be dead, and to obviate popular tumults, or such accident as might have caused Chah-Jehan to be set at liberty. The seventh, ninth, and tenth day, he made himself to be carried again into the said assembly for the same reason; and what is almost incredible, the thirteenth, after he had recollected himself from a fit of swooning, which occasioned a rumour through the whole town of his being dead, he called for two or three of the greatest Omrahs, and the Raja Jesseigne, to let them see that he was alive, made himself to be raised in his bed, called for ink and paper to write to Etbar-Kan, and sent for the great seal, which he had trusted with Rauchenara-Begum, and commonly enclosed in a small bag, sealed with a seal he always wore about his arm, fearing lest she had already made use of it for her designs. I was nigh my Aga when all this news was told him; and I understood, that lifting up his hands to Heaven, he said, "What a soul is this? A matchless fortitude and courage of spirit! God preserve thee Aureng-Zebe for greater things; certainly he will not that thou shouldest yet die. And indeed after this fit he recovered by little and little.

He had no sooner recovered his health, but he sought to get out of the hands of Chah-Jehan and Begum Sabeb, the daughter of Dara, to secure the marriage of Sultan-Ekbar, his third son, with this Princess, on purpose thereby to gain him authority, and to give him the greater right to the empire; for he it is, who is thought to be by him designed for it. He is yet very young, but he hath many near and powerful relations at the court, and is born of the daughter of Chah-Navazekan, and consequently of the blood of the ancient sovereigns of Machate; whereas Sultan Mahmoud and Sultan Mazum are only sons of Ragipontnis, or daughters of Rajas. These kings, though Mahometans, do for all that, marry of the daughters of the heathen, either for state interest, or for extraordinary beauty. But Aureng-Zebe was disappointed in this design. It will hardly be believed, with what height and fierceness of spirit Chah-Jehan and Begum rejected the proposition, and the young Princess herself, who in the fear of being carried away, was for some days desperate, and protested she would rather kill herself an hundred times over, if it were possible, than marry the son of him that had murdered her father.

He had no better satisfaction from Chah-Jehan about certain jewels which he asked of him, in order to finish a piece of work which he caused to be added to a famous

throne,

throne, which is so highly esteemed. For he fiercely answered, that Aureng-Zebe should take no other care but to rule better than he did; that he should let his throne alone; that he was weary to hear of these jewels, and that the hammers were ready to beat them to dust the first time he should be importuned again about them.

The Hollanders would not be the last in doing reverence to Aureng-Zebe; they had thoughts of sending an ambassador to him. They pitched upon Monsieur Adrican, the commander of their factory at Surat; and being a right honest man, and of good sense and judgment, not neglecting to take the counsel of his friends, he well acquitted himself of this employment. Aureng-Zebe, though he carries it very high, and affects to appear a zealous Mahometan, and consequently to despise the Frangueze or Christians, yet thought fit to receive them with much respect and civility. He even was desirous, that this ambassador should compliment him in the mode of the Frangueze, after he had been made to do it the Indian way. It is true, he received his letters by the hand of an Omrah; but that was not to be taken for any contempt, he having shewed no more honour to the ambassadors of Usbec. After this he intimated to him, that he might produce his present; and at the same time he caused him, and some of his train, to be dressed with a ser-apah embroidered. The present consisted of store of very fine scarlet, some large looking-glasses, and divers excellent pieces of Chinese and Japanese work, among which there was a Paleky, and a Tackravan, or a field throne of admirable workmanship.

This ambassador was not so soon dispatched as he wished, it being the custom of the Kings of Mogul to detain ambassadors as long as they well can, from a belief they have, that it is the interest of their greatness to oblige strangers to give long attendance at their court; yet he was not kept so long as the ambassadors of Usbec. Meantime he had the misfortune that his secretary died there, and the rest of his retinue began to grow sick. When the King dismissed him, he gave him such another ser-apah embroidered, as the first was, for himself; and another, a very rich one, for the general of Batavia, together with a poignard, set about with jewels, all accompanied with a very obliging letter.

The chief aim of the Hollanders in this embassy was, to make themselves immediately known to the King, thereby to gain credit, and to intimidate the governors of the seaports, and other places, where they have their factories; that so they may not attempt, when they please, to insult over them, or to trouble them in their trade; thereby letting them know, that they had to do with a potent nation, and that hath a door open to address themselves, and to complain immediately to the King. Their end also was to make it appear, what interest the King had in their commerce; and therefore they shewed long rolls of commodities, bought up by them through the whole kingdom, and lists of considerable sums of gold and silver every year brought thither by them; but saying not a word of those which they draw thence, from the copper, lead, cinnamon, cloves, muscadin, pepper, wood of aloes, elephants, and other commodities, which they vend there.

About this time, one of the most considerable Omrahs of Aureng-Zebe addressed himself to him, and represented, that this multitude and variety of perplexing affairs, and this perpetual attention of mind in him, might soon cause a great alteration in his temper, and a dangerous inconvenience in his health. But Aureng-Zebe seeming to take almost no notice of what that Omrah said, turned himself another way, and approaching to another of the prime Omrahs of the court, a person of great knowledge

and judgment, ſpoke to him in this purpoſe (as I was informed by the ſon of this lord, who was my friend):

"You other ſages, are you not all of my mind, that there are times and conjunctions ſo urgent, that a king ought to hazard his life for his ſubjects, and ſacrifice himſelf for their defence with arms in his hands? And yet this effeminate man would diſſuade me from taking pains, and dehort me from watching and ſolicitude for the publick; and carrying me by pretences of health, to the thoughts of an eaſy life, by abandoning the government of my people, and the management of affairs, to ſome Viſir or other. Doth he not know, that Providence having given me a royal extraction, and raiſed me to the crown of Indoſtan, hath not made me for myſelf alone, but for the good and ſafety of the public, and for the procurement of tranquillity and happineſs to my ſubjects as far as that may be obtained by juſtice and power? He ſeeth not the conſequence of his councils, and what miſchiefs do attend viſirſhips. Doth he think it to be without reaſon that our grand Sady hath ſo generouſly pronounced; O kings, ceaſe, ceaſe to be kings, or govern your kingdoms yourſelves? Go tell thy countryman, that I ſhall well like of the care he is conſtantly to take of the faithful diſcharge of his place; but adviſe him alſo, not any more to run out himſelf ſo far as he hath done. We have natural inclination enough to a long, eaſy, and careleſs life, and there need no counſellors to ſhake off buſineſs and trouble. Our wives that lie in our boſom, do too often, beſides our own genius, incline us that way."

At the ſame time there happened an accident, that made a great noiſe at Dehli, eſpecially in the ſeraglio, and diſabuſed a great many, that could as hardly believe as myſelf, that eunuchs, though they had their genitals quite cut away, could become amorous as other men. Didar-kan, one of the chief eunuchs of the ſeraglio, who had built an houſe, where he came often to divert himſelf, fell in love with a very beautiful woman, the ſiſter of a neighbour of his, that was an heathen ſcrivener.

Theſe amours laſted a good while before any body blamed them, ſince it was but an eunuch that made them, which ſort of men have the privilege to go where they pleaſe; but the familiarity grew ſo great, and ſo extraordinary betwixt the two lovers, that the neighbours began to ſuſpect ſomething, and to rally the ſcrivener, which did ſo touch him, that he threatened both his ſiſters and the eunuch to kill them if they ſhould continue their commerce. And ſoon after, finding them in the night lying together, he ſtabbed the eunuch outright, and left his ſiſter for dead. The whole ſeraglio, women and eunuchs, made a league together againſt him to make him away; but Aureng-Zebe diſſipated all theſe machinations, and was content to have him turn Mahometan. Meantime it is thought, he cannot long avoid the malice and power of the eunuchs; for it is not, as is the common ſaying, with men as with brutes; theſe latter become gentler and more tractable when they are caſtrated; but men more vicious, and commonly very inſolent, though ſometimes it turneth to an admirable fidelity and gallantry.

It was alſo about the ſame time, that Aureng-Zebe was ſomewhat diſcontented with Rauchenara-Begum, becauſe ſhe was ſuſpected to have given acceſs to two young gallants into the ſeraglio, who were diſcovered and brought before Aureng-Zebe. Yet this being but a ſuſpicion, he expreſſed to her no great reſentment of it; nor did he make uſe of ſo great rigour and cruelty againſt thoſe poor men, as Chah-Jehan had done againſt the perſon above ſpoken of. The matter was related to me by an old Portugueſe woman (that had a long while been ſlave to the ſeraglio, and went out and in at pleaſure), as followeth: ſhe told me that Rauchenara-Begum, after ſhe had drawn from a young man, hidden by her, all his ability, delivered him to ſome women to

convey

convey him away in the night through some gardens, and so to save him: but whether they were discovered, or whether they feared they should be so, or what else might be the cause, they fled, and left him there wandering in the midst of those gardens, not knowing which way to get out: and being at last met with, and brought before Aureng-Zebe, who examined him strictly, but could draw nothing else from him, than that he was come in over the walls, he was commanded to get out the same way by which he entered: but it seems the eunuchs did more than Aureng-Zebe had given order for, for they cast him down from the top of the walls to the bottom. As for the other young gallant, this same woman assured me, that he was found wandering in the garden like the first; and having confessed that he was come in by the gate, Aureng-Zebe commanded likewise that he also should pass away again by the same gate; yet reserving to himself a severe chastisement for the eunuchs, since not only the honour of the royal house, but also the safety of the King's person, is herein concerned.

Some months after, there arrived at Dehli several ambassadors, almost at the same time. The first was Xerif of Meccha, whose present did consist of some Arabian horses: the second and third ambassadors were, he of the King of Hyeman, or Happy Arabia, and he of the Prince of Bassora, who likewise presented Arabian horses. The two remaining ambassadors were sent from the King of Ethiopia. To the three first, no great regard was given; they appeared in so miserable and confused an equipage, that it was perceived they came only to get some money by the means of their present, and of the many horses and other merchandize, which under the pretence of ambassadors, entered without paying any duty into the kingdom, there to be sold, and to buy for the money a quantity of Indian stuffs, and so to return without paying likewise any impost at all.

But as to the Ethiopian embassy, that deserves to be otherwise taken notice of; the King of Ethiopia having received the news of the revolution of the Indies, had a design to spread his name in those parts, and there to make known his grandeur and magnificence by a splendid embassy; or, as malice will have it, or rather as the very truth is, to reap some advantage by a present as well as the rest. Behold therefore this great embassy! He chose for his ambassadors two persons, that one would think were the most considerable in his court, and the most capable to make such a design prosper. And who were they? The one was a Mahometan merchant, whom I had seen some years ago at Moka, when I passed there coming out of Egypt over the Red Sea, where he was to sell some slaves for that prince, and to buy of the money raised thence, some Indian commodities. And this is the fine trade of that great Christian King of Africa. The other was a Christian merchant of Armenia, born and married in Aleppo, known in Ethiopia by the name of Murat.* I had seen him also at Moka, where he had accommodated me also with the half of his chamber, and assisted me with very good advice, whereof I have spoken in the beginning of this history, as a thing taking me off from passing into Ethiopia, according to my first design. He also came every year to that place, in that king's name, for the same end that the Mahometan did, and brought the present which the king made every year, to the gentlemen of the English and Dutch company of the East-Indies, and carried away theirs. Now the King of Ethiopia, suitably to his design, and the desire he had of making his ambassadors appear with great splendor, put himself to great expences for this embassy: he gave them thirty-two young slaves, of both sexes, to sell them at Moka, and thence to make a sum of money to bear their charges. A wonderful largess! Slaves are commonly sold there for twenty-five or thirty crowns a piece, one with another. A considerable sum. Besides, he gave them for a present to the Great Mogul five and twenty choice slaves, among which there were 9, or 10 very young, proper to make eunuchs of. A very worthy present for a king, and he

he a Christian, to a Mahometan Prince! It seems the christianity of the Ethiopians is very different from ours. He added to that present, twelve horses, esteemed as much as those of Arabia, and a kind of little mule, of which I saw the skin, which was a very great rarity, there being no tyger so handsomely speckled, nor silken stuff of India so finely, so variously, and so orderly streaked, as that was. Moreover, there were for a part of the present, two elephant's teeth, so prodigious, that they assured it was all that a very able-bodied man could do to lift up one of them from the ground. Lastly, an horn of an ox full of civet, and so big, that the aperture of it being measured by me, when it came to Dehli, it had a diameter of half a foot, and somewhat better. All things being thus prepared, the ambassadors depart from Gondez, the capital of Ethiopia, situated in the province of Dambea, and came through a very troublesome country to Beiloul, which is a dispeopled sea-port over against Moka, nigh to Babel-mandel, not daring to come (for reasons elsewhere to be alledged), the ordinary way of the Caravans, which is made with ease in forty days to Arkiko, and thence to pass to the Isle of Masoua. During their stay at Beiloul, and expecting a bark to Moka, to waft over the Red Sea, there died some of their slaves, because the vessel tarried, and they found not in that place those refreshments that were necessary for them. When they came to Moka, they soon sold their merchandize to raise a stock of money according to order: but they had this ill luck, that that year the slaves were very cheap; because the market was glutted by many other merchants; yet they raised a sum to pursue their voyage. They embarked upon an Indian vessel to pass to Surat: their passage was pretty good; they were not above five and twenty days at sea; but whether it was that they had made no good provision, for want of stock, or what else the cause might be, many of their slaves and horses, as also the mule, whereof they saved the skin, died. They were no sooner arrived at Surat, but a certain rebel of Visapour, called Seva-Gi, came and ransacked and burned the town, and in it their house, so that they could save nothing but their letters, some slaves that were sick, or which Seva-Gi could not light on, their Ethiopian habits which he cared not for, and the mule's skin, and the ox's horn, which was already emptied of the civet. They very much exaggerated their misfortune; but those malicious Indians that had seen them arrive in such a wretched condition, without provisions, without habits, without money, or bills of exchange, said, that they were very happy, and should reckon the plunder of Surat for a piece of their best fortune; for as much as Seva-Gi had saved them the labour of bringing their miserable present to Dehli, and had furnished them with a very specious pretence for their beggarly condition, and for the sale they had made of their civet, and of some of their slaves, and for demanding of the Governor of Surat provisions for their subsistence, as also some money and chariots to continue their voyage to Dehli.

Monsieur Adrican, Chief of the Dutch factory, my friend, had given to the Armenian Murat a letter of recommendation to me, which he delivered himself at Dehli, not remembering that I had been his host at Moka. It was a very pleasant meeting when we came to know one another, after the space of five or six years. I embraced him affectionately, and promised him that I would serve him in whatever I could; but that, though I had acquaintance at the court, it was impossible for me to do them any considerable good office there: for since they had not brought with them any valuable present, but only the mule's skin, and the empty ox's horn, and that they were seen going upon the streets without any paleky or horses, save that of our father missionary, and mine (which they had almost killed), cloathed like beggars, and followed with seven or eight slaves, bare-headed and bare-foot, having nothing but an ugly sharse tied between their legs, with a ragged cloth over their left shoulder, passing under their left arm like a summer cloak; since, I said, they were in such a posture, whatever I could say for them

 was

was insignificant; they were taken for beggars, and nobody took other notice of them. Yet notwithstanding I said so much of the grandeur of their king to my Aga Danechmend-kan, who had cause to hearken to me, as managing all foreign affairs there, that Aureng-Zebe gave them audience, received their letters, presented them each with an embroidered vest, a silken embroidered girdle, and a turban of the same, gave order for their entertainment, and dispatched them in a little time, and that with more honour than there was ground to expect: for in dismissing them, he presented them each with another such vest, and with 6000 rupies for them all, which amounteth to about 3000 crowns, of which the Mahometan had four thousand, and Murat, because a Christian, but two thousand. He also gave them for a present to their master, a very rich ser-apah or vest, two great silver and gilt trumpets, two silver timbals, a poignard covered with jewels, and the value of about twenty thousand francs in gold and silver rupies, to let their king see money coined, as a rarity he had not in his country: but Aureng-Zebe knew very well that these rupies would not go out of the kingdom, and that they were like to buy commodities for them, and it fell out so; for they laid them out, partly in fine cotton cloth, to make shirts of for their king, queen, and their only lawful son that is to be the successor; partly in silken stuffs streaked with gold or silver, to make vests and summer drawers of; partly in English scarlet, to make two Arabian vests of for their king also; and lastly, in spices, and in store of coarser cloth, for divers ladies of his seraglio, and for the children he had by them; all without paying any duty.

For all my friendship with Murat, there were three things which made me almost repent to have served them. The first, because Murat having promised me to leave with me 50 rupies, a little son of his, that was very pretty, of a delicate black, and without such a swelled nose, or such thick lips as commonly the Ethiopians have, broke his word with me, and let me know, that he should take no less for him than 300 rupies. For all this, I had thoughts of buying him for rarity's sake, and that I might say, a father had sold me his son. The second, because I found that Murat, as well as the Mahometan, had obliged themselves to Aureng-Zebe, that they would employ their interest with their king, that he might permit in Ethiopia to rebuild an old mosque ruined in the time of the Portugueze, and which had been built for a tomb of a great dervich, which went from Mecha into Ethiopia for the propagation of Mahometanism, and there made great progress. They received of Aureng-Zebe two thousand rupies for this engagement. This mosque had been pulled down by the Portugueze, when they came with their succours into Ethiopia, which the then king, who turned catholick, had asked of them against a Mahometan Prince, invading his kingdom. The third, because they desired Aureng-Zebe, in the name of their king, to give them an alcoran, and eight other books, which I well remember were of the most reputed in the Mahometan religion: which proceeding seemed to me very unworthy of a Christian ambassador, and Christian king, and confirmed to me what I had been told at Moka, that the christianity of Ethiopia must needs be some odd thing; that it savours much of Mahometanism, and that the Mahometans increase exceedingly in that empire, especially since the Portugueze, that came in there for the reason lately expressed, were either killed, upon the death of the king, by the cabal of the queen mother, or expelled, together with the patriarch Jesuit, whom they had brought along from Goa.

During the time that the ambassadors were at Delhi, my Aga, who is more than ordinary curious, made them often come to him, when I was present, to inform himself of the state and government of their country, and principally to learn something of the source of the Nile, which they call Ababile, of which they discoursed to us as a thing so well known, that nobody doubted of it. Murat himself, and a Mogol, who was re-

turned

turned out of Ethiopia with him, had been there, and told us very near the ſame particulars with thoſe I had received of it at Moka, viz.: that the Nile had its origin in the country of Agaus; that it iſſued out of the earth by two ſprings bubbling up, near to one another, which did form a little lake of about thirty or forty paces long; that coming out of this like, it did make a conſiderable river: and that from ſpace to ſpace it received ſmall rivers increaſing it. They added, that it went on circling, and making as it were a great iſle; and that afterwards it tumbled down from ſteep rocks into a great lake, in which there were divers fruitful iſles, ſtore of crocodiles, and (which would be remarkable enough, if true), abundance of ſea-calves, that have no other vent for their excrements than that by which they take in their food; this lake being in the country of Dambea, three ſmall days journey from Gondar, and four or five days journey from the ſource of the Nile. And laſtly, that this river did break out of this lake, being augmented with many river-waters, and with ſeveral torrents falling into it, eſpecially in the rainy ſeaſon (which do regularly begin there, as in the Indies, about July, which is very conſiderable and convincing for the inundation of the Nile), and ſo runs away through Sonnar, the capital city of the King of Fungi, tributary to the King of Ethiopia, and from thence paſſeth to the plains of Meſre, which is Egypt.

The ambaſſadors were not wanting to ſay more than was liked, on the ſubject of their king's greatneſs, and of the ſtrength of his army; but the Mogolian did not over much agree with them in it; and in their abſence repreſented to us this army, which he had ſeen twice in the field, with the Ethiopian king at the head of it, as the moſt wretched thing in the world.

They alſo related to us divers particulars of that country, which I have put in my journal, one day perhaps to be digeſted and copied. In the mean time I ſhall inſert here three or four things which Murat told me, becauſe I eſteem them very extravagant for a Chriſtian kingdom. He ſaid then, that there were few men in Ethiopia, who beſides their lawful wiſe, had not many others; and himſelf owned that he had two, without reckoning her which he had left at Aleppo: that the Ethiopian women did not ſo hide themſelves as they do in the Indies among the Mahometans, nor even as among the Gentiles: that thoſe of the meaner ſort of people, maids or married women, ſlaves or free, were often together pell-mell, night and day, in the ſame chamber, without thoſe jealouſies ſo common in other countries: that the women of lords did not ſtick much to go into the houſe of a ſimple cavalier, whom they knew to be a man of execution. That if I had gone into Ethiopia, they would ſoon have obliged me to marry, as they had done, a few years ſince, a certain European who named himſelf a Greek phyſician. That an ancient man, of about fourſcore years of age, did one day preſent to the king fourſcore ſons, all of age, and able to bear arms; and that the king aſked him, Whether he had no more but them? To whom having anſwered, no, but only ſome daughters, the king ſent him away with this reproach: "Begone, thou calf, and be aſhamed for having no more children at that age, as if women were wanting in my dominions!" That the king himſelf had at leaſt fourſcore ſons and daughters running about pell-mell in the ſeraglio, for whom he had cauſed to be made a number of round varniſhed ſticks, made like a little maze; thoſe children being fond of having that in their hand like a ſcepter, diſtinguiſhing them from thoſe that were children of ſlaves, or from others living in that place.

Aureng-Zebe ſent alſo twice for theſe ambaſſadors, for the ſame reaſon that my Aga did, and eſpecially to enquire after the ſtate of Mahometaniſm in that country. He had alſo the curioſity of viewing the ſkin of the mule, which remained, I know not how, in the fortreſs among the officers, which was to me a great mortification, becauſe

 they

they had designed it for me for the good services I had done them. I made account to have one day presented it to some very curious person in Europe. I urged often, that together with the mule's skin, they should carry the great horn to Aureng-Zebe, to shew it him; but they feared lest he should make a question, which would have perplexed them, viz. how it came to pass that they had saved the horn from the plunder of Surat, and lost the civet?

Whilst these ambassadors of Ethiopia were at Dehli, it came to pass that Aureng-Zebe called together his privy-council, and the most learned persons of his court, to chuse a new master for his third son, Sultan Eckbar, whom he designed for his successor. In this council he shewed the passion he hath to have this young prince well educated, and to make him a great man. Aureng-Zebe is not ignorant of what importance it is, and how much it is to be wished, that as much as kings surmount others in greatness, they may also exceed them in virtue and knowledge. He also well knows, that one of the principal sources of the misery, of the mis-government, of the unpeopling, and the decay of the empires of Asia proceeds from thence, that the children of the kings thereof are brought up only by women and eunuchs, which often are no other than wretched slaves of Russia, Circassia, Mingrelia, Gurgistan and Ethiopia; mean and servile, ignorant and insolent souls. These princes become kings when they are of age, without being instructed, and without knowing what it is to be a king; amazed when they begin to come abroad out of the seraglio, as persons coming out of another world, or let out of some subterraneous cave, where they had lived all their life time; wondering at every thing they meet, like so many innocents, believing all, and fearing all, like children, or nothing at all, as if they were stupid: and all this according to their nature, and suitable to the first images imprinted upon them; commonly high and proud, and seemingly grave, but of that kind of pride and gravity, which is so flat and distasteful, and so unbecoming them, that one may plainly see it is nothing but brutality or barbarousness, and the effect of some ill-studied and ill-digested documents, or else they fall into some childish civilities, yet more unsavory; or into such cruelties as are blind and brutal; or into that mean and gross vice of drunkenness, or into an excessive and altogether unreasonable luxury, either ruining their bodies and understandings with their concubines, or altogether abandoning themselves to the pleasures of hunting, like some carniverous animals, preferring a pack of dogs before the lives of so many poor people, whom they force to follow them in the pursuit of their game, and suffer to perish of hunger, heat, cold, and misery. In a word, they always run into some extreme or other, being altogether irrational and extravagant, according as they are carried by their natural temper, or by their first impressions that are given them; thus remaining, almost all, in a strange ignorance of what concerns the state of the kingdom; the reins of the government being abandoned to some visir, who entertains them in their ignorance and in their passions, which are the two strongest supports he can have to rule always according to his own mind, with most assurance, and the least contradiction; and given over also to those slaves their mothers, and to their eunuchs, who often know nothing but to continue plots of cruelty, whereby they strangle and banish one another, and sometimes the visirs, and even the grand seignors themselves, so that no man whatsoever, that hath any estate, can be in safety of his life.

But to return; after all these ambassadors which we have spoken of, there came at last news, that the Ambassador of Persia was upon the frontiers. The Persian Omrahs, that are at the service of the Mogul, spread a rumour that he came for affairs of great importance, though intelligent persons much doubted of a commission of that nature, considering that the time of great conjunctures was passed, and that those Omrahs, and the

the other Persians did what they did, rather to make a show than for any thing else. Meantime, on the day of the entry, this ambassador was received with all possible respect. The bazars, through which he passed, were all new painted, and the cavalry attending on the way for above the length of a whole league. Many Omrahs accompanied him with music, timbals and trumpets, and when he entered in the fortress, or palace of the king, the guns went off. Aureng-Zebe received him with much civility, and was content he should make his address to him after the Persian mode, receiving also, without any scruple, immediately from his hands the letters of his king, which, out of respect, he lifted up even to his head, and afterwards read them with a grave and serious countenance; which done, he caused an embroidered vest to be brought, together with a rich turban and girdle, commanding it to be put on him in his presence. A little after, it was intimated to him, that he might order his present to be brought in, which consisted of twenty-five as handsome horses as ever I saw, led, and covered with embroidered trappings, and of twenty very stately and lusty camels, as big as elephants; moreover, of a good number of boxes, said to be full of most excellent rose-water, and of a certain distilled water, very precious, and esteemed highly cordial; besides, there were displayed five or six very rich and very large tapisseries, and some embroidered pieces exceeding noble, wrought in small flowers, so fine and delicate, that I know not whether in all Europe any such can be met with. To all this were added four damaskined swords, with as many poignards, all covered with jewels; as also five or six harnesses of horses, which were much esteemed, being also very fine and rich, the stuff being raised with rich embroidery set with small pearls, and very fair turcoises of the old rock.

It was observed, that Aureng-Zebe beheld this present very attentively; that he admired the beauty and rarity of every piece, and that several times he extolled the generosity of the King of Persia, assigning to the ambassador a place among his chief Omrahs. And after he had entertained him awhile with a discourse about the inconveniences and hardships of his voyage, he dismissed him, and made instance, that he should come every day to see him.

During the four or five months that the ambassador staid at Dehli, he was always splendidly treated at Aureng-Zebe's charge; and the greatest Omrahs presented him one after another, and at last he was very honourably dismissed; for Aureng-Zebe had him apparelled with another rich sera-pah or vest, to which he added considerable presents for himself, reserving those he intended for his king, till he should send an ambassador expressly, which some time after he did.

Notwithstanding all these testimonies of honour and respect which Aureng-Zebe had shewed to his ambassador, the same Persians, above spoken of, gave out, that their king had forcibly reproached him in his letters with the death of Dara, and the imprisonment of Chah-Jehan, as actions unworthy of a brother and a son, and a Mussulman; and that he had also hit him with the word Alem-Guire, or conqueror of the world, which Aureng-Zebe had caused to be engraven on his coin. But it is hard to believe, that the King of Persia should do any such thing to provoke such a victorious prince, since Persia is not in a condition to enter into a war with Indostan*; I am rather apt to believe, that Persia hath work enough to keep Kandahar on the side of Indostan and the frontiers on the side of Turkey. Its forces and riches are known; it produceth not always such great kings as the Chah-Abbas, valiant, intelligent, and politic, knowing to make use of every thing, and to do much with small expences. If it were in a condition of undertaking any thing against Indostan, or really sensible of piety, and the

* Though the present Emperor of Persia has conquered it.

Mussulman

Muſſulman faith, why was it that in theſe laſt troubles and civil wars, which continued ſo long in Indoſtan, the Perſians ſat ſtill and looked on when Dara, Chah-Jehan, Sultan Sujah, and perhaps the Governor of Caboul deſired their aſſiſtance; and they might, with no very great army, nor great expences, have ſeized on the faireſt part of India, beginning from the kingdom of Caboul, unto the river Indus, and beyond it, and ſo made themſelves umpires of all things? Yet notwithſtanding there muſt needs have been ſome offenſive expreſſions in thoſe Perſian letters, or elſe the ambaſſador muſt have done or ſaid ſomething that diſpleaſed Aureng-Zebe, becauſe two or three days after he had diſmiſſed him, he made a rumour to be ſpread abroad, that the ambaſſador had cauſed the ham-ſtrings of the preſented horſes to be cut; and the ambaſſador being yet upon the frontiers, he made him return all the Indian ſlaves which he carried along with him, of which he had a prodigious number.

Meanwhile Aureng-Zebe was not ſo much concerned, nor troubled himſelf ſo much with this ambaſſador, as Chah-Jehan, upon a like occaſion, did with him that was ſent to him from the great Chah-Abbas. When the Perſians are in the humour of rallying againſt the Indians, they relate theſe three or four little ſtories of them: they ſay, that Chah-Jehan, ſeeing that the courtſhip and promiſes made to their ambaſſador were not able to prevail with him, ſo as to make him perform his ſalute after the Indian mode, he deviſed this artifice:—he commanded to ſhut the great gate of the court of the Amkas, where he was to receive them, and to leave only open the wicket, through which one man could not paſs but very difficultly, by ſtooping and holding down his head, as the faſhion is when one maketh an Indian reverence, to the end that it might be ſaid, he had made the ambaſſador put himſelf in a poſture which was ſomething lower than the Indian ſalam or ſalute; but that that ambaſſador, being aware of this trick came in with his back foremoſt: and that Chah-Jehan, out of indignation to ſee himſelf catched, told him Ehbedbakt, 'Thou wretch, doſt thou think thou comeſt into a ſtable of aſſes, ſuch as thou art?' And that the ambaſſador, without any alteration, anſwered, 'Who would not ink ſo, ſeeing ſuch a little door?'

Another ſtory is this: that at a certain time Chah-Jehan taking ill ſome coarſe and fierce anſwers returned to him by the Perſian ambaſſador, could not hold to tell him, What, hath Chah-Abbas no other men at his court, that he muſt ſend to me ſuch a fool as thyſelf? And that the ambaſſador anſwered, He hath many better and wiſer men than me, but to ſuch a king, ſuch an ambaſſador. They add, that on a certain day Chah-Jehan, who had made the ambaſſador to dine in his preſence, and ſought ſome occaſion to affront him, ſeeing that he was buſy in picking and gnawing of bones, aſked him ſmilingly, 'Eh Eltchi-Gy, my Lord Ambaſſador, what will the dogs eat?' And that he anſwered readily, Kicheiry, that is, a diſh of pulſe, which is the food of the meaner ſort of people, and which he ſaw Chah-Jehan eat, becauſe he loved it.

They ſay alſo that Chah-Jehan once aſked him, what he thought of his new Dehli (which was building), in compariſon of Hiſpahan? And that he anſwered aloud, and with an oath, 'Billah, Billah, Hiſpahan doth not come near the duſt of Dehli, which Chah-Jehan took for a high commendation, though the ambaſſador mocked him, becauſe the duſt is ſo troubleſome at Dehli.

Laſtly they relate that Chah Jehan, one day preſſing him to tell him, what he thought of the grandeur of the kings of Indoſtan, compared to that of the kings of Perſia? He anſwered, that in his opinion, one could not better compare the kings of India than to a large moon of fifteen or ſixteen days old, and thoſe of Perſia, to a ſmall moon of two or three days. And that this anſwer did at firſt pleaſe Chah Jehan; but that ſoon after he perceived, that that compariſon did him but little honour, the ambaſſador's

fenfe being, that the kings of Indoftan were decreafing, and thofe of Perfia increafing.

Whether thefe points are fo commendable, and fuch marks of wit, every one is free to judge as he feeth caufe. My opinion is, that a difcreet and refpectful gravity is much more becoming ambaffadors, than raillery and roughnefs, efpecially when they have to do with kings, who will not be rallied with, witnefs an accident that befel this very ambaffador; for Chah-Jehan was at length fo weary of him, and his freedom, that he called him no otherwife than fool; and one day gave fecret order that when he fhould enter into a pretty long and narrow ftreet, that is near the fortrefs, to come to the hall of the affembly, they fhould let loofe upon him an ill-conditioned and fierce elephant; and certainly if the ambaffador had not nimbly lept out of his paleky, and, together with his dexterous attendants, fhot fome arrows into the trump of the elephant, which forced him to turn back, he had been utterly fpoiled.

It was at this time, upon the departure of the Perfian ambaffador, that Aureng-Zebe received with that admirable wifdom his tutor Mallah-Sale, the hiftory of which is rare and confiderable. This old man, who long fince had retired himfelf towards Caboul, and fettled himfelf on fome lands which Chah-Jehan had given him, had no fooner heard of the great fortune of Aureng-Zebe his difcipline, who had overcome Dara and all his other brothers, and was now King of Indoftan, but he came in hafte to the court, fwelled with hopes of being prefently advanced to no lefs than the dignity of an Omrah. He maketh his court, and endeavours to engage all his friends, and Rauchenara-Begum, the King's fifter, employs herfelf for him. But yet there was three whole months, that Aureng-Zebe does not fo much as look upon him; till at length, wearied to have him always at his elbow, and before his face, he fent for him to a place apart, where there was nobody but Hakim-lul-Mouluk, Danech-mend-Kan, and three or four of thofe Omrahs, that pretend to fcience, and then fpoke to him to this effect, (as I was informed by my Agah):

What is it you would have of me, doctor? Can you reafonably defire I fhould make you one of the chief Omrahs of my court? Let me tell you, if you had inftructed me as you fhould have done, nothing would be more juft: for I am of this perfuafion, that a child well educated and inftructed is as much, at leaft, obliged to his mafter as to his father: but where are thofe good documents you have given me? In the firft place you have taught me, that all that Frangaftican (fo it feems they call Europe) was nothing, but I know not what little ifland, of which the greateft King was he of Portugal, and next to him he of Holland, and after him he of England; and as to the other kings, as thofe of France and Andalufia, you have reprefented them to me as our petty Rajas; telling me that the Kings of Indoftan were for above them altogether, and that they were the true and only Houmajons, the Ekbars, the Jehan-Guyres, the Chah-Jehans, the fortunate ones, the great ones, the conquerors and kings of the world; and that Perfia and Ufbec, Kach-guer, Tartar and Catay, Pegu, China, and Matchina did tremble at the name of the Kings of Indoftan. Admirable geography! You fhould rather have taught me exactly to diftinguifh all thofe different ftates of the world, and well to underftand their ftrength, their way of fighting, their cuftoms, religions, governments, and interefts; and by the perufal of folid hiftory, to obferve their rife, progrefs, decay, and whence, how, and by what accidents and errors thofe great changes and revolutions of empires and kingdoms have happened. I have fcarce learnt of you the name of my grandfires, the famous founders of this empire; fo far were you from having taught me the hiftory of their life, and what courfe they took to make fuch great conquefts. You had a mind to teach me the Arabian tongue, to read and to

write,

write, I am much obliged to you (forsooth) for having made me lose so much time upon a language, that requires ten or twelve years to attain to its perfection, as if the son of a king should think it to be an honour to him, to be a grammarian or some doctor of the law, and to learn other languages than those of his neighbours, when he cannot well be without them; he, to whom time is so precious for so many weighty things, which he ought by times to learn. As if there were any spirit that did not with some reluctancy, and even with a kind of debasement, employ itself in so sad and dry an exercise, so longsome and tedious, as is that of learning words.

Thus did Aurenge-Zebe resent the pedantic instructions of his tutor: to which it is affirmed in that court, that after some entertainment which he had with others, he further added the following reproof:

"Know you not, that childhood well governed, being a state which is ordinarily accompanied with an happy memory, is capable of thousands of good precepts and instructions, which remain deeply impressed the whole remainder of a man's life, and keep the mind always raised for great actions? The law, prayers, and sciences, may they not as well be learned in our mother-tongue, as in Arabic? You told my father Chah-Jehan, that you would teach me philosophy. It is true, I remember very well, that you have entertained me for many years with airy questions, of things that afford no satisfaction at all to the mind, and are of no use to human society, empty notions, and mere fancies, that have only this in them, that they are very hard to understand, and very easy to forget, which are only capable to tire and spoil a good understanding, and to breed an opinion that is unsupportable. I still remember that after you had thus amused me, I know not how long, with your fine philosophy, all I retained of it, was a multitude of barbarous and dark words, proper to bewilder, perplex, and tire out the best wits, and only invented, the better to cover the vanity and ignorance of men like yourself, that would make us believe, that they know all, and that under those obscure and ambiguous words, are hid great mysteries, which they alone are capable to understand. If you had seasoned me with that philosophy, which formeth the mind to ratiocination, and insensibly accustoms it to be satisfied with nothing but solid reasons; if you had given me those excellent precepts and doctrines, which raise the soul above the assaults of fortune, and reduce her to an unshakeable and always equal temper, and permit her not to be lifted up by prosperity, nor debased by adversity; if you had taken care to give me the knowledge of what we are, and what are the first principles of things, and had assisted me in forming in my mind a fit idea of the greatness of the universe, and of the admirable order and motion of the parts thereof; if, I say, you had instilled into me this kind of philosophy, I should think myself incomparably more obliged to you than Alexander was to his Aristotle; and believe it my duty to recompence you otherwise, than he did him. Should not you, instead of your flattery, have taught me somewhat of that point so important to a king, which is, what the reciprocal duties are of a sovereign to his subjects, and those of subjects to their sovereign? And ought not you to have considered, that one day I should be obliged with the sword to dispute my life and the crown with my brothers? Is not that the destiny almost of all the sons of Indostan? Have you ever taken any care to make me learn what it is to besiege a town, or to set an army in array? For these things I am obliged to others, not at all to you. Go, and retire to the village, whence you are come, and let nobody know who you are, or what is become of you."

At that time there arose a kind of tempest against astrologers, which did not displease me. Most people of Asia are so infatuated by judiciary astrology, that they believe there is nothing done here below, but it is written above (for so they speak). In all their

their undertakings therefore they consult astrologers. When two armies are ready to give battle, they beware of falling on, till the astrologer hath taken and determined the moment he fancies propitious for the beginning of the combat. And so, when the master is about electing a captain-general of an army, of dispatching an ambassador, of concluding a marriage, or beginning a voyage, and of doing any other thing, as buying a slave, putting on new apparel, &c. nothing of all that is done without the sentence of Mr. Star-gazer; which is an incredible vexation, and a custom drawing after it such important consequences, that I know not how it can subsist so long. For the astrologer must needs have knowledge of all that passeth, and of all that is undertaken, from the greatest affairs to the least.

But behold, it happened, that the prime astrologer of the King was drowned, which occasioned a great noise at court, and was a great discredit to astrology; for he being the person that determined the moments of all enterprizes and actions for the King, and the Omrahs, every one wondered, how a man so experienced, and that for so long time had dispensed good adventures to others, could not foresee his own misfortune. There were not wanting those, who pretended to be wiser than others, and said, that in Frangistan, where sciences did flourish, the grandees do suspect all such kind of people, and that some hold them even no better than mountebanks, that it is much doubted, whether this knowledge is grounded upon good and solid reasons, and that it may very well be some fancy of astrologers, or rather an artifice to make themselves necessary to the great ones, and to make them in some measure to depend upon them.

All these discourses very much displeased the astrologers, but [illegible]; but nothing [illegible] them so much as this story, become very famous, viz. That the great Chah-Abas, King of Persia, commanded to be digged and prepared a little place in his seraglio to make a garden; that the young trees were all ready, and the gardener made account to plant them the next day. Meantime the astrologer taking upon him, said, that a nick of time was to be observed for planting them, to make them prosper. Chah-Abas, made content it should be so, the star-gazer took his instruments, turned his calculation, and concluded, that, by reason of such and such conjunctions and aspect of the planets, it was necessary they should be set presently. The master gardener, who minded nothing less than this astrologer, was not then at hand; yet for all that they fell to work immediately, making holes, and planting the trees, Chah-Abas himself setting them, that it might be said that they were trees set with Chah-Abas's own hands. The gardener returning at night, was sufficiently amazed when he saw the work done; and finding that the right place and order designed by him was not taken; that, for example, an apricock-tree stood where an apple-tree should stand, and a pear-tree where an almond-tree; being heartily angry with the astrologer, caused all the trees to be plucked up again, and laid them down, with some earth about them, for next morning, the time chosen by himself. The news hereof came soon to the ears of the astrologer, who presently told Chah-Abas of it: he forthwith sent for the gardener, and with some indignation asked him, What had made him so bold as to pluck up those young trees he had planted with his own hand; that the time had been so exactly taken for them, that so good an one would never be had again, and that so he had marred all. The rude gardiner, who had a cup of Chiras wine in his head, looked aside upon the astrologer, and grumbling and swearing, said to him these words, Billah, Billah, that must needs be an admirable point of time which thou hast taken for these trees; unhappy astrologer! they were planted this day noon, and this evening they have been plucked up again. When Chah-Abas heard this, he fell a laughing, turned his back upon the astrologer, and went away.

I shall

I shall here add two particulars, though they happened in the time of Chah-Jehan, because such things fall out often enough, and do withal give occasion to observe that ancient and barbarous custom, which makes the kings of India heirs of the goods of those that die in their service. The first was of Neiknam-kan, one of the most ancient Omrahs of the court, and who, for the space of forty or fifty years, wherein he had always been employed in considerable offices, had heaped up great store of gold and silver. This lord seeing himself near his end, and thinking upon this unreasonable custom, which often renders the wife of a great man, upon his decease, poor and miserable in an instant, and necessitates her to present a petition, begging some small pension for her subsistence and for that of her children, who are constrained to list themselves for common soldiers under some Omrah; who, I say, considering this with himself, secretly distributed all his treasure to indigent knights and poor widows, filled his trunks with old pieces of iron, old shoes, rags and bones, and locked and sealed them, telling every body that they were goods belonging to Chah-Jehan the King. These trunks, after his death, were brought before Chah-Jehan, when he was in the assembly, and by his command instantly opened in the presence of all the Omrahs, that saw all this fine stuff, which so provoked and discomposed Chah-Jehan, that he rose in great fury, and went away.

The other is only a piece of gallantry. A rich Banean, or heathen merchant being a great usurer (as most of them are), who had always been in employment, and in the pay of the King, came to die. Some years after his death, his son did extremely importune the widow, his mother, to let him have some money: she finding him to be a prodigal and debauched youth, gave him as little as she could. This young fool, by the persuasion of others like himself, made his complaints to Chah-Jehan, and was so silly as to discover to him all the goods his father had left, which amounted to two hundred thousand rupies, or hundred thousand crowns. Chah-Jehan, who soon got an itch for this treasure, sent for the widow, and commanded her in the open assembly to send him an hundred thousand rupies, and to give fifty thousand to her son, giving order at the same time to put her away. The old woman, though surprised at this command, and perplexed enough that she was so suddenly thrust out, without the liberty of speaking, yet lost not her judgment, but with a loud voice gave out, that she had something of moment to discover to His Majesty: Whereupon being brought in again, she said, "God save Your Majesty; I find that my son hath some reason to demand of me the goods of his father, as being of his and my flesh and blood, and therefore our heir; but I would gladly know, what kindred Your Majesty is to my deceased husband, to be his heir. When Chah Jehan heard so plain a piece of raillery, and a discourse of parentage of the King of the Indies with a she-Banian, or idolatrous she-merchant, he could not hold laughing, and commanded she should be gone, and that nothing should be asked of her.

But to return, I shall not relate all the other considerable things that have happened since the end of the war, that is, since 1660 unto my departure, which was above six years after; though doubtless that would tend much to the design I had in relating the other particulars, which is, to make known the genius and temper of the Moguls and Indians. This I may do in another place: here I shall only give an account of five or six particulars, which those that shall have read this relation, will doubtless be curious of.

The first, that though Aureng-Zebe made Chah-Jehan, his father, to be kept in the fortress of Agra, with all imaginable care and caution; yet notwithstanding he still left him his old apartment with Begum-Saheb, his eldest daughter, his other women, sing-

ers,

ers, dancers, cooks, and others; nothing of that kind was wanting to him. There were also certain Mullahs, that were permitted to come and to read the Alcoran to him, (for he was become very devout). And when he thought fit, there were brought before him brave horses, and tamed Gazelles, (which is a kind of goat) to make them fight with one another; as also divers sorts of birds of prey, and several other rare animals, to divert him as formerly. Aureng-Zebe himself used an art to overcome at last his fierceness and obstinacy, which he had hitherto kept, though a prisoner. And this was the effect of the obliging letters, full of respect and submission, which he often wrote to his father, consulting him often as his oracle, and expressing a thousand cares for him; sending him also incessantly some pretty present or other; whereby Chah-Jehan was so much gained, that he also wrote very often to Aureng-Zebe touching the government and state affairs, and of his own accord sent him some of those jewels, which before he had told him of, that hammers were ready to beat them to powder the first time he should again ask for them. Besides, he consented that the daughter of Dara, which he had so peremptorily denied, should be delivered to him; and granted him at length that pardon and paternal blessing, which he had so often desired without obtaining it. Yet, under all this, Aureng-Zebe did not always flatter him; on the contrary, he sometimes returned sharp answers, when he met with strains in his father's letters that were pregnant, or expressed something of his former height and authority. Of this we may judge by the letter, which I know from a very good hand was once written to him by Aurenge-Zebe, to this effect:

"Sir, You would have me indispensably follow those ancient customs, and make myself heir to all those that are in my pay with the wonted rigour: an Omrah, and even a merchant can no sooner die, and sometimes even before his death, but we seal up his trunks, and seize on his goods, and make a strict enquiry into his estate, imprisoning and ill-treating the officers of the house to discover to us all he hath, even to the least jewels. I will believe that there is some policy in doing so, but it cannot be denied that it is very rigorous, and sometimes very unjust; and to speak the very truth, we may deserve well enough, that the same should befal us every day, what happened to you from your Neikman-kan, and from the widow of your rich Indian merchant. Moreover (said he) it seems, I am by you reputed proud and haughty now I am King; as if you knew not by the experience of more than forty years of your reign, how heavy an ornament a crown is, and how many sad and restless nights it passeth through; as if I could forget that excellent passage of Mir-Timur (commonly called Tamerlane) which is so seriously delivered to us by that great grand-father of ours, Ekbar, to the end that we might the more weigh the importance and value of it, and consider whether we have cause to pride ourselves so much in a crown. You well know that he said, that the same day when Timur took Bajazet, he made him come before him, and having fixed his eyes on him, fell a laughing; at which Bajazet being highly offended, fiercely said to him, Laugh not at my fortune, Timur; know that it is God that is the dispenser of kingdoms and empires; and that the same can befal you to-morrow, that hath befallen me to day. Whereupon Timur made this serious and brave answer; I know as well as you, Bajazet, that it is God that distributeth kingdoms and empires; I laugh not at your ill fortune, God forbid I should do so: but beholding your face, I smiled, and had this thought, That certainly these kingdoms and empires must in themselves be very little and contemptible things in the eyes of God, since he giveth them to persons so ill made as you and I both are; a deformed one eyed man, as you; and a lame wretch as myself. You require also, that abandoning all my other employments, which I believe very necessary for the establishment and happiness of this state, I should think

on

nothing but conquests, and the enlargement of the empire. I must confess that this is indeed the business of a great monarch, and of a soul truly royal, and that I should not deserve to be of the blood of the great Timur, if I were not of that mind, and had not such inclinations. Meantime, I think I lie not idle, and my armies are not useless in the kingdoms of Decan and Bengal: but we must also aver, that the greatest conquerors are not always the greatest Kings; that we too often see a barbarian making conquests, and that those great bodies of conquests do ordinarily fall of themselves, and by their own weight. He is a great king, that knows to acquit himself worthily of that great and august employment and charge of kings, which is to dispense justice to their subjects, &c."

The rest is not come to my hands.

The second is in regard of Emir-Jemla. It were to injure this great man, to pass by with silence his deportment to Aureng-Zebe after the war, and the manner of ending his days. This eminent person, after he had dispatched the affair of Bengala, with Sultan Sujah (the second of these four brothers), not like Giun-kan, that infamous Patan, with Dara, nor like the Raja of Serenaguer with Soliman-Chekouth, but like a great captain and dexterous politician, pursuing him as far as the sea-side, and necessitating him to fly and to escape out of his hands; after, I say, he had done these things, he sent an eunuch to Aureng-Zebe, intreating him, that he would give him leave to transport his family to Bengal; that now that the war was at an end, and he broken with age, he hoped he would grant him the advantage of ending his life in the company of his wife and children.

But Aureng-Zebe is too sharp-sighted, not to pierce into the designs of Emir. He seeth him triumphing over Sujah; he knows his great credit and reputation, and that he hath the esteem of a very wise, undertaking, valiant and rich man; and that the kingdom of Bengal is not only the best of all Indostan, but strong of itself; and further, that this Emir is in the head of a well disciplined army, which both honours and fears him. Besides, he is not ignorant of his ambition, and foreseeth well enough, that if he should have with him his son Mahmen-Emir-kan, he would aspire to the crown, and at least take full possession of Bengal, if he should not be able to advance things further. At the same time he is also well aware, that there is danger in refusing him, and that he may possibly prove such a man, as, in case of denial, may run into some dangerous extreme, as he had done in Golkonda. How then, think ye, did he carry himself in this conjuncture? He sends to him his wife and daughter, and all the children of his son: he maketh the Emir a Mir-ul-Omrah, which is in that empire the greatest degree of honour that a favourite can be raised to; and as to Mahmet-Emir-kan, he maketh him the Great Bakchis, which is a dignity and charge like that of our great master of the horse, the second or third office in the state, but such a one as absolutely obligeth the possessor of it to be always at the court, not suffering him, but very difficultly, to be absent from the person of the King.

The Emir soon perceived, that Aureng-Zebe had skilfully put by the stroke; that it would be in vain the second time to ask of him his son; that he could not do it without offending him; and that therefore the safest way would be to rest contented with all the testimonies of friendship, and with all the honours, together with the government of Bengal; being in the mean time always upon his guard, and in such a posture, that since he could attempt nothing against Aureng-Zebe, Aureng-Zebe should not be able to attempt any thing against him.

Thus have we seen these two great men carrying themselves to one another; and in this condition did affairs remain for almost a year, till Aureng-Zebe, too well know-

 ing

ing that a great captain cannot be long at rest; and that, if he be not employed in a foreign war, he will at length raise a domestic one; proposed to him to make war upon that rich and potent Raja of Acham, whose territories are on the north of Dake, upon the gulf of Bengal. The Emir, who in all appearance had already designed this same thing of himself, and who believed, that the conquest of this country would make way for his immortal honour, and be an occasion of carrying his arms as far as China, declared himself ready for this enterprize. He embarked at Dake with a puissant army, upon a river which comes from those parts; upon which having gone about an hundred leagues north-eastward, he arrived at a castle called Azo, which the Raja of Acham had usurped from the kingdom of Bengal, and possessed for many years. He attacked this place, and took it by force in less than fifteen days; thence marching over-land towards Chamdara, which is the inlet into the country of that Raja; he entered into it after twenty-six days journey, still northward: there a battle was fought, in which the Raja of Acham was worsted, and obliged to retreat to Guerguon, the metropolis of his kingdom, four miles distant from Chamdara. The Emir pursued him so close, that he gave him no time to fortify himself in Guerguon; for he arrived in sight of that town in five days, which constrained the Raja, seeing the Emir's army, to fly towards the mountains of the kingdom of Lassa, and to abandon Guerguon, which was pillaged, as had been Chamdara. They found there vast riches, it being a great, very fair and merchant-like town, and where the women are extraordinarily beautiful. Meantime the season of the rains came in sooner than usually; and they being excessive in those parts, and overflowing all the country, except such villages as stand on raised ground, the Emir was much embarassed. For the Raja made his people of the mountains come down from all parts thereabout, and to carry away all the provisions of the field; whereby the Emir's army (as rich as it was) before the end of the rains, fell into great straits, without being able to go forward or backward. It could not advance, by reason of the mountains, very difficult to pass, and continually pestered with great rains; nor retreat, because of the like rains and deep ways; the Raja also having caused the way to be digged up as far as to Chamdara: so that the Emir was forced to remain in that wretched condition during the whole time of the rain; after which, when he found his army distasted, tired out, and half starved, he was necessitated to give over the design he had of advancing, and to return the same way he was come. But this retreat was made with so much pains, and so great inconveniences, by reason of the dirt, the want of victuals, and the pursuit of the Raja falling on the rear, that every body (but he) that had not known how to remedy the disorder of such a march, nor had the patience to be sometimes five or six hours at one passage to make the soldiery get over it without confusion, would have utterly perished, himself, army and all; yet he, notwithstanding all these difficulties and obstacles, made a shift to come back with great honour and vast riches. He designed to return thither again the next year, and to pursue his undertaking, supposing that Azo, which he had fortified, and where he left a strong garrison, would be able to hold out the rest of the year against the Raja. But he was no sooner arrived there, but fluxes began to rage in his army: neither had himself a body of steel more than the rest; he fell sick and died, whereby fortune ended the just apprehensions of Aureng-Zebe. I say, the just apprehensions; for there was none of those that knew this great man, and the state of the affairs of Indostan, who did not say, It is this day that Aureng-Zebe is King of Bengal. And himself could not forbear to express some such thing; for he publicly said to Mahmet-Emir-kan, You have lost your father, and I the greatest and most dangerous friend I had; yet notwithstanding he comforted his son, and withal

 assured

assured him, that he would ever be a father to him. And whereas it was thought that he would at least cut off his salary, and make inquisition into his treasury, he confirmed him in his office of Bakchis, augmented his pension to a thousand rupies a month, and left him heir of all the estate of his father, although the custom of the country empowered him to seize on all.

The third is concerning Chah-hest-kan, whom Aureng-Zebe made first governor of Agra, when he went out to the battle of Kadjoue against Sultan Sujah; and afterward, governor and general of the army in Decan; and at last, after the death of Emir-Jemla, governor and general of the army in Bengal, together with the charge of Mir-ul Omrah, which Emir-Jemla had possessed. This Chah-hest-kan is he, whom in our history we have mentioned as uncle to Aureng-Zebe, and one that hath so much contributed to his happiness by his eloquent and skilful pen, as well as by his intrigues and counsels. It would be injurious to his renown also, to be silent of the important enterprize which he undertook presently when he entered upon his government; and that the rather, because Emir-Jemla, whether out of policy, or for another cause, had no mind to tempt him; as also, because the particularities, which I am going to relate, will shew not only the passed and present state of the kingdoms of Bengal and Rakan, which hitherto hath not been well described to us by any; but also some other things that are worth knowing.

To the end therefore that the importance of Chah-hest-kan's attempt may be well understood, and a good idea be had of what passeth about the gulf of Bengal; we are to know, that these many years there have always been in the kingdom of Rakan or Moy, some Portugueze, and with them a great number of their Christian slaves, and other Franguis, gathered from all parts. That was the refuge of the run-aways from Goa, Ceilan, Cochin, Malague, and all those other places which the Portugueze formerly held in the Indies; and they were such as had abandoned monasteries, men that had been twice or thrice married, murderers; in a word, such as had deserved the rope, were most welcome and most esteemed there, leading in that country a life that was very detestable, and altogether unworthy of Christians, insomuch that they impunely butchered and poisoned one another, and assassinated their own priests, who sometimes were not better than themselves. The King of Rakan, in the apprehension he hath ever had of the Mogul, kept them for a guard of his frontiers, in a port-town called Chategon, giving them land, and liberty to live as they pleased. Their ordinary trade was robbery and piracy. With some small and light gallies they did nothing but coast about that sea, and entering into all rivers thereabout, and into the channels and arms of the Ganges, and between all those isles of the lower Bengal, and often penetrating even so far as forty or fifty leagues up into the country, surprized and carried away whole towns, assemblies, markets, feasts, and weddings of the poor Gentiles, and others of that country, making women slaves, great and small, with strange cruelty; and burning all they could not carry away. And thence it is, that at present there are seen in the mouth of the Ganges so many fine isles quite deserted, which were formerly well peopled, and where no other inhabitants are found but wild beasts, and especially tigers.

This great number of slaves, which thus they took from all quarters, behold what use they made of. They had boldness and impudence enough, to come and sell to that very country the old people, which they knew not what to do with; where it so fell out, that those who had escaped the danger by flight, and by hiding themselves in the woods, laboured to redeem to-day their fathers and mothers, that had been taken yesterday. The rest they kept for their service, to make rowers of them, and such

 Christians

Christians as they were themselves, bringing them up to robbing and killing; or also they sold them to the Portugueze of Goa, Ceilan, St. Thomas, and others; and even to those that were remaining in Bengal at Ogouli, who were come thither to settle themselves there by the favour of Jehan-Guyre, the grandfather of Aureng-Zebe, who suffered them there upon the account of traffick, and of his having no aversion to Christians, as also because they promised him to keep the bay of Bengal clear from all pirates. And it was towards the isles of Galles, near the cape of Palmes, where this fine trade was. These pirates lay there in wait at the passage for the Portugueze, who filled their ships with them at a very easy rate; this infamous rabble impudently bragging, that they made more Christians in one year, than all the missionaries in the Indies in ten; which would be a strange way of enlarging Christianity.

These were the pirates that made Chah-Jehan, who was a more zealous Mahometan than his father Jehan-Guyre, to express at last his passion, not only against the reverend fathers the Jesuits, missionaries of Agra, in that he caused to be pulled down the best part of a very fair and large church that had been built, as well as that of Lahor, by the favour of Jehan-Guyre, who, as I said, did not hate Christianity; and upon which there stood a great steeple with a great bell in it, whose sound might be heard all over the town; not only, I say, against those Jesuits, but also against the Christians of Ogouli: for being impatient to see them connive at the pirates, to make the name of the Franguis formidable, and to fill their houses with slaves that were his own subjects, he wasted and utterly ruined them, after he had both with fair words and menaces drawn from them as much money as he could: and because they were indiscrectly obstinate in refusing what he demanded of them, he besieged them, and caused them all to be brought to Agra, even their very children, their priests and friars. This was a misery and desolation not to be paralelled; a kind of Babylonian transmigration. There they were all made slaves: the handsome women were shut up in the Seraglio, the old women and others were distributed among divers Omrahs. The young lads were circumcised, and made pages; and men of age renounced for the most part their faith, either terrified by the threatnings they heard daily, that they should be trampled upon by elephants, or drawn away by fair promises. It is true, that there were some of those friars, who persisted, and that the missionaries of Agra, who, notwithstanding all this unhappiness, remained in their houses, found means afterwards, partly by friends, partly by money, to get many of them away, and to have them conveyed to Goa, and to other places belonging to the Portugueze.

They were also the same pirates, who some time after the desolation of Ogouli, offered to the vice-roy of Goa, to put the whole kingdom of Rakan into their hands for the King of Portugal; but he refused, they say, this offer, out of arrogance and jealousy, and would not send the succours, which for that end was demanded of him by a certain Bastian Consalve, who had made himself head of those people, and was become so potent and considerable, that he married one of the King's daughters; being unwilling that it should be said that a man of so mean extraction as this Bastian was, had done such a master-piece. But it may be said on this occasion, that this is not much to be wondered at, considering that the Portugueze in the Indies by such a conduct have divers times been faulty on the like occasions, in Japan, in Pegu, in Ethiopia, and other places; not to mention, that by this way, and that perhaps by a just divine chastisement (as they all frankly confess themselves), they are become a prey to their enemies, and fallen so low in the Indies, that I know not whether they will ever recover there; whereas formerly, before they were corrupted by vice, and degenerated through pleasure, they made all others tremble in those parts; forasmuch as

 then

then they were brave and generous men, zealous for the Christian religion, considerable for gallant exploits and for riches; all the Indian kings seeking their friendship.

Besides this, the same pirates seized at that time on the isle of Sondiva, an advantageous post to command a part of the mouth of the Ganges; in which isle a certain Augustin friar, a very famous man, acted the king for many years, having taken a course, God knows how, to rid himself of the commander of that place.

Moreover the same robbers took Sultan Sujah at Daka, to carry him away to their galeasses to Rakan, as we related above, and found means to open his coffers, and to rob him of good store of jewels, which afterwards were secretly and at a very cheap rate sold at Rakan, most of them being fallen into the hands of people that had no skill in them, and afterwards into the hands of the Hollanders, and others, who knew how to buy them up quickly, making those fellows believe that they were soft diamonds, and that they would pay them according to the degrees of their hardness.

Lastly, they are they that for many years have given exercise to the Great Mogul in Bengal; having obliged him there to keep always garrisons every where upon the passes, and a great militia, and a fleet also of galeasses to oppose their courses, and who, notwithstanding all this, have made shift to make strange devastations, and often to enter far into the country, and to laugh at all the soldiery of the Moguls; in regard they were become so bold, and so dextrous at their weapons, and so skilful in piloting their galeasses, that four or five of them stuck not to set upon fourteen or fifteen Mogolians, which they also actually worsted, and took, or run a-ground. And upon these pirates Chah-hest-kan cast his eyes as soon as he came into Bengal, taking a resolution to deliver the country of this plague of people, that had so long wasted it; and designing afterwards to pass on, and attack the King of Rakan, according to the order of Aureng-Zebe, who at any price had a mind to revenge the blood of Sultan Sujah, and all his family, that had been so cruelly handled, and to teach that barbarian how the blood royal was to be regarded and esteemed on any occasion whatsoever. Behold now with what dexterity Chah-hest-kan carrieth on his design!

Knowing that it is impossible to pass any cavalry by land, no not so much as any infantry, from Bengal into Rakan, because of the many channels and rivers upon the frontiers; and also that on the other side, those pirates of Chatigon, whom we just now were speaking of would be powerful enough to hinder him from transporting them by sea; he thought upon this experiment, viz. to engage the Hollanders in his design. He therefore sent a kind of ambassador to Batavia, empowering him to treat upon certain conditions, with the general of that company, jointly to subdue the whole kingdom of Rakan; as formerly Chah-Abba subdued that of Ormus in conjunction with the English. The general of Batavia seeing the thing to be possible, and that it was a means more and more to break the Portugueze in the Indies, and that it would turn to a very good account to the company, dispatched away two men of war for Bengal, to favour the transportation of the Mogolian troops in spite of those pirates. But observe what Chah-hest-kan did before these men of war arrived: he equipped a great number of galeasses, and many large vessels to transport the army; threatened the pirates, utterly to spoil and ruin them; acquainted them with the design of Aureng-Zebe upon Rakan; that a potent army of the Dutch was near; that they should think on themselves and their families, if they were wise; and in a word if they would abandon the service of the King of Rakan and take that of Aureng-Zebe, he would procure very good conditions for them, distribute amongst them as much land in Bengal as they desired, and pay them the double of what they had now.

It

It is doubtful whether these menaces and promises made impression upon them, or whether it was an accident that moved them; they having about that time assassinated one of the chief officers of the King of Rakan, and apprehending a punishment for that crime: however it be, they were caught, and they were one day struck with such a panic terror, that they slipped themselves all at once in forty or fifty of their galeasses, and wafted over to Bengal to Chah-hest-kan, and that with so much precipitation, that they hardly took time to embark their wives and children and what else was most precious to them. Chah-hest-kan received them with open arms, courted them exceedingly, gave them very considerable pay, and without letting them cool, made them jointly with his whole army, to attack and take the isle of Sondiva, which was fallen into the hands of the King of Rakan; and thence to pass with all his horse and foot to Chatigon. About this time the two Holland vessels arrived, but Chah-hest-kan, who thought that henceforth it would be easy for him to compass his design, thanked them. I saw these ships in Bengal, and their commanders who were but little contented with such thanks and liberalities of Chah-hest-kan. As to the pirates, since now he holds them fast, and hopeless of ever returning to Chatigon, and hath no more need of them, he makes nothing of all those large promises he made them, and treats them not as he should, but as they deserve, leaving them whole months without pay, and not looking upon them otherwise than traitors, and infamous men, unfit to be trusted, after they have so vilely deserted him, whose salt they had eaten so many years. After this manner did Chah-hest-kan put an end to this rabble, which, as I said, have ruined and despoiled all the lower Bengal. Time will shew whether he will be as happy in the remainder of his enterprize against the King of Rakan.

The fourth particular is concerning the two sons of Aureng-Zebe, viz. Sultan Mahmoud, and Sultan Mazum. He still keeps the first of them in Goualeor, but (if one may believe the common report) without making him take the poust, which is the ordinary drink of those that are put into that place. As to the other, though he hath always been a pattern of reservedness and moderation, yet one knows not whether he was not too forward in making a party, when his father was so extremely sick; or whether Aureng-Zebe has not upon other occasions perceived something that might give him cause of jealousy; or whether he had not a mind to make an authentic proof of both his obedience and courage. However it be, one day he commanded him in an unconcerned manner, in a full assembly of the Omrahs, to go and kill a lion, that was come down the mountains, and had made great havock and waste in the country; and this he did without giving order to furnish him with those strong and large nets, which they are wont to employ in this dangerous kind of hunting in a real mood; telling the great hunting-master, who presently called for those nets, that when he was prince, he did not look for such formalities. It was the good fortune of Sultan Mazum, that he prospered in this attempt, not loosing any more than two or three men, and some horses that were wounded, although on the other hand, the matter went off not so pleasantly, the wounded lion having leaped up to the head of the Sultan's elephant. Since that time Aureng-Zebe hath not been backward to express much affection to him; he hath given him even the government of Decan, though with so little power and treasure, that there is no great cause to apprehend any thing upon that account.

The fifth thing toucheth Mohabet-Kan, the governor of Kabul, whom Aureng-Zebe took from this government, and generously pardoned; not willing, as he said, to lose so brave a captain, and that had stuck so close to his benefactor Chah-Jehan. He made him even governor of Guzeratte, in the place of Jessomseigne, whom he sent to make

make war in Decan. It may very well be, that some considerable presents he made to Rauchenara-Begum, and a good number of excellent Persian horse and camels, wherewith he presented Aureng-Zebe, together with fifteen or sixteen thousand rupies of gold, did contribute to make his peace.

On this occasion of mentioning the government of Kaboul, which borders on the kingdom of Kandahar, which is now in the hands of the Persians, I shall here briefly add some particulars, that serve to this history, and will still more discover that country and declare the interests between Indostan and Persia, which no-body that I know of, hath explained hitherto.

Kandahar, that strong and important place, which is the capital and the swaying city of this noble and rich kingdom of the same name, hath in these latter ages been the subject of grievous wars between the Moguls and Persians, each of them pretending a right thereto. Ekbar, that great King of the Indies, took it by force from the Persians, and kept it during his life. And Chah-Abbas, that famous King of Persia, retook it from Jehan-Guyre, the son of Ekbar. Afterwards it returned to Chah-Jehan, son of Jehan-Guyre, not by the sword, but by the means of the governor Aly-Merdan-kan, who surrendered it to him, and went over to live at his court, apprehending the artifices of his enemies, who had brought him into disfavour with the King of Persia, that sent for him to make him give an account, and to deliver up his government. The same city was besieged and retaken afterwards by the son of Chah-Abbas, and since that besieged twice again, yet without being taken by Chah-Jehan. The first time it was saved from being taken by the ill understanding and jealousy between the Persian Omrahs, that are pensioners of the Great Mogul, and the most powerful of his court as also by the respect they bear to their natural king: for they all behaved themselves very effeminately in the siege, and would not follow the Raga Roup, who had already planted his standards upon the wall on the sides of the mountain. The second time it was saved by the jealousy of Aureng-Zebe, who would not fall into the breach of the wall, that our Franguis, the English, Portuguese, Germans, and the French had made by their cannon, though it was a large one; being unwilling to have it said, that in the time of Dara, who was in a manner the first mover of that enterprize, and was then in the city of Caboul, with his father Chah-Jehan, the fortress of Kandahar was taken. Chah-Jehan, some years before the late trouble, was also ready to besiege it the third time, had not Emir-Jemla diverted him from it, advising him to turn his forces towards Decan, (as hath been said,) with whom Ali-Merdan-kan himself concurred, who was so earnest in his dissuading him from it, as to say to him these words, which I shall punctually relate, as having something extravagant in them:

"Your majesty will never take Kandahar, unless you had such a traitor there as myself; except you were resolved never to bring a Persian into it, and to make the bazars or markets wholly free, that is to lay no impost on those that furnish the army with provision."

At length, Aureng-Zebe, like the others, had prepared himself in these latter years to besiege it also; whether it was that he was offended at the tart letters, written to him by the King of Persia, or by reason of the affronts and ill treatment which he had offered to Tabiet-kan his ambassador; that hearing of the King of Persia's death he turned back, saying, (which yet is not very credible) that he would not meddle with a child, a new king, although Chah-Soliman, who hath succeeded his father, is, in my opinion, about twenty-five years of age.

The sixth particular we purposed to speak of, concerns those that have faithfully served Aureng-Zebe. Those he hath almost all raised to great places. For first, as we have

have already related, he made Chah-hest-kan, his uncle, governor and general of the army of Decan, and afterwards governor of Bengal. Next he made Mir-kan governor of Kaboul; then Kalil-ullah-kan of Lahor; and Mirbaba of Elabas; and Lasker-kan of Patna. The son of that Allah-Verdi-kan of Sultan Sujah, he appointed governor of Scindy; and Fazel-kan, who had considerably served him both by his counsels and dexterity, he made Kane-saman, that is, great steward of the house royal; and Danechmend-kan, governor of Dehli, with this particular grace and privilege, that since he is perpetually employed in studies and foreign affairs, he so dispenseth with him for not coming twice a day (after the ancient custom) to wait on the King in the assembly, as not to retrench any thing of his pension for his absence, as he doth to the other Omrahs, if they fail. He hath given to Dianet-kan the government of Kachimer (alias Cassimere), that little and in a manner inaccessible kingdom, which Ekbar seized on by craft, that earthly paradise of the Indies; which hath its histories written in its peculiar language; whereof I have an abridgment in the Persian tongue, made by the command of Jehan Guyre, containing a large catalogue of many very ancient kings, that often were so powerful, that they subdued the Indies as far as China.

It is true, that Aureng-Zebe dismissed Nejabat-kan, who did very well in the two battles of Samonguer and Kadjoue, but then it is not fit at all that a subject should ever reproach his King, as he did, with the services done him.

As to those infamous men, Gion-kan and Nazer, it is known, that the former hath been recompensed as he deserved; but the other no man knows what is become of him.

What concerns Jessomseigne and Jesseigne, there is something as to them that is intricate, which I shall endeavour to unfold. There is a certain heathen revolted from the King of Visapour, who knew how to possess himself of many important fortresses, and of some sea-ports of that King. His name is Seva-Gi, that is, Lord Seva. He is a stout man, valiant, bold, and undertaking in the highest degree, who gave Chah-hest-kan more work and trouble in Decan, than the King of Visapour with all his forces, and all his Rajas joined with him for their common defence. Insomuch, that having designed to take away Chah-hest-kan and his treasures out of the midst of his army and of the town of Aurenge-Abad, he carried on his design so far, that he had effected it if he had not been discovered a little too soon; for one night, accompanied with a number of resolute fellows he hath about him, he was got into the very apartment of Chah-hest-kan, where his son, who was forward in the defence, was killed, and himself grievously wounded; Seva-Gi, in the mean time, getting away as well as he came: who for all this was so far from being daunted, that he undertook another very bold and very dangerous enterprize, which succeeded much better. He took two or three thousand chosen men of his army, with whom he took the field without noise, spreading a report by the way, that it was a Raja going to the court. When he was near Suratte, that famous and rich port of the Indies, instead of marching further (as he made the great provost of that country, whom he met, believe), he fell into that town, where he staid about three days, cutting off the arms and legs of the inhabitants, to make them confess where were the treasures; searching, digging, and loading away, or burning what he could not carry with him. Which done, he returned, none opposing his return, loaden with millions of gold, silver, pearls, silken stuffs, fine linen, and other rich merchandize. Jessomseigne was expected to have had since intelligence with this Seva-Gi, which was the cause that Aureng-Zebe called him away from Decan; but he, instead of going to Dehli, went to his own territory.

I forgot

I forgot to mention, that in the pillage of Surat, that ringleader Seva-Gi, like a saint, had so much respect to the house of the reverend Father Ambrose, a missionary Capuchin, that he gave order it should not be plundered, because, said he, that the fathers Franguis are good men. He had also regard to the house of the deceased de Lase, because he understood that he had been a great almoner. He also considered the houses of the English and Dutch, not from devotion, as he did the former, but because they were in a good posture of defence; especially the English, who having had time to send for assistance from some of their ships that lay near the town, behaved themselves gallantly, and saved, besides their own, several other houses near them. But a certain Jew of Constantinople, who had brought rubies of a very great value, to sell them to Aureng-Zebe, carried away the bell from all, by saving himself from the hands of Seva-Gi; for, rather than to confess that he had any jewels, he was brought thrice upon his knees, and the knife held up to cut his throat. But it became none save a Jew, hardened in avarice, to escape in such a manner.

Touching Jesseigne, King Aureng-Zebe made him content to go general of the army in Decan, sending Sultan Mazum with him, without any power. He presently and vigorously besieged the principal fortress of Seva-Gi, and knowing more than all the rest in matter of negociation and treaty, he so ordered the business, that Seva-Gi surrendered before it came to extremity; and then he drew him to Aureng-Zebe's party against Visapour, King Aureng-Zebe declaring him a Raja, taking him under his protection, and giving the pension of a very considerable Omrah to his son. Some time after, Aureng-Zebe designing to make war against Persia, wrote to Seva-Gi such obliging letters touching his generosity, ability, and conduct, that he made him resolve, upon the faith of Jesseigne, to come to him to Dehli. There a kinswoman of Aureng-Zebe, the wife of Chah-hest-kan (who was then at court), by the influence she had upon the spirit of Aureng-Zebe, persuaded him to arrest him that had murdered her son, wounded her husband, and sacked Surat; so that one evening Seva-Gi saw his pavilions beset with three or four Omrahs; but he made shift to get away in the night. This escape made a great noise at court, every one accusing the eldest son of the Raja Jesseigne to have assisted him in it. Jesseigne, who presently had news that Aureng-Zebe was very angry with him and his son, and was advised no more to go to the court, was day and night upon his guard, apprehending lest Aureng-Zebe should take this for a pretence to fall upon his lands, and possess himself of them. Whereupon he also soon left Decan to secure his estate; but when he was at Brampour, he died. Yet notwithstanding Aureng-Zebe was so far from expressing any coldness or resentment to the son of Jesseigne, that he sent to condole with him for the death of his father, and continued to him his pension; which confirms what many say, that it was by the consent of Aureng-Zebe himself that Seva-Gi escaped, for as much as he could retain him no longer at court, because all the women there had too great a spleen against him, and looked upon him as a man that had embroiled his hands in the blood of his kinsman.

But to return to Decan, we are to consider, that that is a kingdom which these forty years hath constantly been the theatre of war, and upon the score whereof the Mogul hath much to do with the Kings of Golkonda, and of Visapour, and divers little sovereigns; which is not to be understood, unless it be known, what considerable things have passed in those parts, and the condition of the princes that govern them.

All this great peninsula of Indostan, cutting it from the bay of Cambaja unto that of Bengal, near Jaganrate, and passing thence to Cape Comori, was scarce two hundred years since entirely (some mountainous parts excepted) under the dominion of one only

Prince, who consequently was a very great and very potent monarch; but now it is divided among many different sovereigns, that are also of different religions. The cause of this division was, that the King Ramras, the last of those that have possessed this mighty state entirely, did imprudently raise three slaves, Gurgis, he had about him too high, so as to make them all three governors of places: the first, of the greatest part of those countries, which at present are possessed by the Mogul in Decan, about Daulet-Abad, from Bider, Paranda, Surat, unto Narbadar: the second, of all the other lands, now comprehended under the kingdom of Visapour: and the third, of all that is contained under the kingdom of Golkonda. These three slaves grew very rich, and found themselves supported by a good number of the Moguls that were in the service of Ramras, because they were all three Mahometans, of the sect Chyas, like the Persians. And at length they all revolted together with one accord, killed King Ramras, and returned to their government, each taking upon him the title of Chah or King. The issue of Ramras, not finding themselves strong enough for them, were content to keep themselves in a corner, viz. in that country which is commonly called Karnatek, in our maps, Bisnaguer, where they are still Rajas to this very day. All the rest of the state was also at the same time divided into all those Rajas, Naiques, and petty kings such as we see there. These three slaves and their posterity have always defended themselves very well in their kingdoms, whilst they kept a good mutual correspondence, and assisted one another in their grievous wars against the Moguls. But when they once came to think every one to defend their lands apart, they soon found the effects of their division. For the Mogul so well knew to take his time on that occasion (which is now about thirty-five or forty years since), that he possessed himself within a little time of all the country of Nejam-Chah, or King Nejam, the fifth or sixth of the family of the first slave, and at last took him prisoner in Daulet-Abad, the capital, where he died.

After that time, the Kings of Golkonda have maintained themselves well enough; not as if they could compare with the power of the Mogul, but because the Mogul hath always been employed against the two others; from whom he was to take Amber, Paranda, Bider, and some other places, before he could conveniently march towards Golkonda: and because they have always been so politic, being very opulent, as to furnish underhand the King of Visapour with money, and thereby to help him to maintain a war against the Mogul. Besides that, they ever have a considerable army on foot, which is always ready, and never fails to take the field, and to approach to the frontiers at the time when there is news that that of the Mogul marches against Visapour; to let the Mogul see, not only that they are always ready to defend themselves, but also that they could easily assist the King of Visapour, in case he should be reduced to any extremity. Next, which is very considerable, they know also how to convey money underhand to the chieftains of the Mogolian army; who thereupon advise the court, that it is more to purpose to attack Visapour, as being nearer to Daulet-Abad. Further, they send every year very considerable presents to the Great Mogul, by way of tribute; which consist partly in some rare manufactures of the country; partly in own, phants, which they send for from Pegu, Siam, and Ceilan; partly in fair ready mos, to Lastly, the Mogul considers that kingdom as his own, not only because he looks away, the King thereof as his tributary, but chiefly since that agreement heretofore spone op- which the present King made with Aureng-Zebe, when he besieged Golkomine linen, there being also no place able to resist, even from Daulet-Abad unto Golkntelligence judgeth, that when he shall think fit to push for it, he may take in the whotom Decan; in one campaign; which in my opinion he would certainly have done, if he

prehend, lest sending his forces towards Golkonda, the King of Visapour would enter into Decan; as, no doubt, he would do, knowing it to be very important to his conservation, that that kingdom may always subsist as now it is.

From all which, something may be understood of the interests and government of the King of Golkonda with the Mogul, and what way he taketh to support himself against him. Yet notwithstanding all this, I find this state much shaken, in regard that the King that now is, since that unhappy affair of Aureng-Zebe and Emir-Jemla, seems to have lost heart, and as it were abandoned the reins of the kingdom, not daring any more to go forth of this fortress of Golkonda, nor so much as appear in public to give audience to his people, and to render justice according to the custom of the country: which discomposeth things very much, and occasions the grandees to tyrannize over the meaner sort of people, and to lose even their respect to the King, often slighting his commands, and considering him no more than a woman; and the people, weary of the injustice and ill-treatment, breathing after nothing but Aureng-Zeb. It is easy to judge of the straits this poor King is in, by four or five particulars I am about to relate.

The first, that an. 1667, when I was at Golkonda, King Aureng-Zebe having sent an ambassador extraordinary to declare war to that King, unless he would furnish him with ten thousand horse against Visapour, he did extraordinary honour, and give excessive presents to that ambassador, as well for him in particular, as for Aureng-Zebe, and made an agreement with him, to send him, not ten thousand horse, but as much money as is necessary to maintain so many; which was all that Aureng-Zebe looked for.

The second is, that Aureng-Zebe's ambassador in ordinary that is constantly at Golkonda, commands, threatens, striketh, gives passports, and saith and doth whatsoever he will, no man daring with the least word to cross him.

The third is, that Mahmet-Emir-Kan, the son of Emir-Jemla, though he be no more than a simple Omrah of Aureng-Zebe, is yet so much respected through that whole kingdom, and especially in Masslipatan, that the Taptata, his commissioner, is as it were master thereof, buying and selling, bringing in and sending abroad his merchant ships, no body daring to contradict him in any thing, nor to demand any customs. So great was once the power of Emir-Jemla, his father, in this kingdom, which time hath not yet been able to root out.

The fourth is, that the Hollanders scruple not to threaten him sometimes, to lay an embargo upon all the merchant ships of the country that are in that port, and not to let them go out until their demands be granted; as also to put in protestations against him; which I have seen actually done, upon the account of an English vessel, which they had a mind to take by force in the port of Masslipatan itself, the governor having hindered it, by arming the whole town against them, and threatening to put fire to their factory, and to put them all to death.

A fifth is, that the Portugueze, as poor, and miserable, and decayed as they are in the Indies, yet stick not to threaten that King also with war; and that they will come and sack Masslipatan, and all that coast, if he will not render them that place of St. Thomas, which some years ago they chose to put into his hands, rather than to be constrained to yield it up to the Dutch.

Yet for all this, I have been informed in Golkonda, by very intelligent persons, that this King is a Prince of very great judgment, and that whatever he so does and suffers, is only in policy, to the end to provoke no body, and principally to remove all suspicion from Aureng-Zebe, and to give him to understand, that he hath in a manner no share

any more in the kingdom; but that in the mean time a son of his, that is kept hid, grows up, the father watching for a fit time to declare him King, and so to laugh at the agreement made with Aureng-Zebe. Of this, time will shews us more; in the mean time, let us consider somewhat of the interests of Visapour.

The kingdom of Visapour hath also not been wanting to support itself, though the Mogul do almost continually make war against it; not so much as if he of Visapour were able to bid head to the Mogolian forces, but because there is never any great effort used against him. For it is not very frequent there, no more than it is elsewhere, for generals of armies to desire the end of a war; there being nothing so charming, as to be in the head of an army commanding like little kings, remote from the court. It is also grown to a proverb, that Decan is the bread and life of the soldiers of Indostan. Besides, the country of Visapour is, on the side of the Mogul's dominions, of a very difficult access, upon the account of the scarcity of good waters, forage, and victuals; and because Visapour, the capital city, is very strong, and situate in a dry and steril country, there being almost no good water but in the town. And lastly, because there are many fortresses in that country seated on hills hard to climb.

Yet notwithstanding all this, that state is much shaken, if considering that the Mogul hath taken Paranda, the key, as it were, of that kingdom, as also that fair and strong town Bider, and some other very important places: but principally, because the last King of Visapour died without heirs male; and he that now calls himself King is a youth, whom the Queen, sister of the King of Golkonda, hath raised, and taken for her son (a favour for which he hath made an ill return, having shewed no esteem for this Queen after her return from Mecca, under the pretext of some ill demeanour in her on a Dutch vessel that carried her to Moka). Lastly, because that in the disorders of that kingdom, the heathen rebel, Seva-Gi, above discoursed of, found means to seize on many strong holds, mostly seated on steep mountains, where he now acteth the King, laughing at the Visapour and the Mogul, and ravaging the country every where, from Surat even to the gates of Goa. This notwithstanding, if he wrongs Visapour one way, he helps to support it another, forasmuch as he is resolutely bent against the Mogul, preparing always some ambush, and cutting so much work for his army, that there is no discourse, no apprehension but of Seva-Gi, insomuch that he hath come and sacked Surat, and pillaged the isle of Burdes, which belongs to the Portugueze, and is near the gates of Goa.

The seventh particular, which I learned at Golkonda, when I was come away from Dehli, is the death of Chah-Jehan; and that Aureng-Zebe had been exceedingly affected therewith, having discovered all the marks of grief, that a son can express for the loss of his father; that at the very hour of receiving that news, he went towards Agra; that Begum-Saheb caused the mosque, and a certain place, where he was at first to stop before he entered the fortress, to be hung with richly embroidered tapisseries; that at his entering into the seraglio, she presented him with a great golden bason, wherein were all her jewels, and all those of Chah-Jehan; and in short, that she knew to receive him with so much magnificence, and to entertain him with that dexterity and craft, that she obtained his pardon, gained his favour, and grew very confident with him.

To conclude, I doubt not but most of those who shall have read my history, will judge the ways taken by Aureng-Zebe, for getting the empire, very violent and horrid. I pretend not at all to plead for him, but desire only, that before he be altogether condemned, reflexion be made on that unhappy custom of this state, which, leaving the succession of the crown undecided, for want of good laws settling it, as amongst us,

 upon

upon the eldest son, exposeth it to the conquest of the strongest, and the most fortunate, subjecting at the same time all the princes born in the royal family, by the condition of their birth, to the cruel necessity either to overcome, or to reign, by destroying all the rest, for the assurance of their power and life, or to perish themselves, for the security of that of others. For I am apt to believe, that upon this consideration the reader will not find Aureng-Zebe's conduct so strange as at first it appeared. However I am persuaded, that those who shall a little weigh this whole history, will not take Aureng-Zebe for a barbarian, but for a great and rare genius, a great statesman, and a great king.

A Letter to the Lord Colbert, of the Extent of Indostan; the Circulation of Gold and Silver, coming at length to be swallowed up there, as in an Abyss; the Riches, Forces, Justice, and the principal Cause of the Decay of the States of Asia.

MY LORD,

SINCE it is the custom of Asia, never to approach very great persons with empty hands, when I had the honour to kiss the vest of the Great Mogul, Aureng-Zebe, I presented him with eight rupies * as an expression of respect; and the illustrious Fazel-Kan, the prime-minister of state, and he that was to establish my pension as physician, with a case of knives garnished with amber. My Lord, though I intend not to introduce new customs in France, yet I cannot forget this upon my return from those parts; being persuaded, that I ought not to appear before the King, for whom I have a far deeper veneration than for Aureng-Zebe, nor before you my Lord, for whom I have a much greater esteem than for Fazel-Kan, without some little present to both, which is rare, at least for its novelty, though it be not so upon the account of the presenting hand. The revolution of Indostan, by reason of its extraordinary occurrences and events, hath to me seemed worthy of the greatness of our monarch, and this discourse, for the quality of the matters therein contained, suitable to the rank you hold in his councils; to that conduct, which at my return appeared to me so admirable in the order, which I found settled in so many things, that I thought incapable of it; and to the passion you entertain to make it known to the ends of the earth, what a monarch we have, and that the French are fit to undertake, and with honour to atchieve, whatsoever you shall have designed for their honour and advantage.

It is in the Indies, my Lord, (whence I am lately returned after twelve years absence) where I learned the felicity of France, and how much this kingdom is obliged to your cares; and where your name is so diffused, and so well known. This was a fair theme for me to enlarge upon; but my design being no other than to discourse of things new, I must forbear to speak of those that are already so notorious to all the world. I shall doubtless please you better, by endeavouring to give you some idea of the state of the Indies, which I have engaged myself to give you an account of.

My Lord, you may have seen before this, by the maps of Asia, how great every way is the extent of the empire of the Great Mogul, which is commonly called India or Indostan. I have not measured it mathematically; but to speak of it according to the ordinary journies of the country, after the rate of three whole months march, traversing from the frontiers of the kingdom of Golkonda, as far as beyond Kazni

* A rupie is about half-a-crown.

near

near Kandahar, which is the first town of Persia, I cannot persuade myself otherwise, but that it is at least five times as far as from Paris to Lyons, that is, about five hundred common leagues.

Next, you may please to take notice, that of that vast extent of land, there are large countries that are very fertile, and some of them to that degree (for example, that whole great kingdom of Bengal,) that they exceed those of Egypt, not only upon the account of the abundance of rice, corn, and all other things necessary for life, but also upon the score of all those commodities so considerable, which Egypt is destitute of, as silks, cottons, indigo, and so many others sufficiently related by authors.

Moreover, that of these same countries there are many that are well enough peopled and cultivated, and where tradesmen, though naturally very lazy there, are not wanting, either from necessity or other causes, to apply themselves to work, as to tapisseries, embroideries, cloth of gold and silver, and to all those kinds of silk and cotton manufactures, that are used in the country, or transported to other parts.

You may further observe, how that gold and silver, circulating as it were upon the earth, comes at last to be swallowed up in this Indostan. For of that which comes out of America, and is dispersed through the several kingdoms of our Europe, we know, that one part is carried into Turkey many ways, for the commodities drawn thence; and that another part is conveyed into Persia, by the way of Smyrna, for the silks afforded there; that all Turkey generally needs coffee, which comes out of Hyeman, or Happy Arabia, and is the common drink of the Turks; that the same Turkey as well as Hyeman and Persia cannot be without the commodities of India; and that thus all those countries are obliged to carry Moka over the Red Sea, near Babelmandel; and to Bassora the utmost part of the Persian Gulf; and to Bandar-Abbasi, or Gomoron near to Ormus, a part of that gold and silver, that had been brought into their country, to be thence transported into Indostan, in vessels that yearly, in the season of the monsons, come purposely to those three famous parts; that on the other hand, all those ships of India, whether they be Indian ones, or Dutch, or English, or Portugueze, that every year transport merchandize out of Indostan to Pegu, Tanasseri, Siam, Ceilan, Achem, Macasser, the Maldives, Mosambic, and other places, bring back also much gold and silver from all those countries, which meets with the same destiny, that the other doth; that of that quantity of gold and silver which the Hollanders draw from Japan, (which is stored with mines) a part also comes to be at length discharged in this Indostan; and that lastly what is carried thither directly by sea, whether from Portugal, England, or France, seldom comes back from thence but in merchandize, the rest remaining there, as the former.

I very well know, that it may be said, that this Indostan needs copper, cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, elephants, and sundry other things, which the Hollanders carry thither from Japan, the Molucques, Ceilan, and Europe; as also that it hath occasion for lead, which in part it is furnished with out of England; likewise for scarlet, which it hath from France; moreover, that it stands in need of a good number of horses, it being certain, that from the side of Usbec it receives yearly more than two thousand five hundred. That out of Persia also it is furnished with abundance of the same; as also out of Ethiopia, Arabia, the ports of Moka, Bassora, and Bander-Abbasi: besides that it needs that store of fresh fruit, which comes thither from Samarkan, Ballbocara, and Persia, as melons, apples, pears, and grapes, that are spent at Dehli, and bought at great rates, almost all the winter long, as well as dry fruit, which are had there all the year long, and came from the same countries, as almonds, pistaches, nuts, prunes, apricots, raisins, and the like; and that lastly, it wants those little sea cockles of the

Maldives

Maldives, which serve for common coin in Bengal, and in some other places; as also amber-grease, carried thither from the said Maldives and Mosambic, rhinoceros', horns, elephant's teeth, musk, China dishes, pearls of Baharen, and Tutucoury near Ceilan; and I know not of how many other things of this kind.

But all this makes not the gold and silver to go out of that empire, because the merchants at their return freight their ships with the commodities of the country, finding a better account by so doing, than if they should bring back money; so that that hinders not, but that Indostan proves, as we have said, a kind of abyss for a great part of the gold and silver of the world, which finds many ways to enter there, and almost none to issue thence.

In a word, you may take notice, that this Great Mogul makes himself heir of the Omrahs or lords, and of the Manseb-dars, or petty lords, that are in his pay; and (which is of very great consequence) that all the lands of that empire are his property, excepting some houses and gardens, which he giveth leave to his subjects to sell, divide, or buy amongst them, as they shall think fit.

These are the things, which sufficiently show, both that there must needs be a very great store of gold and silver in Indostan, though there be no mines, and also that the Great Mogul, the sovereign of the same, at least of the best part of it, hath immense revenues and riches.

But on the other hand, there are also many things to be observed, which are a poise to these riches. The first, that among those vast tracts of land there is much, which is nothing but sand and steril mountains, little tilled or peopled; that even of those that would be fertile, there is much, that is not used for want of workmen, some of which have perished by the too evil treatment of the governors, who often take from them their necessary livelihood, and sometimes their very children whom they make slaves when they are not able or are unwilling to pay; others have abandoned the field for the same reason, and desponding out of the consideration that they laboured only for others, have cast themselves into towns or into armies, to serve there for porters, or waiting men, and many have fled to the lands of the Rajas, because there they found less tyranny, and more kindness.

The second is, that in this same extent of country there are sundry nations, which the Mogul is not full master of, most of them retaining yet their particular sovereigns and lords, that obey him not, nor pay him tribute but from constraint; many that do little, some that do nothing at all; and some also, that receive tribute from him, as we shall see anon. Such are those petty sovereigns, that are seated on the frontiers of Persia, who almost never pay him any thing, no more than they do to the King of Persia, as also the Balouches and Augans, and other mountaineers, of whom also the greatest part pay him but a small matter, and even care but very little for him: witness the affront they did him, when they stopped his whole army by cutting off the water, which they kept back within the mountains, when he passed from Atek on the river Indus, to Caboul, to lay siege to Kandahar; not suffering the water to run down into the fields, where was the highway, till they had received presents, although they asked them by way of alms. Such also are the Patans, a Mahometan people, issued from the side of the river Ganges towards Bengal; who before the invasion of the Moguls in India, had taken their time to make themselves potent in many places, and chiefly at Dehli, and to render many Rajas thereabout their tributaries. These Patans are fierce and warlike, and even the meanest of them, though they be waiting men and porters, are still of a very high spirit, being often heard to say by way of swearing, Let me never be king of Dehli, if it be not so: a people that despise the

Indians,

Indians, heathens, and Moguls, and mortally hate the last, still remembering what they were formerly, before they were by them driven away from their large principalities, and constrained to retire hither and thither, far from Dehli and Agra, into the mountains, where now they are settled, and where some of have made themselves petty sovereigns, like Rajas, but of small strength.

Such an one also is the King of Visapour, who pays to the Mogul nothing, and is always in war with him; maintaining himself in his country, partly by his own forces, partly because he is very remote from Agra and Dehli, the ordinary places of residence of the Great Mogul; partly also because his capital city Visapour is strong and of difficult access to an army, by reason of the ill waters and the want of forage on the way; and partly because many Rajas join with him for their common defence, as did the famous Seva-Gi, who not long since came pillaging and burning that rich sea-port Surat, and who sometimes will pay little or no tribute.

Such is likewise that potent and rich King of Golkonda, who under-hand gives money to the King of Visapour, and hath always an army ready on the frontiers for his own defence, and for the assistance of Visapour, in case he find him too much pressed.

Of the like sort are more than an hundred Rajas, or considerable heathen sovereigns, dispersed through the whole empire, some near to, others remote from Agra and Dehli; amongst whom there are about fifteen or sixteen that are very rich and puissant; such as is Rana, (who formerly was, as it were, emperor of the Rajas, and who is said to be of the progeny of King Porus;) Jesseigne, and Jessomseigne, which are so great and powerful, that if they three alone should combine, they would hold him tack; each of them being able, in a very short time, to raise and bring into the field twenty-five thousand horse, better troops than the Moguls. These cavaliers are called Rajipous, or the children of the Rajas. They are men, who, as I have elsewhere said, carry swords from father to son, and to whom the Rajas allot land, on condition to be always ready to appear on horseback, when the Raja commands. They can endure much hardship, and they want nothing to make them good soldiers, but good order and discipline.

The third thing to be noted is, that the Mogul is a Mahometan, not of the sect called Chias, who follow Aly and his offspring (such as the Persians are, and consequently the greatest part of his court); but of that, which follows Osman, and thence are called Osmanlys, such as the Turks are. Besides, that he is a stranger, being of the race of Tamerlane, who was the head of those Moguls, that about the year 1401, over-ran India, where they made themselves masters: so that he is in a country almost all hostile; and that the more, because not only for one Mogul, but in general, for one Mahometan, there are hundreds of Gentiles, or heathens; which obligeth him, constantly to entertain (for his defence among so many domestic and potent enemies, and against the Persians and Usbecs, his neighbours,) very great armies, whether in time of peace or war, as well about his person as in the field; as well of the people of the country, (Rajahs and Patans,) as chiefly Mogolians, or at least esteemed such because they are white, and Mahometans; which sufficeth at present, his court being no more now as it was at first, consisting altogether of true Moguls; but a mixture of all sorts of strangers, Usbecs, Persians, Arabians, and Turks, or their children; but with this distinction, that the children of the third or fourth generation, and that have taken the brown colour, and the soft humour of the country, are not so much esteemed as the new-comers, being also seldom raised to public offices; but counting themselves happy, if they may serve as simple horsemen or foot.

Of

Of these armies I am now going to give you some description, that thereby knowing the great expences which the Grand Mogul is obliged to be at, you may the better judge of his true riches; let us first take a view of the field militia he is necessitated to maintain.

The chief thereof are the Rajas, such as Jesseigne, Jessomseigne, and many others, to whom he allows very great pensions to have them always ready with a certain number of Rajipous, esteeming them like Omrahs, that is, like other strangers, and Mahometan lords; both in the army, that is always about his person, and in those also, that are in the field. These Rajas are generally obliged to the same things that the Omrahs are, even to the point of keeping guard; yet with this distinction, that they keep not the guard within the fortress, as those, but without, under their tents; they not liking to be shut up twenty-four hours in a fortress, nor so much as ever to go thither but well attended with men resolute to be cut in pieces for their service; as hath appeared, when they have been ill dealt withal.

The Mogul is obliged to keep these Rajas in his service for sundry reasons. The first, because the militia of the Rajas is very good (as was said above), and because there are Rajas (as was intimated also), one of whom can bring into the field above twenty-five thousand men. The second, the better to bridle the other Rajas, and to reduce them to reason, when they cantonize, or when they refuse to pay tribute, or when out of fear or other cause they will not go out of their country to the army, when the Mogul requireth it. The third, the better to nourish jealousies and keenness amongst them, by favouring and caressing the one more than the other, which is done to that degree, that they proceed to fight with one another very frequently.

The fourth, to employ them against the Patans, or against his own Omrahs and governors, in case any of them should rise.

The fif[illegible]mploy them against the King of Golkonda, when he refuseth to pay his [illegible] he will defend the King of Visapour, or some Rajas his neigh[illegible] Mogul hath a mind to rifle, or to make his tributaries; the Mo[illegible] daring to trust his Omrahs over much, who most are Persians, [illegible] ligion with him, but Chias, like the Kings of Persia and [illegible]

[illegible] most considerable of all is, to employ them against the Persians [illegible], not daring then also to confide in his Omrahs, who for the greatest pa[illegible] just now said, are Persians, and consequently have no stomach to fight aga[illegible] their natural king; and the less, because they believe him to be their Imam, their Caliph, or high-priest, descended from Aly, and against whom, therefore, they believe they cannot make war without a crime or a great sin.

The Mogul is farther obliged to entertain some Patans for the same, or somewhat like reasons that he doth the Rajas.

At last he must entertain that stranger militia of the Moguls, that we have taken notice of; and as this is the main strength of his state, and which obliges him to incredible charges, methinks it will not be amiss to describe to you of what nature it is, though I should be somewhat long in doing it.

Let us therefore consider, if you please, this stranger militia, both cavalry and infantry, as divided into two; the one being always near the Mogul's person; the other dispersed up and down in the several provinces. And in the cavalry that is about his person, let us first take notice of the Omrahs; then, of the Mansebdars; next, of the Rousindars; last of all, of the simple horsemen. From thence let us proceed to the

 infantry,

infantry, in which we shall consider the musqueteers, and all those men on foot that attend the ordnance; where something will occur to be said of their artillery.

It is not to be thought, that the Omrahs or lords of the Mogul's court are sons of great families as in France: all the lands of that empire being the Mogul's property, it follows that there are neither duchies, nor marquisats, nor any family rich in land, and subsisting of its own income and patrimony. And often enough they are not so much as Omrah's sons, because the king being heir of all their estates, it is consequent that the houses cannot subsist long in their greatness; on the contrary they often fall, and that on a sudden, insomuch that the sons, or at least the grandsons of a potent Omrah, are frequently, after the death of their father, reduced in a manner to beggary, and obliged to list themselves under some Omrah for simple horsemen. It is true, that ordinarily the Mogul leaves some small pension to the widow, and often also to the children; or if the father liveth too long, he may, by particular favour, advance them sooner, especially if they be proper men, white of face, having as yet not too much of the Indian complexion and temper, and so passing yet for true Moguls, though this advancement by favour do always proceed in a slow pace, it being almost a general custom that a man must pass from small pays and small places to great ones. These Omrahs then are commonly but adventurers and strangers of all sorts of nations, such as I have said, which draw one another to this court; men of a mean descent, some of them slaves; most of them without instruction, which the Mogul thus raiseth to dignities as he thinks good, and degrades them again as he pleaseth.

Amongst these Omrahs, some are Hazary, others Don Hazary, others Penge, Hecht, and Deh Hazary, and even (such as was the king's eldest son). Dovazdeh Hazary, that is to say, lord of a thousand horse, of two thousand, five thousand, seven, ten, and twelve thousand; their pay being less or more in proportion to the number of horses; I say of horses, because they are not paid in respect of the horsemen, but of the h[illegible] the Omrahs having power to entertain horsemen of two horses a man, [illegible] alwa[illegible] able to serve in the h[illegible] countries, where it is a common saying, that th[illegible] man [illegible] hath but one horse, is more than half a footman. Yet we must not thi[illegible] obliged to entertain, or that the king effectively pays so many horse, as th[illegible] of Dovazdeh, or Hech Hazary do import, that is, 12,000 or 8,000 ho[illegible] specious names to amuse and attract strangers; the king determines [illegible] his horses in actual service, which they are bound to entertain, pays them a[illegible] [illegible]nd number, and besides that, he pays them a certain number which they finger [illegible], not to to entertain, and this is that which makes the principal part of their p[illegible] [illegible]ber of the speak of what they finger out of the pay of every horseman, and the [illegible] [illegible]t they can horses, which certainly amounts to very considerable pensions, especially [illegible] the Lord, obtain good Jah-ghirs, that is, good lands for their pension. For I saw that [illegible] and who under whom I was, that was a Penge-hazary, or one of five thousand horse, was paid, was only obliged to entertain five hundred in effect, had, after all his cavalry [illegible]as Nagdy, remaining for his pension near five thousand crowns a month, though he [illegible] not lands. that is, paid in money drawn out of the treasury, as all those that have [illegible] are rich. Yet notwithstanding all these great pensions, I see none, but very few, tha[illegible] plentiful tables, as elsewhere great Lords frequently are; but that which exhausteth them are the great presents which they are obliged to make to the king at certain festivals of the year, every one after the rate of his pay: next, the vast expences they must be [illegible] for entertaining their wives, servants, camels, and many horses of great value, whi[illegible] they keep in their particular stables.

The

The number of the Omrahs, as well of those that are in the field in the provinces and armies, as of those that are at the court, is very great. I never could precisely learn it, nor is it determined: but I have never seen less of them at court than twenty-five or thirty, that are thus pensionaries according to a greater or lesser number of horses to be entertained by them, from 12,000 downwards to 1,000. These are the Omrahs that arrive to the governments and principal offices of the court and armies, that are, as they speak, the pillars of the empire, and that keep up the splendor of the court, never going abroad, but richly decked, sometimes riding on elephants, sometimes on horseback, sometimes carried in a paleky or chair, commonly attended by a good number of horsemen, to wit, of those that have the guard at that time, as also by many footmen, marching before and on his sides, to make way, to drive away the flies, to take off the dust with peacocks' tails, to carry water for drink, and sometimes books of accounts, or other papers.

All those that are at court, are obliged, under a considerable penalty, to come twice every day to salute the king in the assembly, once about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning, when he renders justice; and the second time, about six hours at night. They are also obliged by turns to keep the guard in the castle once a week, during twenty-four hours. Thither they carry at that time their beds, tapisseries and other moveables, the king furnishing them with nothing but provisions of meat and drink, which they receive with great reverence, making a treble obeysance, with their faces turned to his apartment, their hands down to the ground, and then lifted up upon their heads. Besides, they are obliged on horseback, to follow the king whithersoever he marcheth, in any weather whether rainy or dusty, whether he be carried in his chair, or on an elephant, or a field throne, which last is done by eight men carrying him on their shoulders, eight others marching on his side, to relieve the others, himself being in all marches well covered from the inconveniences of the weather, whether he go to war or to hunt, or to exercise his soldiery. And this attendance those Omrahs are to give, except some of them be exempted by the Mogul because of their peculiar offices, or upon the account of sickness or old age, or to avoid embarrassment, as commonly it is practised, when he goeth only to some neighbouring town to hunt, or to some house of pleasure, or to the mosque, there being then seldom any about him but those that keep guard that day.

Mansebdars are cavaliers of Manseb, which is particular and honourable pay; not so great indeed as that of the Omrahs, but much greater than that of the others; they being esteemed as little Omrahs, and of the rank of those that are raised to that dignity. These acknowledge also none for their head but the king, and they are generally obliged to whatever we have said the Omrahs are. In a word, they would be true Omrahs if they had, as divers heretofore have had, some horsemen under them, whereas they have ordinarily but two, four, or six horses having the king's mark, and their pay goes no higher than from 200, to 600 or 700 rupies a month. Their number also is not fixed, but much exceeds that of the Omrahs, there being of them at the court always two or three hundred, besides those that are in the provinces and armies.

Rouzindars are also a sort of cavaliers, but such as have their pay by the day, (as the word itself imports), which yet sometimes is greater than that of many Mansebdars, but not so honourable; but then they are not bound, as the Mansebdars, to take at a set price (which sometimes is not too reasonable), of those tapisseries and other household stuff, that hath served for the king's palace. Their number is very great: they enter

into the meaner offices, many of them being clerks, under-clerks, fignet men, and the like.

Simple cavaliers are thofe that are under the Omrahs, amongft whom the moft confiderable, and having moft pay, are thofe that have two horfes marked on the leg with the mark of their Omrah. Their pay is not abfolutely fixed, but depends chiefly from the generofity of the Omrah, who may favour whom he pleafeth. Yet the Mogul's intention is, that the pay of a fimple cavalier, or horfeman, be no lefs than twenty-five rupies or thereabout a month, ftating his account with the Omrahs upon that foot.

The pay of the foot is the leaft; and their mufqueteers are pitiful men, unlefs they difcharge when their mufquet leans on that fmall wooden fork hanging to it; yet even then they are afraid of fingeing their great beards, and of burning their eyes, but moft of all, left fome Dgen or evil fpirit burft their mufquet. Some of thefe have 20 rupies a month, fome 15, fome 10. But there are fome gunners that have great pay, efpecially thofe of the Franguis, or Chriftians, as Portugueze, Englifh, Dutch, Germans, French, that retire thither from Goa, flying from Englifh and Dutch companies. Heretofore when the Moguls did not yet know how to manage artillery, their pay was very great. And there are yet fome of that time, who have 200 rupies a month; but now they will receive none for more than thirty-two.

Their artillery is of two forts; the one is the great and heavy artillery; the other the light. As for the former, I remember, that when the king, after his ficknefs, went with his whole army abroad into the country, diverting himfelf every day in hunting, fometimes of cranes, fometimes of the grey oxen (a kind of elks), fometimes of gazels, leopards and lions, and making his progrefs towards Lahor and Kachemire (that little paradife of India), there to pafs the fummer; the army had feventy pieces of cannon, moft of them caft, not counting the two or three hundred camels, carrying each a fmall field-piece of the bignefs of a good double mufquet, faftened to thofe animals. The other light artillery is very brave and well ordered, confifting of fifty or fixty fmall field-pieces all of brafs, each mounted on a little chariot, very fine and well painted, with a fmall coffer before and behind for the powder, drawn by two very fair horfes, driven by a coachman like a Caleche, adorned with a number of fmall red ftreamers, each having a third horfe led by the chariot for relief.

The great artillery could not always follow the king, who often left the highway, and turned fometimes to the right, fometimes to the left hand, croffing the fields, to find the true places for game, and to follow the courfe of the rivers. That therefore was to keep the highway to go the more eafily, and to avoid the embarrafsments which it would have met with in the hill paffages, efpecially in thofe boat-bridges made to pafs rivers. The light artillery is infeparable from the perfon of the king, it marcheth away in the morning, when the king comes out of his tent; and whereas he commonly goes a little afide into the places for game, this artillery paffeth on ftraight with all poffible fpeed, to be in time at the rendezvous, and there to appear before the king's tent, which is there made ready the day before, as are alfo the tents of the great Omrahs; and this whole artillery giveth a volley juft when the king enters into his tent, thereby to give notice to the army of his arrival.

The militia of the field is not different from that which is about the king. There are every where Omrahs, Manfebdars, Roufindars, fimple horfemen, and foot artillery wherever any war is made. The difference is only in the number, which is much greater in the field-army than in the other. For that army alone, which the Mogul is conftrained perpetually to maintain in Decan, to bridle the potent king of Golkonda, and

to make war upon the King of Visapour, and upon all the Rajas that join with him, must consist at least of twenty or twenty-five thousand horse—sometimes of thirty.

The kingdom of Kaboul, for its ordinary guard against the Persians, Augans, Balouches, and I know not how many mountaineers, requireth at least fifteen thousand; the kingdom of Kachemire, more than four thousand; and the kingdom of Bengal much more—not counting those that are employed in the war, which must almost always be maintained on that side; nor those which the governors of the several provinces do need for their defence, according to the particular extent and situation of their governments, which maketh an incredible number.

Not to mention the infantry (which is inconsiderable), I am apt to believe with many others, well informed of these matters, that the number of the horse in actual service about the king's person, comprehending the cavalry of the Rajas and Patans, amounteth to thirty-five or forty thousand; and that this number, joined to those that are abroad in the field, may make two hundred thousand and better.

I say that the infantry is inconsiderable, for I can hardly believe, that in the army which is about the king, comprising the musqueteers, and all the gunners and their mates, and whatever serves in this artillery, can amount to much more than fifteen thousand, whence you may make a near guess what the number of the foot must be in the field. So that I know not whence to take that prodigious number of foot, which some do reckon in the armies of the great Mogul, unless it be, that with this true soldiery they confound all the serving men and victuallers that follow the army; for in that sense I should easily believe, that they had reason to reckon two or three hundred thousand men in that army alone which is with the king, and sometimes more, especially when it is certain that he is to be long absent from the capital city, which will not seem so strange to him, that considers the multitude and confusion of tents, kitchens, baggage, women, elephants, camels, oxen, horses, waiting-men, porters, foragers, victuallers, merchants of all sorts that must follow the army; nor to him, that knows the state and particular government of that country, wherein the king is the sole proprietor of all the lands of the kingdom, whence it necessarily follows, that a whole metropolitan city, such as Dehli and Agra, liveth almost of nothing but of the soldiery, and is consequently obliged to follow the king when he taketh the field; those towns being nothing less than Paris, but indeed no otherwise governed than a camp of armies, a little better and more conveniently lodged than in the open field.

Besides all these things, you may also consider, if you please, that generally all this militia, which I have been representing to you, from the greatest Omrah to the meanest soldier, is indispensably paid every two months, the king's pay being its sole refuge and relief; nor can its pay be deferred there, as it is sometimes with us, where, when there are pressing occasions of the state, a gentleman, an officer, and even a simple cavalier, can stay awhile, and maintain himself of his own stock, rents, and the incomes of his land. But in the Mogul's country, all must be paid at the time prefixed, or all disbands and starves, after they have sold that little they have, as I saw in this last war, that many were going to do, if it had not soon ceased. And this the more, because that in all this militia there is almost no soldier that hath not wife and children, servants and slaves, that look for this pay, and have no other hope of relief. And hence it is, that many wonder, considering the huge number of persons living of pay, (which amounts to millions), whence such vast revenues can be had for such excessive charges; although this need not be so much wondered at, considering the riches of the empire, the peculiar government of the state, and the said universal property of the sovereign.

You

You may add to all this, that the Grand Mogul keeps nigh him at Dehli and Agra, and thereabout, two or three thousand brave horses, to be always ready upon occasion; as also eight or nine hundred elephants, and a vast number of mules, horses, and porters, to carry all the great tents and their cabinets, to carry his wives, kitchens, houshold-stuff, Ganges-water, and all the other necessaries for the field, which he hath always about him as if he were at home; things not absolutely necessary in our kingdoms.

To this may be added those incredible expences upon the Seraglio, more indispensable than will be easily believed; that vast store of fine linen, cloth of gold, embroideries, silks, musk, amber, pearls, sweet essences, &c. consumed there.

All these charges being put together, and compared with the revenues of the Mogul may be thought to have, it will be easy to judge, whether he be indeed so very rich, as he is made to be. As for me, I very well know, that it cannot be denied, that he hath very great revenues; I believe he hath more alone than the Grand Seignior and the King of Persia both together: but then to believe all those extravagant stories made of the vastness of his revenues, is a thing I could never do: and if I should believe the best part of them, yet should I not believe him in effect and truly so rich as the world rings of him; unless a man would say, that a treasurer, who receiveth great sums of money from one hand at the same time when he is obliged to disburse them to another, were therefore truly rich. For my part I should count that king rich indeed, who, without oppressing and impoverishing his people too much, should have a revenue sufficient to keep a great and gallant court (after the manner of that of ours, or otherwise) and a militia sufficient both to guard his kingdom, and to make an important war for divers years against his neighbours; as also to shew liberality, to build some royal edifices, and to make those other expences which kings are wont to make according to their particular inclinations; and who, besides all this, should be able to put up in his treasury, for a reserve, sums big enough to undertake, and maintain a good war for some years. Now I am apt enough to believe, that the Great Mogul enjoyeth very near these advantages, but I cannot persuade myself, that he hath them in that excess, as is thought and pretended. Those vast and unevitable expences that I have taken notice of, will certainly incline you to my opinion, without any other consideration; but you will doubtless be altogether of my mind, when I shall have represented to you these two things, which I am very well informed of.

The one is, that the great Mogul, now reigning, about the end of this last revolution, though the kingdom was every where in peace (except in Bengal, where Sultan Sujah yet held out), was much perplexed where to find means for the subsistence of his armies, though they were not so well paid as at other times, and the war lasted no longer than five years or thereabout, and though also he had laid hold of a good part of the treasury of his father Chah-Jehan.

The other is, that all this treasure of Chah-Jehan, who was very frugal, and had reigned above forty years without considerable wars, never amounted to six Kourours of rupies. A rupy is about twenty-nine pence. An hundred thousand of them make a Lecque, and an hundred Lecques make one Kourour *. It is true, I do not comprehend in this great treasure that great abundance of goldsmith's work, so variously wrought in gold and silver; nor that vast store of precious stones and pearls of a very high value. I doubt, whether there be any king in the world that hath more. The throne alone, covered with them, is valued at least three Kourours, if I remember

* So that the six Kourours would make about seven millions and an half English money.

 aright;

aright; but then it is to be considered also, that they are the spoils of those ancient princes, the Patans and Rajas, gathered and piled up from immemorial times, and still increasing from one king to another, by the presents which the Omrahs are obliged yearly at certain festival days to make him; and which are esteemed to be the jewels of the crown, which it would be criminal to touch, and upon which a King of Mogul, in case of necessity, would find it very hard to procure the least sum.

But before I conclude, I shall take notice, whence it may proceed, that though this empire of Mogul be thus an abyss of gold and silver, as hath been said, yet notwithstanding there appears no more of it amongst the people than elsewhere; yea, rather that the people is there less monied than in other places.

The first reason is, that much of it is consumed in melting over and over all those nose and ear-rings, chains, finger-rings, bracelets of hands and feet, which the women wear, but chiefly in that incredible quantity of manufactures, wherein so much is spent which is lost, as in all those embroideries, silk stuffs, interwoven with gold and silver, cloth, scarfs, turbans, &c. of the same: for generally all that militia loveth to be gilded from the Omrahs to the meanest soldiers with their wives and children, though they should starve at home.

The second, that all the lands of the kingdom being the King's property, they are given either as benefices, which they call Jah-ghirs, or, as in Turkey, Timars, to men of the militia for their pay or pension (as the word Jah-ghir imports): or else they are given to the governors for their pension, and the entertainment of their troops, on condition that the surplus of those land-revenues they give yearly a certain sum to the king, as farmers, or, lastly, the King reserveth them for himself as a particular domain of his house, which never, or very seldom, are given as Jah-ghirs, and upon which he keeps farmers, who also must give him a yearly sum; which is to say, that the Timariots, governors and farmers, have an absolute authority over the countrymen, and even a very great one over the tradesmen and merchants of the towns, boroughs, and villages depending from them; so that in those parts there are neither great lords nor parliaments, nor presidial courts, as amongst us, to keep these people in awe; nor Kadis or judges powerful enough to hinder and repress their violence: nor in a word, any person to whom a countryman, tradesman, or merchant can make his complaints to, in case of extortion and tyranny often practised upon them by the soldiery and governors; who every where do impunely abuse the authority royal, which they have in hand, unless it be perhaps a little in those places that are near to capital cities, as Dehli and Agra, and in great towns, and considerable sea-ports of the provinces, whence they know that the complaints can be more easily conveyed to the court. Whence it is, that all and every one stand in continual fear of these people, especially of the governors, more than any slave doth of his master: that ordinarily they affect to appear poor and moneyless, very mean in their apparel, lodging, houshold-stuff, and yet more in meat and drink; that often they apprehend even to meddle with trade, lest they should be thought rich, and so fall into the danger of being ruined: so that at last they find no other remedy to secure their wealth, than to dig and hide their money deep under ground, thus getting out of the ordinary commerce of men, and so dying, neither the King nor the state having any benefit by it: which is a thing not only happens among the peasants and artizans, but (which is far more considerable) amongst all sorts of merchants, whether Mahometans or Heathens, except some that are in the King's or some Omrah's pay, or that have some particular patron and support in power: but principally among the heathen, which are almost the only masters of the trade and money, infatuated with the belief that the gold and silver which they hid-

thion

thier life-time, shall serve them after death. And this, in my opinion, is the true reason, why there appears so little money in trade among the people.

But thence ariseth a question very considerable, viz. Whether it were not more expedient, not only for the subjects, but for the state itself, and for the sovereign, not to have the prince such a proprietor of the lands of the kingdom, as to take away the Meum and Tuum amongst private persons, as it is with us? For my part, after a strict comparing the state of our kingdoms, where that Meum and Tuum holds, with that of those other kingdoms where it is not, I am thoroughly persuaded, that it is much better and more beneficial for the sovereign himself, to have it so as it is in our parts. Because that in those parts where it is otherwise, the gold and silver is lost, as I was just now observing: there is almost no person secure from the violences of those timariots, governors and farmers: the kings, how well soever they be disposed toward their people, are never almost in a condition (as I lately noted) to get justice administered to them, and to hinder tyrannies; especially in those great dominions, and in the provinces remote from the capital towns; which yet ought to be, as doubtless it is, one of the chief employments and considerations of a King. Besides, this tyranny often grows to that excess, that it takes away what is necessary to the life of a peasant or tradesman who is starved for hunger and misery; who gets no children, or if he does, sees them die young for want of food; or that abandons his land, and turns some cavalier's man, or flies whither he may to his neighbours, in hopes of finding a better condition. In a word, the land is not tilled but almost by force, and consequently very ill, and much of it is quite spoiled and ruined, there being none to be found, that can or will be at the charge of entertaining the ditches and channels for the course of waters to be conveyed to necessary places: nor any body that care to build houses, or to repair those that are ruinous; the peasant reasoning thus with himself—Why should I toil so much for a tyrant that may come to-morrow to take all away from me, or at least all the best of what I have, and not leave if the fancy taketh him, so much as to sustain my life even very poorly? And the Timariot, the governor and the farmer, will reason thus with himself—Why should I bestow money and take pains of bettering or maintaining this land, since I must every hour expect to have it taken from me, or exchanged for another? I labour neither for myself nor for my children; and that place which I have this year, I may perhaps have no more the next. Let us draw from it what we can, whilst we possess it, though the peasant should break or starve, though the land should become a desert, when I am gone!

And for this very reason it is, that we see those vast estates in Asia go so wretchedly and palpably to ruin. Thence it is, that throughout those parts we see almost no other towns but made up of earth and dirt; nothing but ruined and deserted towns and villages, or such as are going to ruin. Even thence it is that we see (for example those Mesopotamia's, Anatolia's, Palestina's, those admirable plains of Antioch, and so many other lands, anciently so well tilled, so fertile, and so well peopled, at the present half deserted, untilled and abandoned, or become pestilent and uninhabitable bogs. Thence it is also, that of those incomparable lands of Egypt it is observed, that within less than four-score years more than the tenth part of it is lost, no people being to be found, that will expend what is necessary to maintain all the channels, and to restrain the river Nile from violently overflowing on one hand, and so drowning too much the low lands, or from covering them with sand, which cannot be removed from thence but with great pains and charges. From the same root it comes, that arts are languishing in those countries, or at least flourish much less than else they would do, or with us. For what heart and spirit can an artizan have to study well, and to apply

his

his mind to his work, when he sees, that among the people, which is for the most part beggarly, or will appear so, there is none that considers the goodness and neatness of his work, every body looking for what is cheap? And that the grandees pay them but very ill, and when they please? The poor tradesman often thinking himself happy that he can get clear of them without the Korrah, which is that terrible whip, that hangs nigh the gate of the Omrahs: further when he seeth that there is no help at all ever to come to any thing, as to buy an office, or some land for himself and children, and that even he dares not appear to have a penny in cash, or to wear good cloths, or to eat a good meal, for fear he should be thought rich, and indeed the beauty and exactness of arts had been quite lost in those parts long ago, if it were not that the kings and grandees there did give wages to certain workmen, that work in their houses, and there teach their children, and endeavour to make themselves able in order to be a little more considered, and to escape the Korrah; and if also it were not, that those great and rich merchants of towns, who are protected by good and powerful patrons, payed those workmen a little better: I say, a little better; for, what fine stuffs soever we see come from those countries, we must not imagine, that the workman is there in any honour, or comes to any thing; it is nothing but mere necessity or the cudgel, that makes him work, he never grows rich; it is no small matter, when he hath wherewith to live and to cloath himself narrowly. If there be any money to gain of the work, that is not for him, but for those great merchants of towns I was just now speaking of: and even these themselves find it often difficult enough to maintain themselves, and to prevent extortion.

'Tis from the same cause also, that a gross and profound ignorance reigns in those states. For how is it possible there should be academies and colleges well founded, where are such founders to be met with? And if there were any, whence were the scholars to be had? Where are those that have means sufficient to maintain their children in colleges; and if there were, who would appear to be so rich? And if they would, where are those benefices, preferments and dignities that require knowledge and abilities, and that may animate young men to study?

Thence it is likewise, that traffic languishes in all that country, in comparison of ours. For how many are there that care to take pains, to run up and down, to write much, and to run danger for another, for a governor, that shall extort, if he be not in league with some considerable sword-man, whose slave he in a manner is, and that makes his own conditions with him?

It is not there, that the kings find for their service princes, lords, gentlemen, sons of rich and good families, officers, citizens, merchants, and even tradesmen well born, well educated, and well instructed; men of courage that have a true affection and respect for their king, that often live a great while at court and in the army at their own expences, entertaining themselves with good hopes, and content with the favourable aspect of the prince; and who upon occasion fight manfully, covetous to uphold the honour of their ancestors and families. Those kings, I say, never see about them but men of nothing, slaves, ignorants, brutes, and such courtizans as are raised from the dust to dignities, and that for want of good education and instruction almost always retain somewhat of their offspring, of the temper of beggars, enriched, proud, unsufferable, heartless, insensible of honour, disingenuous, and void of affection and regard for the honour of their king and country. Here it is, where those kings must ruin all to find means to defray all those prodigious charges, which they cannot avoid for entertaining their great court, which hath no other source to subsist but their coffers and treasure, and for maintaining constantly the vast number of soldiers, necessary for them to keep the people in subjection

tion, to prevent their running away, to make them work, and to get what is exacted from them, they being so many desperadoes, for being perpetually under hatches, and for labouring only for others.

Thence it is also, that in an important war that may happen (which may be almost at all times) they must almost of necessity sell the government for ready money and immense sums; whence chiefly that ruin and desolation comes to pass which we see. For the governor, which is the buyer, must not he be reimbursed of all those great sums of money, which he hath taken up, perhaps the third or fourth part, at high interest? Must not a governor also, whether he have bought the government or not, find means, as well as a timariot and a farmer, to make every year great presents to a visir, an eunuch, a lady of the seraglio, and to those other persons that support him at court? Must he not pay to the King his usual tributes, and withal enrich himself, that wretched slave, half famished, and deeply indebted when he first appeared, without goods, lands, and revenues of house; such as they all are? Do not they ruin all, and lay all waste; I mean, those that in the provinces are like so many tyrants with a boundless and unmeasured authority, there being nobody there, as hath been already said, that can restrain them, or to whom a subject can have refuge to save himself from their tyranny, and to obtain justice?

'Tis true, that in the empire of the Mogul the Vakea-nevis, that is, those persons whom he sends into the provinces to write to him whatsoever passeth there, do a little keep the officers in awe, provided they do not collude together (as it almost always happens) to devour all; as also that the governments are not there so often sold, nor so openly as in Turkey; I say, not so openly (for those great presents, they are from time to time obliged to make, are almost equivalent to sales) and that the governors ordinarily remain longer in their governments; which maketh them not so hungry, so beggarly, and so deep in debt, as those new comers, and that consequently they do not always tyrannize over the people with so much cruelty; even apprehending, lest they should run away to the Rajas; which yet falls out very often.

'Tis also true, that in Persia the governments are not so frequently nor so publicly sold as in Turkey; the sons of the governors also succeeding often enough to their fathers; which is also the cause that the people there is often not so ill treated as in Turkey, and occasions withal, that there is more politeness, and that even some there are that addict themselves to study. But all that is really but a slight matter; those three states of Turkey, Persia, and Indostan, forasmuch as they have all three taken away the *Meum* and *Tuum* as to land and propriety of possessions (which is the foundation of whatever is good and regular in the world) cannot but very near resemble one another: they have the same defect, they must at last, sooner or later, needs fall into the same inconveniences, which are the necessary consequences of it, viz. tyranny, ruin, and desolation.

Far be it therefore, that our monarchs of Europe should thus be proprietors of all the lands which their subjects possess. Their kingdoms would be very far from being so well cultivated and peopled, so well built, so rich, so polite and flourishing as we see them. Our kings are otherwise rich and powerful; and we must avow that we are much better and more royally served. There would be kings of desarts and solitudes, of beggars and barbarians, such as those are whom I have been representing; who, because they will have all, at last lose all; and who, because they will make themselves too rich, at length find themselves without riches, or at least, very far from that which they covet after, out of their blind ambition and passion of being more absolute than the laws of God and nature do permit. For, where would be those princes, those prelates, those

those nobles, those rich citizens and great merchants, and those famous artizans, those towns of Paris, Lyons, Toulouse, Rouen, London, and so many others? Where would be that infinite number of boroughs and villages, all those fair country-houses, and fields, and hillocks tilled and maintained with so much industry, care and labour? And where would consequently be all those vast revenues drawn thence, which at last enrich the subjects and the sovereign both? We should find the great cities, and the great boroughs rendered inhabitable because of the ill air, and to fall to ruin without any body's taking care of repairing them; the hillocks abandoned, and the fields overspread with the bushes, or filled with pestilential marshes, as hath been already intimated.

A word to our dear and experienced travellers: they would not find those fair conveniencies of travelling; they would be obliged to carry all things with them, like the Bohemians; and all those good inns, for example, that are found between Paris and Lyons, would be like ten or twelve wretched Caravans-ferrahs, that is, great barns, raised and paved, such as our Pont-neuf is, where hundreds of men are found pel-mel together with their horses, mules and camels, where one is stifled with heat in summer, and starved with cold in winter, if it were not for the breathing of those animals, that warm the place a little.

But it will be said, we see some states, where the *Meum* and *Tuum* is not (as for example, that of the Grand Seignor, which we know better than any, without going so far as the Indies) that do not only subsist, but are also very powerful, and encreafe daily.

'Tis true, that that state of the Grand Seignor, of such a prodigious extent as it is, having so vast a quantity of lands, the soil of which is so excellent, that it cannot be destroyed but very difficultly, and in a long time, is yet rich and populous; but it is certain also, that if it were cultivated and peopled proportionably to ours, (which it would be, if there were property among the subjects throughout) it would be quite a different thing; it would have people enough to raise such prodigious armies as in old times, and rich enough to maintain them. We have travelled through almost all the parts of it; we have seen how strangely it is ruined and unpeopled; and how in the capital city there now needs three whole months to raise five or six thousand men. We know also, what it would have come to ere this, if it had not been for the great number of Christian slaves that are brought into it from all parts. And no doubt but that, if the same government were continued there for a number of years, that state would destroy itself, and at last fall by its own weakness, as it seems that already it is hardly maintained but only by that means, I mean, by the frequent change of governors; there being not one governor, nor any one man in the whole empire, that hath a penny to enable him to maintain the least thing, or that can almost find any men, if he had money. A strange manner to make states to subsist! There would need no more for making an end of the seditions, than a Brama of Pegu, who killed the half of the kingdom with hunger, and turned it into forests, hindering for some years the lands from being tilled, though yet he hath not succeeded in his design, and the state have afterwards been divided, and that even lately Ava, the capital town, was upon the point of being taken by an handful of China fugitives. Mean time we must confess, that we are not like to see in our days that total ruin and destruction of this empire we are speaking of (if so be we see not something worse), because it has neighbours, that are so far from being able to undertake any thing against him, that they are not so much as in a condition to resist him, unless it be by those succours of strangers, which the remoteness and jealousy would make slow, small, and suspect.

But

But it might yet be further objected, that it appears not why such states as these might not have good laws, and why the people in the provinces might not be enabled to come and make their complaints to the Grand Visir, or to the King himself. 'Tis true, that they are not altogether destitute of good laws, and that if those which are amongst them were observed, there would be as good living there, as in any part of the world. But what are those laws good for, if they be not observed, and if there be no means to make them to be executed? Is it not the Grand Visir, or the King that appoints for the people such beggarly tyrants, and that hath no others to set over them? Is it not he that sells those governments? Hath a poor peasant or tradesman means to make great journeys, and to come and seek for justice in the capital city, remote perhaps one hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues from the place of his abode? Will not the governor cause him to be made away in his journey (as it hath often happened) or catch him sooner or later? And will he not provide his friends at court, to support him there, and to represent things quite otherwise than they are? In a word, this governor, hungry as well as the Timariots, and farmers (that are all men for drawing oil out of sand, as the Persian speaks, and for ruining a world, with their heap of women-harpies, children and slaves), this governor, I say, is he not the absolute master, the superintendant of justice, the parliament, the receiver, and all?

It may perhaps be added, that the lands, which our kings hold in Domaine, are no less well tilled and peopled, than other land. But there is a great difference between the having in property some lands here and there in a great kingdom, (which changes not the constitution of the state and government,) and the having them all in property, which would alter it altogether. And when we in these parts have laws so rational, which our kings are willing to be the first to observe, and according to which they will that their particular lands shall be governed as those of their subjects are, so as to give way, that actions of law may be laid against their own farmers and officers, so that a peasant or tradesman may have means to obtain justice, and to find remedy against the unjust violence of those that would oppress him: whereas in those parts of Asia I see almost not any refuge for those poor people; the cudgel and the hammer of the governor being in a manner the only law that rules, and decides all controversies there.

Lastly, it may be said, that 'tis at least certain, that in such states there is not such a multitude of long-lasting suits of law, as in these parts, nor so many lawyers of all sorts, as amongst us. It is, in my opinion, very true, that one cannot too much applaud that old Persian saying, *Na-hac Kouta Beter-Ez hac Deraz*, that is, "Short injustice is better than long justice;" and that the length of the law-suits is insufferable in a state, and that it is the indispensable duty of the sovereign by all good means to endeavour a remedy against them. And 'tis certain, that by taking away this *Meum* and *Tuum*, the root, would be cut off an infinite number of law-processes, and especially of almost all those that are of importance, and long and perplexed; and consequently there would not need so great a number of magistrates, which our sovereigns do employ to administer justice to their subjects, nor that swarm of men, which subsist only by that way. But 'tis also manifest, that the remedy would be an hundred times worse than the disease, considering those great inconveniencies that would follow thereupon, and that in all probability the magistrates would become such as those of the Asiatic states, who deserve not that name; for in a word, our kings have yet cause to glory upon the account of good magistracy under them. In those parts, some merchants excepted, justice is only amongst the meanest sort of people, that are mean and of an unequal condition, who have not the means of corrupting the judges, and to buy false witnesses, that are there

3 in

in great numbers, and very cheap, and never puniſhed. And this I have learned every where by the experience of many years, and by my ſolicitous enquiries made among the people of the country, and our old merchants that are in thoſe parts, as alſo of ambaſſadors, conſuls and interpreters; whatever our common travellers may ſay, who, upon their having ſeen by chance, when they paſſed by, two or three porters or others of the like gang, about a Kady, quickly diſpatched one or other of the parties, and ſometimes both, with ſome laſhes under the ſole of their feet, or with a *Maybalé Baba*, ſome mild words, when there is no wool to ſheer; who, I ſay, upon ſight of this, come hither, and cry out, Oh the good and ſhort juſtice! Oh what honeſt judges are thoſe in reſpect of ours! Not conſidering in the mean time, that if any one of thoſe wretches that is in the wrong, had a couple of crowns to corrupt the Kady, or his clerks, and as much to buy two falſe witneſſes, he might either win his proceſs, or prolong it as long as he pleaſed.

In concluſion to be ſhort, I ſay, that the taking away this property of lands among private men, would be infallibly to introduce at the ſame time tyranny, ſlavery, injuſtice, beggary, barbariſm, deſolation, and to open a highway for the ruin and deſtruction of mankind, and even of kings and ſtates: and that on the contrary, this *Meum* and *Tuum*, accompanied with the hopes that every one ſhall keep what he works and labours for, for himſelf and his children, as his own, is the main foundation of whatever is regular and good in the world: inſomuch that whoſoever ſhall caſt his eyes upon the different countries and kingdoms, and taketh good notice what follows upon this property of ſovereigns, or that of the people, will ſoon find the true ſource and chief cauſe of that great difference we ſee in the ſeveral ſtates and empires of the world, and avow, that this is in a manner that which changes and diverſifieth the face of the whole earth.

A Letter to Mr. de la Mothe le Vayer, written at Dehli, July 1, 1663; containing the Deſcription of Dehli and Agra, and divers Particulars, diſcovering the Court and Genius of the Mogols and Indians.

SIR,

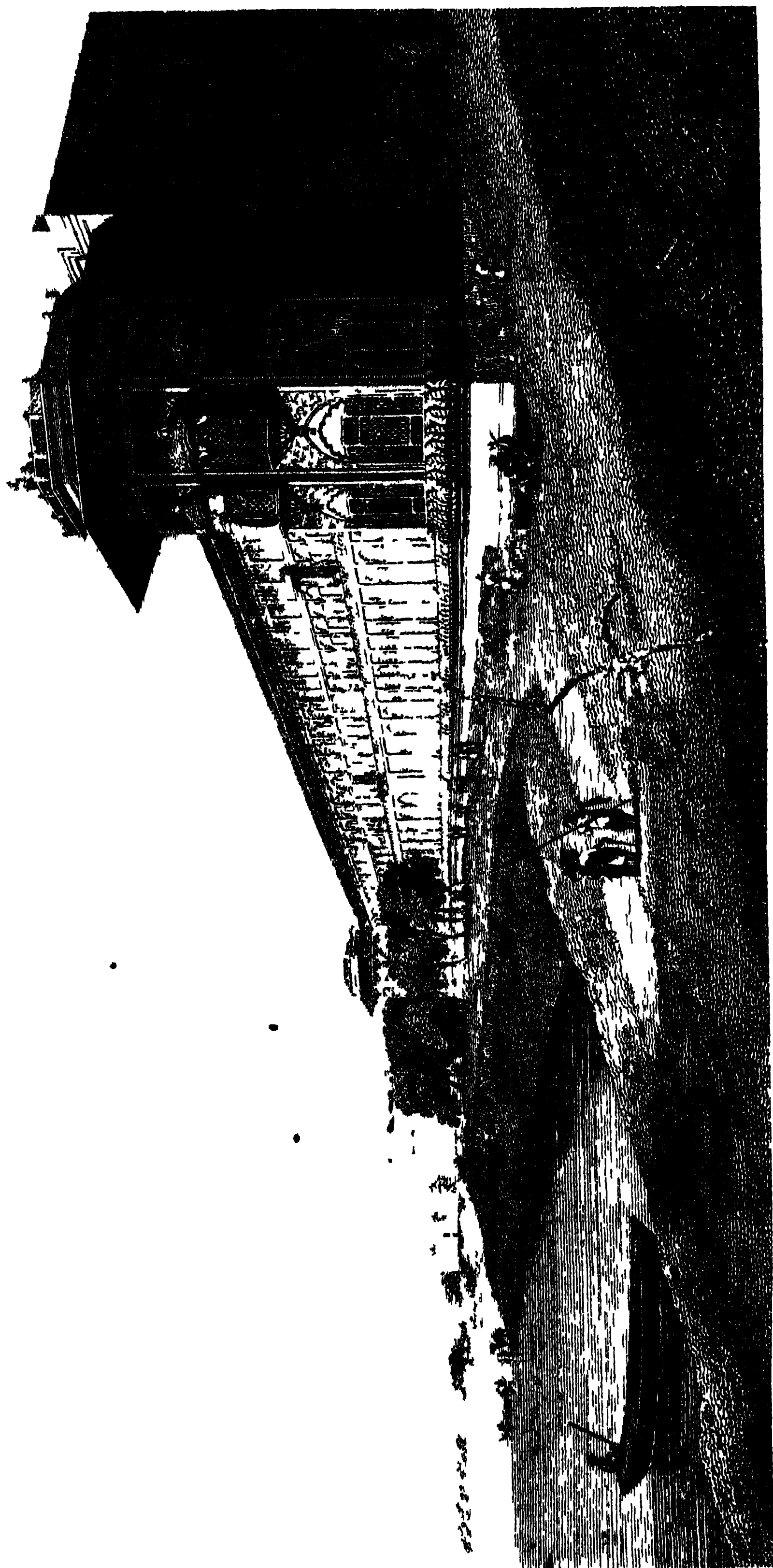
I know that one of the firſt queſtions you are like to aſk me, at my return in France, will be, whether Dehli and Agra are cities as fair and large, and as well peopled as Paris. Concerning its beauty, I ſhall tell you by way of preface, that I have ſometimes wondered to hear our Europeans that are here, deſpiſing the towns of the Indies, as not coming near ours, in reſpect of the edifices. Certainly they ought not to reſemble them, and if Paris, London, and Amſterdam ſtood in the place where Dehli is, the greateſt part of them muſt be thrown down, to build them after another manner. Our cities indeed have great beauties and embelliſhments, but they are ſuch that are proper to them, and accommodated to a cold climate. Dehli alſo may have its beauties peculiar to it, and ſuitable to a very hot climate: for you are to know, that the heat here obligeth all people, even the great lords and the King himſelf, to go without ſtockings, in a kind of ſlippers only, a fine and ſlight turban on their heads, and the other garments accordingly; that there are months in the ſummer ſo exceſſively hot, that in the chambers one can hardly hold one's hands againſt a wall, nor one's head on a cuſhion; and that the people are obliged, for the ſpace of more than ſix months, to lie without covering, at the door of their chamber, as the rabble doth in the open ſtreets, or as the merchants and other people of ſome quality do, in ſome airy hall or garden,

garden, or upon some terras well watered at night: thence you may judge, whether if there were such streets as that of St. Jacques, or St. Denis, with their houses shut, and of so many stories high, they would be habitable? And whether in the night, especially when the heats are without wind and stuffing, it would be possible to sleep there? And who is there (I pray) that would have a mind in summer, when he returns on horseback from the city half dead, and in a manner stifled of the heat and dust, and all in a sweat (for so it is), to go climbing up an high pair of stairs, which often is narrow and dark, to a fourth or fifth story, and to abide in this hot and suffocating air? On such occasions they desire nothing, but to throw down into the stomach a pint of fresh water, or lemonade, to undress, to wash the face, hands, and feet, to lie down in some cool and shady place all along, having a servant or two to fan one by turns with their great panhas, or fans. But to leave this, we shall now endeavour to entertain you with the representation of Dehli as it is, that so you may judge whether it be truly said, that it is a fair city.

It is now about forty years that Chah-Jehan, father of the Grand Mogul Aureng-Zebe now reigning, to eternize his memory, caused to be built a town contiguous to old Dehli, which he called after his name Chah-Jehan-Abad, and by way of abbreviation, Jehan-Abad; that is to say, a colony of Chah-Jehan, designing to make it the capital of the empire, instead of Agra, where he said that the summer heats were too violent. This nearness hath occasioned, that the ruins of old Dehli have served to build the new city; and in the Indies they scarce speak any more of Dehli, but only of Jehan-Abad. Yet notwithstanding, since the city of Jehan-Abad is not yet known amongst us, I intend to speak of it under the old name of *Dehli*, which is familiar to us.

Dehli then is a town altogether new, seated in a plain campaign, upon a river like our Loire, called Gemna, and built along one side of the river only: there being but one boat-bridge to pass over into the plain. This town is surrounded with walls, except the river side; these walls are of bricks, and without a considerable defence, they being without a ditch, and having nothing to flank them but round towers after the old way, distant from each other an hundred common paces, and a rampart behind them four or five feet thick. The compass of these walls, comprizing the fortress, is not so big as is commonly believed: I have gone it round with ease in three hours, and I believe not, though I was on horseback, that I dispatched more than one league in an hour; 'tis true, that if you will take into the town a very long suburb, which goeth towards Lahor, as also what remains inhabited of old Dehli, which is likewise a great and very long suburb, and besides, three or four small suburbs more, all that would make in a direct line above a league and a half, and such a compass which I cannot well determine, because that between the suburbs are great gardens, and large spaces not built; but I may say, that thus taken it would be of a prodigious bigness.

The fortress, in which is the mehalle, or seraglio, and the other royal apartments, which I shall hereafter speak of, is built round upon the river; yet there is between the water and the walls a pretty large and long sandy space, where commonly elephants are exercised, and where frequently the militia of the Omrahs and Rajahs is mustered in the King's presence, who looks out of the windows of one of his apartments. The walls of the fortress, as to their round antique towers, are very near like those of the town; but they are partly of bricks, and partly of a certain red stone resembling marble, which maketh them look fairer than those of the town; besides that, they are much higher, stronger, and thicker, being able to bear some field-pieces that are there planted towards the town; and encompassed also, excepting that side which respects the river,



river, with a fair ditch, walled up with free-stone, full of water and fish. But yet they are so inconsiderable for strength, that a battery of some middle sized cannon would, in my opinion, soon cast them down.

Round about the ditch there is a pretty large garden, at all times full of flowers and green apricots, which, together with those great walls all red, maketh a very fine sight.

About this garden is the great street, or rather the great place royal, to which the two great and principal gates of the fortress do answer, and to these gates the two chief streets of the town.

In this great place it is, where the tents of the Rajas are that are in the King's pay, to keep there, every one in his turn, their weekly guard; whereas the Omrahs and Mansebdars, or small Omrahs, keep it within the fortress. These little sovereigns are not pleased to see themselves thus and so long shut up in a fort.

In this very place it is where, at the break of day, are exercised the horses of a long royal stable near it. And here it is also that the Kobat-kan, or great commissioner of the cavalry, carefully vieweth the horses of those cavaliers that have been received into service, to the end that if these horses are of Turkistan or Tartary, and large and strong enough for service, the King's mark, and that of the Omrahs under whom such cavaliers are to be listed, may be branded upon them: a thing not ill devised, to prevent the mutual loan of horses in the musters.

This same place is also a kind of Bazar, or market, of an hundred things sold there, and a rendezvous of players and jugglers of all sorts, as the Pont-neuf at Paris. It is no less the meeting place of the poor astrologers, as well Mahometan as heathen. These doctors (forsooth) sit there in the sun upon a piece of tapestry, all covered with dust, having about them some old mathematical instruments, which they make shew of to draw passengers, and a great open book representing the animals of the Zodiack. These men are the oracles, but rather the affronters of the vulgar, to whom they pretend to give for one paysa, that is, a penny, good luck; and they are they, that looking upon the hand and the face, turning over their books, and making a shew of calculation, determine the fortunate moment when a business is to be begun to make it successful. The mean women, wrapt up in a white sheet from head to foot, come to find them out, telling them in their ear their most secret concerns, as if they were their confessors, and (which smells very strongly of stupidity and folly) entreat them to render the stars propitious to them and suitable to their designs; as if they could absolutely dispose of their influences.

The most ridiculous of all these astrologers, in my opinion, was that mongrel Portugueze, a fugitive from Goa, who sat in that place with much gravity upon his piece of tapestry, like the rest, and had a great deal of custom, though he could neither write nor read; and as for instruments and books, was furnished with nothing else but an old sea-compass, and an old Romish prayer-book in the Portugueze language, of which he shewed the pictures for figures of the Zodiack: *Tal bestias, tal astrologuo*: "For such beasts, such astrologer;" said he to the Reverend Father Buzé, a Jesuit, who met him in that place.

I here speak only of the pitiful astrologers of the Bazar; for there are others in these parts, that are in the courts of the grandees, and are considered as great clerks, and are very rich; whole Asia being overspread with this superstition. The Kings and the great lords, who would not undertake the least things without consulting them, allow them great salaries, that they may read to them what is written in the heavens (for so they

they speak here), and take out for them that fortunate moment I was lately speaking of; or find out, at the opening of the Alcoran, the decision of all their doubts.

To return; these two principal streets, which I said do answer to the two gates of the fortress, and to the place, may have twenty-five or thirty common paces in breadth, and they run in a strait line as far as you are able to see: yet that which leads to the gate of Lahor, is much longer than the other; but they are both alike as to the houses. There is on both sides nothing but arches, as in our *Place Royal;* yet with this difference, that they are but of bricks, and that there is not any building upon them, but only the terras. There is also this difference, that they are not continued galleries. These arches are generally severed by rails that make shops which are not to be shut, where tradesmen work in the day, where bankers sit for their business, and where merchants set out their wares, which at night they lock up in a magazine, the little door of which, to be shut, is in the bottom of every arch.

It is upon this magazine, which is in the back part of the arches, that the houses of merchants are built and raised, which make a shew good enough towards the street, and are also pretty convenient, being well aired, out of the way of the dust, and having for their floor the terrasses of the arches, upon which they can walk to look out upon the street, and to sleep at night *in fresco.* But excepting these houses of the chief streets, and a few others, there are not many of these fair houses that are thus raised upon terrasses; nor are even these two streets universally furnished with them, there being mostly upon the magazine, or on the side, nothing but a small building, not seen from the street, the great merchants having their houses somewhere else, whither they retire at night.

Besides these two principal streets, there are yet five others, which indeed are not so long nor so strait, but for the rest are altogether like them. There are also a great many other streets crossing those on all sides, whereof there are also some furnished with arches; but because they have been built piece-meal by such particular persons, as have not observed the symmetry that was requisite; they are, for the most part, neither so large, nor so straight, nor so well built as the others.

Amongst all these streets are spread every where the houses of the Mansebdars, or little Omrahs, and those of the men of the law, as also of many great merchants, and other private men; of which there is a good number that are passable. It is true, there are but few that are all of brick or stone, and there is even a good number of these, that are made all of earth only, and thatched; but for all that, they are convenient, because they are generally airy, being furnished with courts and gardens. Nor are they disagreeable within, for as much as besides the fine moveables, these thatched coverings are supported by a layer of certain long canes, that are hard and strong, and very pretty, and because also these earthen walls are plaistered over with very fine and very white chalk.

Amongst these houses I have been speaking of that are tolerable, there is also a prodigious number of other small ones, that are only made up of earth and straw, where all the simple cavaliers, and their servants, and all those little people of the market, that follow the court and the army, are lodged.

It is from these thatched houses that Dehli is so subject to fires. This last year there were burnt above sixty thousand such, at two or three times that they took fire, when there blew certain impetuous winds, that rise chiefly in summer. The fire was so quick and so violent, that it surprized the houses, and many horses also that could not be time enough loosened; and there were even some of these poor women burnt, that

that never had been out of the feraglio, and that are fo weak and fhame-faced when they fee people, that they know nothing elfe but to hide their faces.

And it is upon the account of thefe pitiful houfes of earth and ftraw, that I look upon Dehli almoft no otherwife than as many villages joined together, and (which I have already faid in another place) as a camp of an army, a little better and more commodioufly placed than in the field.

As to the houfes of the Omrahs, that are alfo up and down in this city, and principally upon the river, and even in the fuburbs. You are to know that in thefe hot countries, to entitle an houfe to the name of good and fair, it is required it fhould be commodious, feated in a place well aired, and capable to receive the wind from all fides, and principally from the north; having courts, gardens, trees, confervatories, and little jets of waters in the halls, or at leaft at the entry; furnifhed alfo with good cellars, with great flaps to ftir the air, for repofing in the frefh air from twelve till four or five of the clock, when the air of thefe cellars begins to be hot and ftufling; or having in lieu of cellarage certain kas-kanays, that is, little houfes of ftraw, or rather of odoriferous roots, that are very neatly made, and commonly placed in the midft of a parterre near fome confervatory, that fo the fervants may eafily, with their pompion-bottles, water them from without. Moreover it is required for the beauty of an houfe, that it be feated in the midft of fome great parterre, that it have four great divans or ways raifed from the ground to the height of a man, or thereabout, and expofed to the four parts of the world, to receive the wind and the cold from all the parts it may come from. Laftly, it is requifite for a good houfe to have raifed terraffes, to fleep upon in the night, fuch as are of the fame floor with fome great chamber, to draw in one's bedftead upon occafion; that is to fay, when there comes fome tempeft of rain or duft, or when that rouzing frefhnefs of the break of day awakens you, and obliges you to look for a covering; or elfe when you apprehend that fmall and light dew of the morning, which pierceth, and caufeth fometimes benumbing and paralytical fymptoms in the limbs.

As to the interior part of an houfe, it is requifite that the whole floor be covered with a mattrefs of cotton four inches thick, covered with a white fine linen fheet during fummer, and with a piece of filk tapeftry in winter; that in the moft confpicuous part of the chamber, near the wall, there be one or two cotton quilts, with fine flowered coverings, and laced about with fmall and fine embroidery of filk, wrought with gold and filver, for the mafter of the houfe, or perfons of quality coming in, to fit upon; and that every quilt have its crofs-board, purfled with gold, to lean upon; that round about the chamber, along the walls, there be feveral of thefe crofs-boards, as I juft now mentioned, handfomely covered with velvet or flowered fatin, for by-ftanders alfo to lean upon. The walls five or fix foot from the floor, muft be almoft all with niches, or little windows, cut in an hundred different manners, or fhapes, very fine, well meafured and proportioned to one another, with fome porcelain veffels and flower-pots in them; and the ground muft be painted and gilded, yet without any figure of man or beaft, their religion not allowing thereof.

This is as near as I know the idea of a handfome and convenient houfe in thefe parts; and as there is a good number of them in Dehli, that have all thefe qualities mentioned, or at leaft in part, according to which they are more or lefs fair and gallant, I believe one may fay, without any injury to our towns, that Dehli is not without houfes that are truly handfome, although they be not like ours in Europe.

Concerning the appearance and riches of the fhops, (which is the thing that contributeth moft to the beauty of our towns in Europe) although Dehli be the feat of a

very potent and magnificent court, and consequently the resort of infinite quantities and varieties of rich wares; yet we are not to imagine, that you shall find there our streets of St. Denis; I know not whether there be any such in all Asia. And even as to the most fine and the most rich stuffs, they are commonly but in the magazines, their shops are not furnished with them: so that for one shop that maketh any show, that is, where there are sold those fine sorts of linen, those stuffs of silk streaked with gold and silver, cloth of gold, turbans embroidered with gold, and other commodities of great price, you shall always find five-and-twenty and more, that are filled with nothing but pots of oil and butter, and panniers one upon another full of rice, barley, pease, corn, and many other sorts of grain and legume; which are the ordinary food, not only of all the Gentiles, that never eat any meat, but also of the meaner sort of the Mahometans, and of a good part of those of the soldiery.

It is true that there is a fruit-market that maketh some shew. One may there see in summer abundance of shops full of dry fruit, that come out of Persia, Balk, Bokara, and Samarkand, as almonds, pistaches, small nuts, raisins, prunes, apricots, and the like. And in winter there are found excellent raisins, fresh, black and white, brought from the same countries, well wrapt up in cotton; also apples and pears of three or four sorts, and of these admirable melons that last all winter. But all this fruit is very dear; I have seen melons sold even for a crown and an half a piece. And they are indeed the great delicacy and expence of the Omrahs. I have often seen in the house of my Aga, that there was eaten in melons in one morning for more than twenty crowns. There are none but the melons of the country that are cheap in summer, but those are not so good. The grandees only, that send for seed out of Persia, and to get the ground well fitted for them, may eat good ones; yet that but rarely neither, the ground being not so proper but that the seed degenerateth the very first year.

It is true, there is yet another fruit called amba, or mangue, which in its season, during two summer months, is found in great plenty and very cheap; but those of Dehli are none of the best, being very loose and flashy: those of Bengala, Golkonda, and Goa are admirable. It hath a certain sweetness so peculiar, that I doubt whether there be any comfit in the world so pleasant. There are also pateques, or water-melons in abundance, and almost all the year long; but they also do not thrive well at Dehli; they never have their meat so ruddy, firm, and sugary; and if there be any good, they are not to be found but amongst the great ones, who take the pains of making them grow as melons, with extraordinary care and cost.

There be also up and down in Dehli shops of comfit-makers; but all their comfits are very ill done, being full of dust and flies.

There are besides many shops of bread every where, but because they have no ovens like ours, it is never well baked: yet in the fortress there is sold some that is reasonably good; and the Omrahs cause such to be made in their houses that is very delicate, sparing no new butter, milk, nor eggs: yet though they leaven it, it is always much inferior in goodness to our bread of Gonesse, and to those other sorts of excellent bread of Paris, it savouring always of the cake or simnel.

In these bazars there are also some tents, where they trade in roast meat, and in dressing I know not how many sorts of dishes; but all that is but beggarly, nasty, and ill meat. I fear you sometimes meet with the flesh of camels, horses, or oxen dead of sickness: I do not much trust them; so that if you will eat any thing worth eating, you must have it dressed at home.

There

There are also many shops every where, where they sell flesh; but you may take heed lest they give you mutton for kid; the mutton and beef, but especially the mutton, though well enough tasted, being here very hot, windy, and of ill digestion. The best meat here is young kid, but it is very rarely sold in the market by quarters; so that if you have a mind to eat any, you must buy a whole and a live one; which is inconvenient enough, because the meat is spoiled between one morning and evening, and is commonly so lean, that it is tasteless. Ordinarily you find in the shambles nothing but the quarters of great kids, which often also are very lean and hard. It is true, that since I have learned something of the manner of the country, I find both meat and bread good enough, because I send my servant to the fortress to the King's caterers, who are very ready to let him have what is good for good payment, though it cost them nothing. And it was in reference to this that one day I made my Agah smile, when I told him that I had I know not how many years lived by artifice and stealing, and that for all the 150 crowns pay he monthly allowed me, I was ready to be starved; whereas in France, for half a rupie, I could every day eat as good a bit of meat as the King.

They have no capons, all that people being too tender hearted towards all animals but men, whom they need for their seraglios. But the markets are full of hens, that are very good and cheap: among the rest there is one sort of little ones, that I called Ethiopian hens, because they have their skin black like the Ethiopians, which are very tender and very delicate.

Pidgeons there are, but no young ones, because they will not kill them young; they would be (say they) too small, and it were ill done to kill such poor little animals.

There are also partridges, but smaller than ours, and generally (seeing they bring them afar off alive, knowing how to take them with nets) they are worse than our pullets. The like may be said of their ducks and hares, of which they also bring whole cages full alive.

Concerning fish, the people here are no great fishmongers; yet at times one meets with very good fish, especially of two sorts, the one resembleth our pike, and the other our carp; but that is only when it is not cold, for the Indians fear that much more than we Europeans apprehend heat. And if at any time you meet accidentally with any, the eunuchs who love them excessively (I know not why) carry them presently away. None but the Omrahs have power to make men fish when they please, which they do with the korrah, that great common whip always hanging at their gates.

From all that I have said, you may, by the bye, see whether a man ought to leave Paris to come to Dehli to make good cheer. Certainly the grandees have all things, but that is upon the account of their many servants, of the korrah, and of the plenty of money. And thence it was I once said, "That at Dehli there is no mean; there you must either be a great lord, or live miserably:" for I have experienced it myself, in a manner dying of hunger this good while, though I have had considerable pay, and was resolved to spare nothing that way, because commonly there is found nothing in the markets but the refuse of the grandees. Besides that, the soul of a feast, which is good wine, is not there; not that no grapes do grow there to make wine, (for I have drunk some at Amadevad and Golkonda, in the houses of Englishmen and Hollanders, that was not ill,) but because it is prohibited to make wine, in regard that not only by the law of Mahomet, but also by that of the heathen, it is not permitted to drink any: so that it is very rare to find wine, and that which we find comes out of

Perſia from Chiras by land to Banderabaſy, from thence by ſea to Surat, and from Surat hither by land in forty-ſix days: or it comes from the Canaries, brought alſo over ſea to Surat by the Dutch. And both are ſo dear, that the coſt (as the ſaying is) maketh it loſe the taſte; for a bottle holding about three Pariſian pints cometh often to ſix or ſeven crowns, and more. That which is of this country's growth is called Arrac, a ſtrong water made of ſugar not refined, and even this is expreſsly prohibited to be ſold, and there are none but Chriſtians that dare drink of it, except others do it by ſtealth. This is a drink very hot and penetrant, like the brandy made of corn in Poland. It ſo falls upon the nerves, that it often cauſeth ſhaking hands in thoſe that drink a little too much of it, and caſts them into incurable maladies. Here we muſt accuſtom ourſelves to fair and good water, and to lemonade, which is excellent, and may be made with ſmall charges, and doth not ſpoil the ſtomach. But to ſay all, a man hath no great inclination, in ſuch hot countries as theſe, to drink wine; and I am willing notice ſhould be here taken together with me, that the abſtinence from wine in theſe parts, joined to the general ſobriety of the natives, and to the ſweats and perpetual tranſpiration made by the pores, are the cauſe (in my opinion) that we almoſt know not what is the gout, the ſtone, aches of the kidneys, rheumatiſms, quartans; and that thoſe that bring any of theſe ſickneſſes hither, as I did, are at length totally freed from them: and further, that the pox itſelf, though very frequent, is not ſo pernicious here as in Europe: ſo that people generally live here more healthily than with us. But then, on the other hand, there is not ſo much vigour here in people, as in our cold climate; and this feebleneſs and languor of body is a kind of perpetual malady, very troubleſome to all, eſpecially in the great heats of ſummer, and more ſo to the Europeans, whoſe bodies are not yet inured to heat.

As for ſhops of excellent handycraftſmen, that is alſo a thing we muſt not look for here: all we find is but very little; not that the Indians have not wit enough to make them ſucceſsful in arts, they doing very well (as to ſome of them) in many parts of India, and it being found that they have inclination enough for them, and that ſome of them make (even without a maſter) very pretty workmanſhip, and imitate ſo well our work of Europe, that the difference thereof will hardly be diſcerned. I have ſeen amongſt them even of our kind of guns, very fine and very good; and pieces of goldſmith's work ſo well done, that I doubt whether in Europe they could be made better. I have alſo ſeen in picture and miniature ſuch curious and delicate pieces, that I admired them. Amongſt others, I have ſeen the combats of Ecbar, repreſented upon a buckler by a famous painter, who was ſaid to have been ſeven years working at it, which ſeemed to me an admirable piece of work. It is manifeſt, that they want nothing but good maſters, and the precepts of art, to give them juſt proportions; and above all that life of the face, to which they have not yet been able to attain. The reaſon therefore why in the ſhops of Dehli there are rarely found good handycraftſmen, is not want of wit, but contempt of the workmen, who are ill treated, and whoſe work is debaſed to too low a price. If ſome Omrah or Manſebdar will have any thing made by a workman of the Bazar, he will ſend for him, and make him work in a manner by force, and afterwards pay him as he pleaſeth: and the man will think himſelf happy too, if in part of payment he receive not the Korrah. What heart then can a poor workman have to take pains to ſucceed in his workmanſhip? He conſiders nothing but to diſpatch his work, thereby to earn ſomething to put bread into his mouth. So that if there be any of them that ſucceed, they are of thoſe whom the great lords entertain in their ſervice, and that work only for them.

Touching

Touching the things within the fortress, where are the seraglio, and some other royal edifices, you must not look for a Louvre or an Escurial; those buildings do not resemble ours, nor by what I have said ought they to resemble them; it is enough that they have that stateliness, which is proper for the climate.

I find nothing remarkable at the entry, but two great elephants of stone, which are on the two sides of one of the gates. Upon one of them is the statue of Jamel, that famous Raja of Chitar; and upon the other, that of Polta his brother. These are those two gallant men, that together with their mother, who was yet braver than they, cut so much work for Eckbar; and who in the siege of towns, which they maintained against him, gave such extraordinary proofs of their generosity, that at length they would rather be killed in the out-falls with their mother, than submit: and for this gallantry it is, that even their enemies thought them worthy to have these statues erected for them. These two great elephants, together with the two resolute men sitting on them, do at the first entry into this fortress make an impression of I know not what greatness and awful terror.

After you have passed this gate, you find a long and large street, divided into two by a channel of running water, and having on both sides, as our Pont-neuf, a long raised wall five or six foot high, and four broad; and further off some arches shut, that follow one another all along in the form of gates. It is upon this long raised place, that those clerks, comptrolers, and other small officers sit to do their office, without being incommoded by the horses and people that pass along beneath. And it is there also where the Mansebdars or little Omrahs, are at night to keep the guard. The water of the channel runneth dividing itself through the whole seraglio, and at length falleth into the ditches to fill them. It is drawn out of the river by a channel opened five or six leagues above Dehli, and conveyed cross the field, and that through some rocks that have cost great pains to be cut in divers places. And this is very near what may be seen at the entry into one of the two principal gates, that answer to the great piazza.

If you enter at the other gate, you also find presently a pretty long and large street, having its risings on the sides as the other, together with shops upon them in lieu of the arches. This street is properly a Bazar, which is very commodious during the season of the rains and summer, because it is covered by a long and large vault, which hath on the top great openings to let in light.

Besides these two streets, there are many other small ones on the right and left hand, that lead to the apartments where the Omrahs keep their guard, each in his turn, once a week, for twenty-four hours. These places are stately ones for *Corps des gardes*, the Omrahs striving to beautify them at their own charges. These are ordinarily great raised places respecting a parterre, that hath its little channels of running water, small conservatories and jets of water. The Omrahs, during the twenty-four hours of guard, take no care for their table, the King sending them all their meat ready dressed, and they being but to receive it, as they do, with very much ceremony and respect, making three obeysances of thanks, by elevating their hand upon their head, and bowing down to the ground, their face turned toward the King.

There are also found many raised walks and tents in sundry places, that are the offices of several officers. Besides, there are many great halls that are the *Kar-kanays*, or places where handy-craftmen do work. In one of these halls you shall find embroiderers at work, together with their chief that inspects them; in another you shall see goldsmiths; in a third, picture-drawers; in a fourth, workmen in Lacca; in others, join-

ers, turners, taylors, shoe-makers; in others, workmen in silk and purfled gold, and in all those sorts of fine cloth, of which they make turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and those drawers of ladies, that are so fine and delicate, as that sometimes they last them but one night, though they often cost them ten or twelve crowns, when they are of that fashion, as I have mentioned; I mean enriched with those fine embroideries of needle-work.

All these handy-craftsmen come in the morning to those Kar-kanays, and work there all day long, and at night return to their several homes, every one passing his life quietly, without aspiring above his condition: for the embroiderer maketh his son an embroiderer, the goldsmith maketh his son a goldsmith, and a physician in a town maketh his son a physician; and no body marrieth but with those that are of his trade; which is religiously observed, not only among the Heathen that are obliged to it by their law, but almost always among the Mahometans themselves: whence it is that you may often see very handsome young women that remain unmarried, passing their time as well as they can, though they might meet with good matches, if their parents would or could marry them into another family, esteemed less noble than their own.

After all these apartments, we come at length to the Am-kas, which is something very royal. This is a great square court with arches, as may be our Place Royal; with this difference, that there are no buildings at top, and that the arches are severed from one another by a wall, yet so that there is a small gate to pass from one to the other. Over the great gate, which is in the middle of one of the sides of this square, there is a large raised place, all open on the side of the court, which is called Nagar-kanny, because that is the place where the trumpets are, or rather the hautboys and timbals, that play together in consort at certain hours of the day and night; but this is a very odd consort in the ears of an European that is a new comer, not yet accustomed to it; for sometimes there are ten or twelve of those hautboys and as many timbals, that sound all together at once; and there is a hautboy which is called Karna, a fathom and a half long, and of half a foot aperture below; as there are timbals of brass or iron, that have no less than a fathom in diameter; whence it is easy to judge what a noise they must needs make. Indeed this music in the beginning did so pierce and stun me, that it was unsufferable for me; yet I know not what strange power custom hath, for I now find it very pleasing especially in the night, when I hear it afar of in my bed upon my terrass; then it seemeth to me to carry with it something that is grave, majestical and very melodious. And there is some reason for this melody; for seeing it hath its rules and measures, and that there are excellent masters taught from their youth to manage it, and perfectly know how to qualify and temper those strong sounds of the hautboys and timbals, it cannot be otherwise, but they must thence obtain some sympathy that cannot be displeasing to the ear, provided (as I said) that it be heard at a distance. And even for this reason it is, that they have placed the Nagar-kanay very high, and remote from the ears of the King, as you will hear by and by.

Over against the great gate of the court upon which is the Nagar-kanay, beyond the whole court, there is a great and stately hall with many ranks of pillars high raised, very airy, open on three sides, looking to the court, and having its pillars and ground painted and gilded. In the midst of the wall, which separateth this hall from the seraglio, there is an opening or kind of great window, high and large, and so high that a man cannot reach to it from below with his hand: there it is where the King appears seated upon his throne, having his sons on his sides, and some eunuchs standing, some of which drove away the flies with peacock's tails, others fan him with great fans others standing there ready with great respect and humility for several services. Thence

he ſeeth beneath him all the Omrahs, Rajahs, and ambaſſadors, who are alſo all of them ſtanding upon a raiſed ground encompaſſed with ſilver rails, with their eyes downwards, and their hands croſſing their ſtomachs: ſomewhat farther off he ſeeth the Manſebdars, or leſſer Omrahs, which are alſo ſtanding in the ſame poſture and reſpect as the Omrahs do: and ſomewhat farther off, in the remaining part of the hall, and in the court he ſeeth a great crowd of all ſorts of people. For there it is where the King every day about noon giveth a general audience to all; which is the reaſon that this great hall is called Am-kas, that is place of audience, or a place of meeting common to great and ſmall.

During an hour and an half, or thereabouts, whilſt this aſſembly laſteth, the King is diverted by ſeeing paſs before him a certain number of the handſomeſt horſes of his ſtables, to ſee whether they be well dreſſed, and in good plight. So he doth ſee a good number of elephants paſſing alſo before him, whoſe dirty bodies are then well waſhed and cleanſed, and painted black like ink, except that they have two great ſtreaks painted red, which from the top of their head come down to their trunk, where they meet. Theſe elephants have then alſo certain deckings embroidered with a couple of ſilver bells hanging down on the ſides, faſtened to the two ends of a great ſilver chain, paſſing over their ſhoulders; as alſo certain cow-tails of the great Tibet, white and very dear, hanging at their ears like great muſtachoes, and two little elephants well accoutred going by their ſides, as if they were their ſlaves and appointed to ſerve them. Theſe great coloſſes, as if they were proud to ſee themſelves ſo bravely adorned and attended, march with much gravity; and when they are come before the King, the conductor that ſits upon their ſhoulders, with a pointed iron in his hand, pricketh them, and ſpeaketh to them, and maketh them bow with one knee, and lift up their trunk into the air and make a noiſe, which the people take for a Taſlim, or deep ſalute.

After theſe elephants, there are brought divers tamed Gazelles, which are made to fight with one another; as alſo ſome Nilgaus, or gray oxen, which, in my opinion, are a kind of Elands, and Rhinoceros, and thoſe great Buffaloes of Bengala with their prodigious horns, to combat with a lion or tiger; likewiſe leopards, or panthers tamed, which he uſeth in the hunting of Gazelles: further, ſome of thoſe handſome hunting dogs of Usbec of all ſorts, every one with his little red cover; ſtore of birds of prey of all kinds, ſome of which are for partridges, others for cranes, others to fall upon hares, and, as they ſay, upon the very gazelles, beating their heads, and blinding them with wings and claws.

Often alſo one or two of the Omrahs cauſe, at that time, to paſs their cavalry for a review before the King; the Omrahs coveting that their horſemen ſhould appear gallant, advantageouſly decked with extraordinary garments, and their horſes trapped with iron, and harneſſed with I know not how many different and odd faſhions.

The King taketh ſometimes pleaſure himſelf to cauſe cutlaſſes, or ſhort ſwords, to be tried upon dead ſheep, brought to him without their bowels, and very neatly packed up, where the young Omrahs, Manſebdars, and Gourze-berdars, or mace-bearers, ſtrive to ſhew their force and dexterity by cutting aſunder the four legs joined together, and the body of the ſheep all in one ſtroke.

Mean time all theſe divertiſements are nothing but an interlude of ſerious affairs: for, as I have ſaid, the King omits not to make a muſter of his cavalry, and well to view them himſelf. We have ſeen, that the war being ended, there is not one cavalier, nor any other ſoldier, but he hath ſeen him and examined him, either to increaſe his pay, or to leſſen it, or quite to caſhier him. Beſides it is ſeen every day, that he commands the petitions, which are ſhewed him afar off in the crowd of the people, to be brought

to

to him and to be read; ordering the parties concerned to approach, and examining them, and often causing justice to be done them immediately, although he hath the Adalet-kanay, the chamber of justice, where he ordinarily is present once a week, attended by his two first kays, or chief justices; and though also at one other time in the week he hath the patience to hear in private, for the space of two hours, ten persons of the common people, whom a good and rich old man presents to him. Whence it appears (to note by the bye) that those kings, how barbarous soever esteemed by us, do yet constantly remember, that they owe justice to their subjects. All that I have been relating to you of what is transacted in this assembly of the Am-kas, seems to me great and royal; but that which hath extremely offended me there, is a kind of adulation too mean and flat, commonly heard in that place. For the King cannot say a word to any purpose, but he is presently exalted, and some of the first Omrahs lifting up their hands, as if they were to receive some benediction from Heaven, cry out, "Karamat! Karamat! Wonder! Wonder!" Neither is there any Mogolian but he knoweth and glorieth in reciting this proverb in Persian verse:

"*Aguer chach ronzra Gouyed cheb est in*
"*Bubayed Goust inck mah ou peruin.*"

"*If the king saith at noon-day, it is night; you are to say, behold the moon and the stars.*"

This vice passeth even unto the people. I have seen an hundred times people of Mogol, who having need of me in some business, made no scruple to come and tell me to my face, for a preamble, that I was Aristotalis, Bocrate, and Abouysina Ulzaman; the Aristotle, the Hippocrates, and the Avicenna of the time. At first I endeavoured to fence myself against it by this ordinary compliment, that I was none such, and was far inferior to the merit of those men: but that made them worse; so that I thought it better to accustom my ears to their flattery, as I have done to their musick. I cannot forbear imparting to you this little piece of flattery, because that will let you see the more how far they carry it. A Pendet Brachman, or heathen doctor, whom I had put to serve my Agah, at the entering into his service would needs make his panegyric, and after he had compared him to the greatest conquerors that ever were, and told him an hundred gross and impertinent flatteries, at last concluded seriously with this: "When you put your foot into the stirrup, my lord, and when you march on horseback in the front of the cavalry, the earth trembleth under your feet, the eight elephants, that hold it up upon their heads, not being able to support it." I could not hold laughing, and I strove seriously to tell my Agah, who could not hold neither, that then he would do well not to go on horseback but very seldom, to prevent earthquakes, which often cause so great mischiefs. Who quickly made this repartee, with a constrained countenance between serious and smiling: "And it is therefore, that I cause myself ordinarily to be carried in a palekey.

But no more of this: from the great hall of the Am-kas one enters into a more retired place, called the Gosel-kane, that is, the place to wash in: but few are suffered to enter there; neither is the court of it so great as that of the Am-kas; but the hall is very handsome, spacious, painted and gilded, and its floor raised four or five foot high. There it is where the King is seated in a chair, his Omrahs standing round about him, and giveth a more particular audience to his officers, receiveth their accompts, and treateth of the most important affairs of state. All the Omrahs are obliged to be, without fail, every evening at this assembly, as in the morning at the

Am-kas,

Am-kas, else something is retrenched of their pay. There is only my Agah Danech-mend-kan, that because he is a person of learning, and perpetually busy in studying, or in foreign affairs, is dispensed with, except Wednesday, which is his day of being upon the guard. These are indispensible customs, and it is very just they should be so in respect to the Omrahs, because they are in a manner so in respect of the King; for he almost never faileth to be at these two assemblies, unless some urgent affair do supervene, or he be exceedingly sick. And we did see, that Aureng-Zebe, even in his last sickness, which was very dangerous, failed not to make himself to be carried thither once a day at least. It is true, he being sick to extremity, that if he had not been seen there, the whole kingdom would presently have been in disorder, and the shops shut up in the city.

Whilst the King in this hall of Goslekanay is busy, as I was saying, they omit not to let pass before him most of the things that are made to pass at the Am-kas. There is only this difference, that this assembly being held in the evening, and the court being then less, the review of the cavalry of the Omrahs is not made, as in the morning at the Am-kas; but then there is this of particular, that all the Mansebdars that are upon the guard, do salute the King, and pass before him with ceremony enough.— Before them marcheth with sufficient pomp that which is called the Kours, which are many figures of silver carried at the end of some great silver sticks, that are very fine and very artificially made; of which there are two that represent two great fishes,—two others that exhibit a fantastick animal of an horrid figure, by them called Liedcha, others that represent two lions, others two hands, others scales, and many more whereof they make mysteries. Amongst these Kours and Mansebdars are mixed many Gourze-berdars, or mace-bearers, who are chosen men, tall of stature, and of a good mein, (spoken of elsewhere), and appointed to prevent disorders in assemblies, and to run about with speed to carry the orders, and to execute the commands of the king.

I now wish I could lead you about in the Seraglio, as I have done in the rest of the fortress. But who is the traveller that can speak of that as an eye-witness? I have sometimes entered into it when the King was not at Dehli, and I think pretty far, upon the occasion of a great lady, that was so sick that she could not be carried to the gate, according to custom, but I had always a covering of Kachemire over my head, which like a great scarf hung down to my feet, and an eunuch conducted me by the hand, like a blind man, so that I cannot particularly describe to you what it is. Only in general I can tell you, according to what I have learnt from some eunuchs, that in it there are very handsome apartments severed one from another, more or less great and stately, according to the quality and the pensions of the women; that there is almost no chamber but it hath at its door a store-house of running water; that 'tis full of parterres, pleasant walks, shady places, rivulets, fountains, jets of water, grottos, great caves against the heat of the day, and great terrases raised high, and very airy, to sleep upon in the cool. In a word, you there know not what 'tis to be hot. They principally boast of a little tower respecting the river, being, say they, covered with plates of gold, as those two that are at Agra, and within all gold and azure, very handsome and rich pictures and looking glasses.

This is very near what I can tell you of the fortress; yet before we leave it let us return once more to the Am-kas. I am now going to represent it to you after the manner I saw it at certain festivals of the year, especially at that which was kept after the war for an extraordinary rejoicing; for this is one of the most remarkable things I have seen.

The King appeared sitting upon his throne, in the bottom of the great hall of the Am-kas, splendidly apparelled. His vest was of white sattin flowered, and raised with a very fine embroidery of gold and silk. His turban was of cloth of gold, having a

fowl wrought upon it like an heron, whose foot was covered with diamonds of an extraordinary bigness and price, with a great oriental topas, which may be said to be matchless, shining like a little sun. A collar of big pearls hung about his neck down to his stomach, after the manner that some heathens wear here their great beads. His throne was supported by six high pillars, or feet, said to be of massy gold, and set with rubies, emeralds and diamonds. I am not able to tell you aright, neither the number nor the price of this heap of precious stones, because it is not permitted to come near enough to count them, and to judge of their water and purity: only this I can say, that the big diamonds are there in confusion, and that the throne is estimated to be worth four Kourours of rupies, if I remember well. I have said elsewhere, that a rupie is almost equavalent to half a crown, a Lecque to an hundred thousand rupies, and a Kourour, to an hundred Lecques: so that the throne is valued at forty millions of rupies, which are worth about sixty millions of French livres Chah-Jehan, the father of Aureng-Zebe, is he that caused it to be made, to shew so many precious stones as successively had been amassed in the treasury, of the spoils of those antient Patans and Rajas, and of the presents which the Omrahs are obliged to make yearly upon certain festival days. The art and workmanship of this throne is not answerable to the matter: that which I find upon it best devised are two peacocks covered with precious stones and pearls which are the work of a Frenchman, called—————— that was an admirable workman, and after that having circumvented many princes with his doublets, which he knew how to make admirably well, fled unto this court, where he made his fortune. Beneath this throne there appeared all the Omrahs in splendid apparel, upon a raised ground covered with a great canopy of purfled gold with great golden fringes, and inclosed by a silver balistre. The pillars of the hall were hung with tapestries of purfled gold, having the ground of gold; and for the roof of the hall, there was nothing but great canopies of flowered sattin fastened with red silken cords, that had big tufts of silk mixed with threads of gold hanging on them. Below there was nothing to be seen but great silken tapestries very rich, of an extraordinary length and breadth. In the court there was set abroad a certain tent they call the Aspek, as long and large as the hall and more. It was joined to the hall by the upper part, and reached almost as far as to the middle of the court; mean time it was all inclosed by a great balistre covered with plates of silver. It was supported by three pillars, being of the thickness and height of a barge-mast, and by some lesser ones, and they all were covered with plates of silver. It was red from without, and lined within with those fine Chites, or cloth painted by a pencil of Maslipatan, purposely wrought and contrived with such vivid colours, and flowers so naturally drawn of an hundred several fashions and shapes, that one would have said, it were an hanging parterre. Thus was the great hall of the Am-kas adorned and set out.

As to those arched galleries which I have spoken of, that are round about the court; each Omrah had received orders to dress one of them at his own charges. And they now striving who should make his own most stately, there was seen nothing but purfled gold above and beneath, and rich tapestries under foot.

The third day of the feast, the King caused himself to be weighed with great ceremony, and after him divers Omrahs, in great scales, and with weights said to be of massy gold. I remember that all the Omrahs expressed a great joy, that the King weighed two pounds more now than the year preceding.

Every year there are held such kind of festivals, but never any was seen done with so much splendor and charge. It is said, that that which induced Aureng-Zebe to celebrate this splendid feast was nothing else but to make the merchants of purfled gold recover themselves, who had whole magazines full of it, much spoiled in these four or

five

five years of war, wherein they could not sell them. These expences of the Omrahs were great; but the simple cavaliers paid their share of it, because that the Omrahs after the feast made them take off that commodity to make vests thereof.

There is an antient custom accompanying these feasts, which little pleaseth the Omrahs: and it is this, that then they are by respect obliged to make some fair presents to the King in proportion of their pay. There are some, that to appear brave, or for fear of being searched for the rapines by them committed in their offices and governments; or to purchase the favour of the King, in the hopes of having their pensions augmented, make them presents that are extraordinary. Some (which is ordinary enough) do present fine vessels of gold set with precious stones; others present fair pearls, diamonds, emeralds, or rubies (which also is very common); give him without other ceremony, a quantity of those pieces of gold, that are worth about a pistole and an half. I remember that Aureng-Zebe, being gone to visit (during this great festival) his visir, Jafer-kan, not as visir, but as a kinsman, and under the pretence of desiring to see a piece of building, which he had caused to be raised a-new, Jafer-kan presented him in these pieces of gold, with the value of an hundred thousand crowns, some good pearls, and one ruby valued forty thousand crowns; but which Chah-Jehan, who was admirably well skilled in jewels, discovered not to be worth five hundred crowns; the which perplexed the first jewellers exceedingly, that had been deceived therein.

There is another thing sometimes attending these feasts, which is odd enough: and that is a kind of fair, then held in the Mehale, or the King's seraglio. The women of the Omrahs and of the great Mansebdars, or little Omrahs (I mean those that are the handsomest and most gallant) are the she merchants that keep the fair, and sell commodities; the King is the merchant that buyeth, as also all those Begums or princesses, and other great ladies of the seraglio. The wares are fine purfled gold, or rich embroideries of the new fashion, some rich ribbons well wrought upon cloth of gold, or some pieces of that fine cloth which is worn by the great ladies, and other such merchandize of great price. If they ever have a handsome daughter, they forget not to bring her along with them to let the King see her, and so make her known to those Begums. The jest of this fair is, that the King comes to bargain with those she-merchants, like a petty merchant, penny by penny, contesting that they are not in earnest, that it is too dear, that he will give no more than so much; that the merchandize of such a one is far better, and the like. The women, on the other hand, do their best to make good their part, and without considering that 'tis the King, (which is the best of the sport) they contend and stand upon their price, till sometimes they come to high words, as that that is to be a merchant of snow (one of their phrases), that he understands nothing in the matter of wares, that he may go to another place, that that commodity is not for him, &c. The Begums do the like, or worse, for they sometimes fall to downright railing, so that there is such a cry and noise, and buffoonery, that it cannot be paralleled. But when any price is agreed on, whoever buyeth on this or that side, the King payeth, and the Begums pay, all with ready money: and it also falls out often enough, that the King and the Begums, instead of silver rupies, let slide (in favour of the handsome she-merchant or her daughter) some rupies of gold, as if it were by mistake, and without taking notice of any thing. The she-merchants also take it in like manner, all passes with expressions of raillery and gallantry. Chah-Jehan, who did not hate the sex, would still multiply this fair, and have it all festival days, though he knew it did not very well please some Omrahs. But there is one thing which to me seems to be a little too extravagant; which is, that the public women, I mean not those of the Bazar, but those more retired and considerable ones, that go to the great marriages in the houses of the Omrahs and Mansebdars to sing and dance, those that are called Kenchen, as if you would say, The

gilded, the bloſſoming ones, that thoſe, I ſay, did alſo enter in the time of Chah-Jehan into the ſeraglio at ſuch fairs, and there paſſed even the whole night in ſinging and dancing. Theſe are not of that ſort which proſtitute themſelves promiſcuouſly to all; and they are moſt of them handſome and well apparelled, and excellent ſinger and dancers, after the mode of the country, ſurprizing in the ſuppleneſs of their body, and the nimbleneſs of their motions, yet in the upſhot of the rank of public women. Chah-Jehan was not content only to have them come to the ſeraglio at thoſe feaſts, but when they came to ſalute him, according to that ancient cuſtom that obligeth him to come every Wedneſday to do obeyſance to the King in the Am-kas, he often made them enter there, and to paſs all night with him in ſuch ſports and *bouffonneries*. Aureng-Zebe is more ſerious, he ſuffers them not to come into the ſeraglio; he permits only (not to abrogate the cuſtom) that they may ordinarily come every Wedneſday to give him the Salam, or ſalute, in the Am-kas, at a diſtance, but they muſt preſently return home again.

But ſince we are upon theſe feaſts and fairs, and ſpeak of theſe Kenchens, what hurt were it if I ſhould tell you a ſtory to make you merry, of one of our Frenchmen; ſince Plutarch is of opinion, that little things are not always to be paſſed by, and that they often mind us more of the genius and temper of men than the greateſt. This Frenchman called Bernard, was at this court about the latter years of King Jehan-Guire. He muſt needs have been ſome good phyſician, and withal excellent in chirurgery, according to the relations that are made of him. He was welcome to Jehan-Guire, and became very familiar with him, to that degree that they drank and debauched together. Nor did this Jehan-Guire ever think on any thing but a good cup and merriment, leaving the management of the ſtate to his wife, the renowned Nour-Mehale, or Nour-Jehan-Begum, which, he uſed to ſay, had wit enough to govern the empire without his giving himſelf any trouble about it. Beſides that this our countryman had of the King ten crowns daily pay, he gained yet more by treating thoſe great ladies of the ſeraglio, and the grand Omrahs, that all made uſe of him, and preſented him who could beſt, becauſe he was both ſucceſsful in his cures, and extraordinarily favoured by the King: but he was a man that could keep nothing; what he received with one hand, he at the ſame time gave away with the other; ſo that he was known and loved by all, eſpecially by thoſe Kenchens, upon whom he made great expences, having always a ſet of them that paſſed the night at his houſe in ſinging and dancing. Mean time he chanced to fall in love with one of theſe women that was young and beautiful, and danced exceeding well; but the mother apprehending leſt the daughter, by proſtituting herſelf, ſhould loſe her ſtrength and vigour (as it will fall out) would not let her go out of her ſight: ſo that Bernard could never find any other way to compaſs his ends but this. One day, when the King made him a preſent in the Am-kas before all the Omrahs, for a conſiderable cure he had done in the ſeraglio, he very ſubmiſſively gave His Majeſty thanks, waving the preſent, but inſtead of it, begged this favour of him, that he would vouchſafe to give him this young Kencheny, which he was amorous of, and which ſtood behind him, ready to make the uſual obeyſance to the King. The whole aſſembly brake out into laughter to ſee him wave the preſent, and to hear him make ſo ridiculous a demand, he being a chriſtian, and the woman a Mahometan, and a Kencheny. But Jehan-Guire, who never troubled his head much with Mahometaniſm, and could not hold laughing aloud, preſently commanded that this young woman ſhould be given him, ſaying, 'Lay her on his ſhoulders, and let him carry her away.' So ſaid ſo done; and in the preſence of the whole aſſembly this Kenchen was put on Bernard's back, who went away thus charged, and carried her to his houſe.

I cannot forbear giving you here an account of a divertiſement, which uſually theſe

feasts end with, and which is unknown to us in Europe: and that is the combat of the elephants, which the King, the ladies of the court, and the Omrahs do behold from several apartments of the fortress, and which is shewn before all the people in this great sandy place which looks to the river.

They raise a wall of earth three or four foot broad, and five or six foot high. The two elephants that are to fight, meet one another face to face, one on the one side of the wall, the other on the other, each having two riders upon him, that so if the first, who sits on his shoulders (having a great pointed iron in his hand, to turn the beast on the right or left hand) should fall, the other who sits backward, may cast himself into his place. These four riders or guides do animate their elephants to the combat, and vigorously to fall upon their enemy, now flattering them, and by and by chiding them, as cowards, and very rudely kicking them with their heels. After they have been a good while thus chafed and pushed on, then you shall see these two bulky masses come to the wall, and bluntly assault one another, and give such cruel blows with their teeth, head, trunk, that you would think they would soon strike one another dead. This fight continues a while, then ceaseth, and begins afresh several times, until the mud-wall being overthrown, the stoutest of the two passeth upon the other, maketh him turn his back, pursueth him with blows of his teeth and trunk, and gets such an hold-fast upon him, that there is no means of separating them, except it be with the Chorkys, that is, certain artificial fires cast betwixt them, this animal being very fearful of fire: whence it comes, that since fire-arms have been used in armies, elephants do almost no good at all. It is true indeed, that some of those brave ones that come out of Ceilean, are not so timorous; but that is not till they have been whole years accustomed to it, by discharging every day muskets before them, and by casting squibs between their legs. Mean time this conflict of the elephants would be no such displeasing sight, if it were not so cruel, it often happening that some of those poor guides are trod under foot and perish: for the elephants in the combat have this malice, that they strive above all things to strike with their trunk, and to pull down the conductor of their adversary; and thence it is, that on the day when these poor riders know they are to make the elephants fight, they bid farewel to their wives and children, as if they were condemned to death. That which encourages and comforts them, is, that if they escape and quit themselves well of their duty, the King increases their pay, and commands a sack of Peyssas, which amounts to about fifty French livres, to be forthwith given them; or if they be killed upon the spot, he orders that pay be made to the widow, and the office to be given to his son, if he have any. There is another mischief, which often accompanieth this combat; which is, that in this great throng there are always some persons overthrown by the elephant, or trod underfoot by the horses, and people, that on a sudden run away all at once, and fall one upon another, when the elephants are enraged, and the one pursueth the other, so that then one cannot at any nearness look on but without danger. For my part, the second time I saw it I did sufficiently repent for having approached so nigh, and if I had not had a good horse, and two good servants, I believe I should have paid for my curiosity as dear as others.

But it is time we should leave the fortress, and return into the city, there to observe to you two things I had forgot. The first is the great Mosquee, seen afar off in the midst of the town, standing upon a rock, flatted to build upon, and to make round about a large place for four long and fair streets to end upon, and answering to the four sides of the Mosquee, viz. one to the principal gate, or frontispiece, another behind that, and the two others to the two gates that are in the middle of the two remaining sides. To come to the gates, there are twenty-five or thirty steps of fair and large stones going round about, except the back-part, which is covered with other great quarry-stones to cover the unevenness of the cut rock: which contributes much to make

make this fabrick make a ſhew. The three entries are ſtately, there is nothing but marble, and their large gates are covered with copper-plates exceedingly well wrought. Above the principal gate, which is much ſtatelier than the two others, there are many ſmall turrets of white marble as well without as within; that in the middle is much bigger and higher than the two others. All the reſt of the Moſquee, I mean from theſe three domes unto the great gate, is without covering, becauſe of the heat of the country; and the whole pavement is of large ſquares of marble. I grant willingly, that this ſtructure is not according to the rules and orders of architecture, which we eſteem is indiſpenſably to be followed; yet I obſerve nothing in it that offends the eye; but rather find all to be well contrived, and well proportioned: and I do even believe, that if in Paris we had a church of this way of architecture, it would not be diſliked, if there were nothing elſe in it but that it is of an extraordinary and ſurpriſing aſpect, and becauſe that, excepting the three great domes and all the turrets, which are of white marble, it appears all red, as if all were nothing elſe but great tables of red marble, though it be nothing elſe but a ſtone very eaſy to cut, and which even flaketh off in time. I ſhall add by the bye, that if it be true what is ſaid of the quarries of this ſtone, it is remarkable, that it grows again every year; whether it be by a petreſcent water yearly filling it, or otherwiſe, I decide not.

This Moſquee it is to which the king repaireth every Friday (which is the Sunday of the Mahometans) to pay his devotion. Before he goes out of the fortreſs, the ſtreets he is to paſs, are conſtantly watered becauſe of the heat and duſt. Two or three hundred muſqueteers are to ſtand and make a lane about the gate of the fortreſs, and as many more on the ſides of a great ſtreet that ends at the Moſquee. Their muſquets are ſmall, but well wrought, and they have a kind of ſcarlet-caſe with a little ſtreamer upon them. Beſides there muſt be five or ſix cavaliers well mounted ready at the gate, and ride at a good diſtance before the king, for fear of raiſing duſt; and their office is to keep off the people. Things being thus prepared, the king is ſeen to come out of the fortreſs ſeated upon an elephant richly harneſſed, under a canopy with pillars painted and gilded; or elſe on a throne ſhining of gold and azure, upon two beams, covered with ſcarlet or purfled gold, carried by eight choſen and well accoutered men. The king is followed by a body of Omrahs, ſome of which are on horſeback, ſome in a palekey. Among theſe Omrahs there are many Mantebdars, and mace-bearers, ſuch as I have before ſpoken of. And though this be not that ſplendid and magnificent proceſſion, or rather maſquerade of the Grand Seignor, (I have no properer name for it) nor the warlike order of our kings, it being altogether of another faſhion, yet for all that there is ſomething great and royal in it.

The other thing I had forgot to acquaint you with, is an edifice in the city, called the Karvanſarah of the princeſs; the renowned Begum-Saheb, eldeſt daughter of Chah-Jehan, having cauſed it to be built at her charges, and willing to contribute ſomething to the decoration of the town, as all the Omrahs ſtrove to do to pleaſe Chah-Jehan. This is another great ſquare, arched like our Place-royal, but ſtill with this difference, that one arch is ſeparate from the other by a wall, and that in the bottom of every arch there is a little chamber; and beſides that, above the arches there is a gallery which rangeth round about the building, to enter into as many high chambers, as there are below. This place is the rendezvous of all the great merchants, Perſians, Uſbecs, and other ſtangers that ordinarily do there find empty chambers convenient enough, to ſtay in for ſome time in great ſafety, the gate being ſhut every night. If there were a ſcore of ſuch ſtructures in divers parts of Paris, ſtrangers newly arriving would not be in that trouble, as often they are to find ſafe lodgings; for there they might be until they had ſeen their acquaintance, and looked for good accommodation

dation: besides that, they would serve for magazines of all sorts of commodities, and for the rendezvous of all merchants strangers.

Before we leave Dehli, I shall add a few lines in reference to this question, which doubtless you will make, viz. Whether in Dehli there be as much people and gallantry as at Paris? Certainly when I consider those three or four cities of Paris that are one above another, all those chambers and other rooms full from top to bottom; when I farther consider that incredible throng and confusion of men and women, of horsemen, and passengers on foot, of chariots, sedans and coaches, and that there are but few great piazzas and gardens in Paris; this city seems to me a nursery of the world, and I can hardly believe, that there are as many people in Dehli. Yet notwithstanding, when I reflect upon that multitude of shops on one side of Dehli, and on the other, upon the vast extent of that city, and that there are never less in it than 35,000 cavaliers, not to speak of the houses of the Omrahs; that of all these cavaliers, there are very few but have wives and children, and a great number of servants having their houses apart as their masters; and that all these houses swarm with women and children; that in many places of Dehli, though the streets be broad, and there be but few chariots and no coaches, yet at the hours when the heat suffers people to come abroad for their business, there is great confusion: when (I say) I consider all this on the other hand, I do not well know what to determine about the question; and I imagine, that if there be not altogether so much people in Dehli as in Paris, yet at least there wants not much of it.

Concerning the number of gallant people, it must be acknowledged, that there is this difference between those of Paris and Dehli, that of ten persons met with upon the streets of Paris, you shall see seven or eight well cloathed and of some fashion, which no man will count rascally or beggarly people; whereas in Dehli, for two or three persons that are pretty well covered, you shall always find seven or eight poor and ragged people; the army which is there drawing after it all that crew of beggars and rascals. Yet this is to be acknowledged for a truth, that in Dehli, as well as in Paris, one meets with a very great quantity of persons, well made, gallant, well mounted, well dressed, and well attended: and indeed, to be upon the great place before the fortress, at the hours when all those Omrahs, Rajas, and Mansebdars go to the assembly and to the guard, that hath something great and splendid in it; when you shall see there every where arrive those Mansebdars well accoutered, shining with gold, and well mounted, a couple of men going before them to make place, and as many behind; when you shall also see many of those great Omrahs and Rajahs riding upon proud elephants, and some of them on horseback like the Mansebdars, and most of them sitting in their rich palekys, carried upon the shoulders of six men, their back leaning against some thick cushion of purfled gold, chewing their betele, to have a good breath and vermillion lips, with a servant on the side carrying a tooth-pick, and a porcelain, or silver spitting-vessel; and two more, fanning him and keeping off the flies and dust from him with peacock's tails, and three or four others marching before to put by the people; to which is to be added part of their cavalry (I mean the bravest and best mounted of them) following after: when, I say, all this is seen together marching, as hath been said, with the croud made there as well as at Paris, it will not be denied to be something great and very gallant.

[illegible] the country about Dehli, it is considerable for its fertility; for it beareth rice, and three or four other sorts of legumes, (which is the ordinary food of the people) corn, sugar, indigo, and all that in abundance. At two leagues off on Agra's side, in a place by the Mahometans called Koja Kotubeddine, there [illegible] ancient edifice which hath been a temple of idols, where are inscriptions that must

must also be very ancient, the characters of them being such, that no body knows what they are, and different from those of all the languages of the Indies.

On another side, at two or three leagues distance from the town, you see a house of pleasure of the King's, which indeed is a stately and royal house, but yet you must not think it approacheth to Fontainbleau, or to St. Germain, or to Versailles. Neither must you imagine that in this champaign of Dehli there are any St. Clou's, Chantilly's, Meudon's, Liancour's Vau's, Reulle's, and many such others; or that you see there any of those other inferior houses of pleasure belonging to simple gentlemen, citizens and merchants. The maxim, that the subjects of a kingdom have no property in any thing, hinders all that.

Lastly, to make you pass quickly those fifty or sixty leagues, which are betwixt Dehli and Agra, you are not to think, that upon this road you shall see any such large and rich boroughs as there are upon our roads. Set aside Maturas, where you see still an ancient and stately temple of idols, and, excepting some Karavan-saras, that are well enough, found on the high-way to serve for night-lodgings, I find nothing considerable there, but that royal alley of trees planted by the command of Gehan-Guyre, and continued by the same order for an hundred and fifty leagues, with little pyramids or turrets erected every half league, to mark the ways, and with frequent wells to afford drink to passengers, and to water the young trees.

Of Agra.—To pass to the description of Agra, you have the idea of it, if you have well taken that of Dehli; at least in respect of its situation, which is also upon the Gemma, and in regard of the fortress, or royal house, and of most of the buildings. It is true, that Agra hath this advantage over Delhi, that being a city where the Kings have already resided a long while, viz. since Akber, who caused it to be built, and called it after his name Akber-abad; it is of greater extent than Dehli, and hath more of those fine houses of the Omrahs and Rajas, and more of the fair Karavansarahs, and also more of those pretty houses of stone and brick belonging to particular persons; besides that, it hath two famous tombs, of which I shall speak hereafter: but then it hath these disadvantages, that it wants walls; that having been built altogether by one design, it hath not those fair and large streets of uniform buildings as Dehli; and that, excepting four or five of those principal streets of merchants, which are very long and well enough built, all the rest, for the most part, is nothing but a number of little streets, strait without proportion, and nothing but windings and turnings; which cause strange confusions when the court is there. I see no other difference between Agra and Dehli, than that I have been just now speaking of; except it be that Agra hath more of a country town than Dehli, especially when we look upon it from an higher place: but it is not such a country aspect as disgraceth it, but a very agreeable and diverting one: for there being betwixt the houses of Omrahs, Rajas and others, store of big green trees mixt, every one having been curious to plant of them in his garden and in his court for shade; and besides, those high houses of the Banians, or heathen merchants, appearing here and there between those trees, as relicks of old castles of forests; all that causeth, within the town, very pleasing sights and perspectives, especially in a dry and hot country, where people's eyes seem to desire nothing but verdure and shade.

Meantime you need not go out of Paris, to find the most pleasing and the most gallant sight in the world. Take only a walk upon the Pont-neuf, attentively beholding in the day-time all things surrounding you, together with that incredible and strange confusion of people; and at night, the infinite number of lights in the windows of those high buildings that are round about you; and the same concourse, which continues till after mid-night; the good citizen, and (which you shall

for in any part of Aſia) the fair ſhop-citizen walking without fear of robbers, and without the inconvenience of dirt: and then the long files of ſtars that brave the wind, the rain and darkneſs: take only, I ſay, ſuch a walk upon that bridge, obſerving all thoſe things together, and then (upon my word) you may boldly maintain it, that you are upon the ſpot of the faireſt, braveſt and moſt magnificent artificial view of the earth; unleſs it be ſome part of China or Japan, where I have not been. What will it be then when the Louvre, that work which was once thought would never be ſeen but in deſign and upon paper, ſhall be finiſhed? I have purpoſely added the word artificial, becauſe ſpeaking of the beſt perſpectives that are, we muſt always except Conſtantinople, when one is in a boat in the midſt of that great channel, over againſt the point of the ſeraglio: for there you ſhall find yourſelf altogether ſurprized, as it were, in the midſt of ſome great and vaſt enchanted amphitheatre; but in this perſpective, the workmanſhip of nature is moſt conſiderable, whereas in that of Paris, art and dexterity is moſt conſpicuous, which doubtleſs renders it more eminent, foraſmuch as thereby it looks more like the ſeat of a great king, the capital of a great empire; and is really, without flattering ourſelves, and all thoſe beauties of Dehli, Agra and Conſtantinople, well conſidered and compared, the faireſt, the richeſt, and the chiefeſt city of the world.

In Agra, the reverend fathers the Jeſuits have a church and a college, where, in private, they teach the children of ſome twenty-five or thirty Chriſtian families, that have (I know not how) gathered and ſettled themſelves there, by the charity of thoſe fathers, the Chriſtian doctrine. It was Ekbar who (in the time of the great power of the Portugueze in the Indies) called them, and gave them a penſion for their ſubſiſtence, permitting them to build churches in the capital cities of Agra and Lahor. And his ſon Jehan-Guyre favoured them yet more. But Chah-Jehan, ſon of Jehan-Guyre, and father of Aureng-Zebe now reigning, took from them their penſion, cauſed their church at Lahor to be pulled down, and the greateſt part of that in Agra, overthrowing alſo the ſteeple of the church, wherein that bell was that could be heard over all the town.

Theſe fathers the Jeſuits entertained great hopes of the progreſs of Chriſtianity in the time of king Jehan-Guyre, becauſe of his contempt of the Mahometan law, and the eſteem he profeſſed to the Chriſtian, even giving way to two of his nephews to embrace the Chriſtian religion, and to a certain Mirza-Zul-Karmin (that had been bred in the ſeraglio, and was circumciſed), to turn Chriſtian too, under the pretence that he was born of Chriſtian parents, and ſon of the wife of a rich Armenian, which Jehan-Guyre had cauſed to be brought to him into the ſeraglio.

The ſame fathers ſay, that this king, to begin in good earneſt to countenance the Chriſtian religion, deſigned to put the whole court into the habit of the Franqui, and that after he had prepared all things for it, and even dreſſed himſelf in that faſhion, he called to him one of the chief Omrahs, aſking his opinion of this dreſs; but that this Omrah altogether ſurprized at it, having anſwered him very ſeriouſly, that it was a very dangerous thing, he thought himſelf obliged to change his mind, and turned all into raillery.

Theſe fathers affirm further, that he being upon the point of death, commanded that they ſhould be called to make him a Chriſtian, but that then they were not made acquainted with it. Many ſay, that this is not ſo, and that he died as he had lived, without any religion, and in the deſign he had, as well as his father Ekbar, to ſet himſelf up for a prophet, and to become the head of a particular religion of his own compoſure. However it be, there is another thing I have learned of a Mahometan, that was ſon to an officer of Jehan-Guyre, namely, that this king being one day in a debauch, called to him a certain religious man of Florence, whom he called father Atech, as be-

ing a little fiery man; and after he had commanded him to say all he could against the law of Mahomet, and for the law of Christ, in the presence of many knowing Mullahs, he would have made this terrible trial of both those laws, viz: that a great pit should be made, and a good fire in it, and that father Atech with the gospel under his arm, and one of those Mullahs with the Alcoran under his, should cast themselves both together into that fire, and that he would embrace the law of him that should not burn. But that the sad countenance of the Mullahs, altogether astonished, and the compassion he had of the Florentine father, who accepted the condition, diverted him from it. Whatever the truth be of this story, it is certain, that whilst Jehan-Guyre lived, these fathers were respected and honoured in this court, and that they conceived great hopes of the advancement of Christianity in those parts; but that since that time they have had no great cause to hope much of, except perhaps what they received by the familiarity which our father Buze had with Dara. But I shall say no more of this matter of our missions, intending to give you a particular long letter of it another time.

Certainly I cannot but exceedingly approve of missions, and the good missionaries, especially our Capuchins and Jesuits, and some others of our neighbourhood, because they give meek instructions, without that indiscreet zeal and transport which is ex[illegible] by some others, and they charitably entertain the Christians of the country in their religion, whether they be Catholicks or Greeks, or Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, or others; and forasmuch also as they are the refuge and comfort of poor strangers and travellers, and by their knowledge, sober, and exemplary life, they confound the ignorance and licentious life of the infidels, which some others do not always practise; who therefore would do better to keep themselves close in their convents, and not come hither and give us a masquerade of our religion, and by doing so, and by their ignorance, jealousy, looseness and the abuse of their authority and character, become a stumbling-block to the law of Jesus Christ. But a particular thing infers no general; and notwithstanding those miscarriages, I very much applaud the missions, and pious and learned missionaries—they are absolutely necessary: it is the honour and prerogative of Christianity to have every where through the world substitutes of the apostles. But after all that I have seen, and after all the converse and discourse I have so often had with those obstinate infidels, I may take leave to say, that I almost despair to see struck such great strokes as the apostles did, who converted two or three thousand people in one sermon; finding by experience, and knowing very well upon other accounts, after I have travelled through all the places of the missions in the East, that all the missionaries together, not only in the Indies, but in all the Mahometan dominions, do indeed by their instructions, accompanied with charity and alms, make some progress among the Gentiles, but do in ten years not make one Christian of a Mahometan. Truly these infidels have high thoughts of our religion, they never speak of Jesus Christ but with veneration; and they never pronounce the word Aysa, that is to say, Jesus, without adding that of Azeret, which is Majesty. They even agree with us, that he was miraculously born of a virgin-mother, and that he is the Kelum-Allah, and the Rouh-Allah, the word of God, and the spirit of God; but it is not to be hoped, that they will approve the rest of our religion, so as to abandon theirs in which they were born, and their false prophet, to embrace ours, what reasons soever be given them. Our Christians of Europe ought to wish, and even to employ their power, care, and charity, that missionaries may be sent over all, such as may be no charge to the people of the country, and whom want may not induce to do mean things, as well for the reasons already alledged, as for this cause, that they may be ever ready to lay hold on all occasions, always to bear witness to the truth, and to labour in the vineyard when it shall please God to give them an overture.

 But

But for the rest we ought to be disabused, and not to suffer ourselves to be so easily persuaded of so many stories, and not to believe the thing to be so facile as some make it. The sect is too much libertine, and too attractive to quit it; it is a pernicious law, which hath been introduced by arms and force, and still gets ground by those means; and I hardly know any other way capable to shake and root it out. If therefore there intervene not some of those grand and extraordinary strokes of heaven, and God by his powerful and particular evidence interpose not, (as we ought always to hope, according to the great appearances there have been in China, in Japan, and in the person of King Jehan-Guyre), considering the irreverence of the Christians in their churches, so dissonant from our belief of the particular presence of God upon our altars, and so different from that deep and astonishing respect which those infidels bear to their mosques, where they would not so much as turn their heads, or speak the least word to one another; there will always be great obstacles to their conversion.

In Agra the Hollanders have also an house, where ordinarily they keep four or five persons. Formerly they had a good trade there in selling scarlet, great and small looking-glasses, plain lace, and gold and silver lace, and some small wares, and in buying indigo, which is gathered round about Agra, but especially at Bianes, but two leagues distant from it, and whither they go once a year, having an house there for that purpose, as also in buying those cloths of Jelapour and Lakanu, at seven or eight days journey from Agra, where they also keep a house, and whither they send some factors once a year. But now they say that there is little profit for them in that trade, whether it be that the Armenians drive the same traffic, or that it is so far from Agra to Surat, or that commonly some mischief or other befalls their Caravans, which must pass by Amad-avad over all the countries of the Rajâs to avoid the ill ways, and the mountains that are on the side of Goualeor and Brampour, which is the nearer way. Yet notwithstanding these discouragements, they will never (I believe), abandon this factory, as the English have done theirs in that place, if it were for nothing else but their spices, which there they sell very well, and for having some of their people near the court taking care of their concerns, since it cannot be otherwise, but that frequently some trouble will befal their factories, by the tyranny of the governor and other officers, now from the side of Bengala and Patna, another time from Surat and Amad-avad.

We will conclude this part with those two wonderful mausolees, or tombs, that give to Agra so much advantage over Dehli. It was Jehan-Guyre that caused the first to be erected to honour the memory of his father Eckbar, and Chah-Jehan raised the other in honour of Taje-Mehalle his wife, that extraordinary and celebrated beauty of the Indies, whom he loved so passionately, that it is said he never enjoyed any other woman but her whilst she lived, and that when she died, he was in danger to die himself.

I shall not stay to discourse of the monument of Eckbar, because whatever beauty is there, is found in a far higher degree in that of Taje-Mehalle, which I am now going to describe unto you. You may therefore represent to yourself, that at the going out of the city of Agra eastward, you enter into a long and broad paved street, which riseth gently, and hath on one side a high and long wall, making the side of a square garden that is much bigger than our Place Royal, and on the other side a row of new houses arched, such as those of the principal streets of Dehli above spoken of. Having gone the length of half the wall, you shall find on the right hand of the side of the houses a great gate well made, by which one enters into a caravan-serah, and over against it, on the wall's side, a stately gate of a great square pavilion, by which you enter into the garden between two conservatories built up with free-stone. This pavilion is longer than it is large, built of a stone-like red marble, but not so hard. The frontispiece seems to

are very magnificent, after their way, and as high as that of St. Louis in the street of St. Anthony. It is true you do not there see columns, architraves and cornishes, cut out after the proportion of those five orders of architecture so religiously observed in our palaces: it is a different and particular kind of structure, but such an one as wants no agreeableness even in the oddness of its contrivance, and which, in my opinion, would very well deserve a place in our books of architecture. It is almost nothing but arches upon arches, and galleries over galleries, disposed and ordered a hundred different ways; and yet all appears stately, well enough contrived and managed. There is nothing that offends the eye; on the contrary all is pleasing, and a man cannot be weary in beholding it. The last time I saw it, I was there with one of our French merchants, who also could not behold it enough. I durst not tell him my thoughts of it, apprehending it might have spoiled my gust, and framed it according to that of Indostan.—But he being lately come from France, I was very glad to hear him say, 'He had never seen any thing so august and bold in Europe.'

After you are somewhat entered into the pavilion to pass into the garden, you find yourself under a high vault made like a cap, which hath galleries round about and below, on the right and left side, two divans or causeys, made up of earth of eight or ten foot high. Opposite to the gate there is a great arch quite open, by which you enter into an alley, which cuts almost the whole garden into two equal parts. This alley is by way of terrass so large, as that six coaches can pass on it a-breast, paved with great squares of hard stone, raised some eight feet above the garden-plots, and divided in the middle by a channel walled up with free-stone, having jets of water at certain distances. After you have gone twenty-five or thirty paces upon this alley, turning your eye to behold the entry, you see the other face of the pavilion, which though it be not comparable to that which looks to the street, yet wants not its stateliness, being high and of a structure approaching the other. And on both sides of the pavilion, along the wall of the garden, you see a long and profound gallery by way of terrass, supported by many low columns near one another. And in this gallery it is, that during the season of the rains, the poor are permitted to enter, who come there thrice a week, receiving alms from a foundation made there by Chah-Jehan for ever.

Advancing further in this alley, you discover at a distance before you a great dome, where is the sepulchre, and below on the right and left hand you see divers alleys of a garden set with trees, and several parterres covered with flowers. At the end of this alley, besides the dome before you, you discover on the right and left two great pavilions, built of the same stone, and consequently, looking all red as the first. These are great and spacious square edifices, made by way of terrass, opening by three arches, and having at the bottom the wall of the garden, so that you march under them as if they were high and large galleries.

I shall not stay to describe unto you the ornaments within these pavilions, because in respect to their walls, ground-plot, and pavement, they are not much unlike the dome, which I am going to delineate to you, after I shall have observed, that between the end of the alley (which we have spoken of) and the dome, there is a pretty large space of a floor, which I call a water-parterre, because that the diversly cut and figured stones you march upon, are there instead of the box-wood of our parterres. And it is from the midst of this parterre, that you may conveniently see a part of this edifice, where the sepulchre is, which remains now to be considered.

It is a great and vast dome of white marble, which is near the height of that of our Val de Grace in Paris, surrounded with many turrets of the same matter, with stairs

in them. Four great arches support the whole fabric, three of which are visible, the fourth is closed in by the wall of an hall, accompanied with a gallery, where certain Mullahs (entertained for that end) do continually read the Alcoran, with a profound respect to the honour of Taje-Mehalle. The mould of the arches is enriched with tables of white marble, wherein are seen engraven large Arabian characters of black marble, which is very agreeable to behold. The interior or concave part of this dome, and the whole wall from top to bottom is covered with white marble; and there is no place which is not wrought with art, and hath not its peculiar beauty. You see stone of agat, and such sort of stones as are employed to enrich the chapel of the great duke of Florence; much jasper, and many other kinds of rare and precious stones, set a hundred several ways, mixed and enchased in the marble that covers the body of the wall. The squares of white and black marble, that make the floor, are likewise set out with all imaginable beauty and stateliness.

Under this dome is a little chamber inclosing the sepulchre, which I have not seen within, it not being opened but once a year, and that with great ceremony, not suffering any christian to enter, for fear (as they say) of prophaning the sanctity of the place: but really by what I could learn, because it hath nothing rich or magnificent in it.

There remains nothing else, than to give you occasion to take notice of an alley in the fashion of a terrass, twenty or twenty-five paces large, and as many or more high, which is betwixt the dome and the extremity of the garden, whence you see below you, at the foot of it, the river Gemna running along a great campaign of gardens, a part of the town of Agra, the fortress, and all those fair houses of the Omrahs that are built along the water. There remains no more, I say, than to cause you to observe this terrass, which taketh up almost the whole length of one side of the garden, and then to desire you to judge, whether I had reason to say, that the Mausoleum, or tomb of Taje-Mehalle, is something worthy to be admired. For my part I do not yet well know, whether I am not somewhat infected still with Indianism; but I must needs say, that I believe it ought to be reckoned amongst the wonders of the world, rather than those unshapen masses of the Ægyptian pyramids, which I was weary to see after I had seen them twice, and in which I find nothing without, but pieces of great stones ranged in the form of steps one upon another, and within nothing but very little art and invention.

A LETTER written to Mr. Chapelain, sent from Chiras, in Persia, October 4, 1667. Concerning the superstitions, strange fashions, and the doctrine of the native Indians, or Gentiles of Indostan. Whence may be seen, that there are no opinions so ridiculous, and so extravagant, which the spirit of man is not capable of.

SIR,

If I should live whole ages, I know not whether I could ever forget those two eclipses of the sun, of which I saw one in France, in the year 1654, and the other in the Indies at Dehli in the year 1666, if I remember aright. The former seemed very remarkable to me upon the account of the childish credulity of our common people, and of that panic terror which had so seized the heart, that some bought drugs against the eclipse; others kept themselves close in the dark in their caves, and their well-closed chambers; others cast themselves in great multitudes into the churches; those apprehending some malign and dangerous influence, and these believing that they were come to their last day, and that the eclipse would shake the foundations of nature, and

overturn

overturn it, notwithstanding any thing that the Gassendi's, Robervals, and many other famous philosophers could say or write against this persuasion, when they demonstrate, that this eclipse was of the same nature with so many others that had preceded without any mischief, and that it was a known accident, foreseen and ordinary, which had nothing peculiar, but what some cheating astrological mountebank might have devised.

That which I saw at Dehli seemed also very considerable to me, by reason of the ridiculous errors and superstitions of the Indians. At the time when the said eclipse was to appear, I went up to the terrass of my house, which was situate on the side of the river Gemna, thence I saw both sides of the river, for near a league in length, covered with the heathen idolaters, that stood in the water up to their girdle, demurely looking up into the sky, to the end that they might plunge and wash themselves at the moment when the eclipse should begin. The little boys and girls were stark naked; the men were almost so too, but that they had a scarf round their thighs to cover their nakedness: and the married women, together with the young maids that were not above six or seven years old, were covered with a single cloth. Persons of condition, as the Rajahs, or sovereign princes of those Gentiles, (who commonly are about the person and in the pay of the king,) and the Serrahs or exchangers, the bankers, jewellers, and other great merchants, were most of them gone to the other side of the water with all their family, and had there put up their tents, and fastened in the river certain kanates, which are a kind of skreens, to perform their ceremonies, and conveniently to wash themselves with their wives, so as not to be seen by others. These idolaters no sooner saw the eclipse begin, but they raised a great cry, and all at once plunged themselves wholly into the water, I know not how many times one after another; standing up afterwards in the water and lifting up their eyes and hands to heaven, muttering and praying with great devotion, and from time to time taking water with their hands, which they threw up towards the sun, bowing down their heads very low, moving and turning their arms and hands sometimes one way, sometimes another, and thus continuing their plunging, praying and apishness unto the end of this eclipse; at which time every one retired, casting some pieces of silver a good way off into the water, and giving alms to the Brachmans or men of the law, who failed not to be at that ceremony. I took notice, that at their going out of the water, they all took new clothes that were laid ready for them folded up on the sand, and that many of the devouter sort left there their old garments for the Brachmans. And in this manner did I see from my terrass this great solemnity of the eclipse; which was celebrated after the same manner in the river Indus and Ganges, and in all the other rivers, as also in the receivers of waters in the Indies, but especially in that of the Tanaiser, where were met together above an hundred and fifty thousand persons, come together from all parts of the Indies, because the water of it is on that day reputed more holy and efficacious than on any other.

The Great Mogol, though he be a Mahometan, suffers these heathens to go on in these old superstitions, because he will not, or dareth not cross them in the exercise of their religion, and besides it is not performed without presenting him, by the hands of the Brachmans as commissioners, a lecque or an hundred thousand rupies, which are worth above fifty thousand crowns, for which he returns nothing but a few vests and an old elephant. Now you shall see those solid reasons (forsooth) which they alledge for this feast, and for the ceremonies by them observed in it.

We have (say they) our four Beths, that is, books of the law, sacred and divine writings, given us by God through the hands of Bramha. These books do teach us, that a certain Deuta, which is a kind of corporeal divinity very malign and mischievous, very black and

very

very filthy (these are their own expressions in their language) seizeth on the sun, blackens it as it were with ink, and so darkens it: that this sun, which is also a Deuta, but of the best and the most beneficent and perfect divinities, is at that time in very great pains and terrible anguish, to see himself thus seized on and misused by that black villain: that it is a general duty to endeavour to deliver him from this miserable condition; which cannot be effected but by the force of prayers, washings and alms, and that these actions are of a very extraordinary merit, to such a degree, that an alms given at that time is worth an hundred given at another. Who is there, say they, that would not give cent per cent?

Sir, these are the two eclipses I spoke of, which I shall hardly ever forget, and which minister occasion to me to proceed to some other extravagancies of these Gentiles, when you may draw what consequences you shall please.

In the town of Jagannat, which is seated upon the gulf of Bengala, and where is that famous temple of the idol of the same name, there is yearly celebrated a certain feast which lasts eight or nine days, if I remember well. There is found an incredible number of people, as there was antiently in the temple of Hammon, and as it is at this day at Mecca. This number, it is said, amounts sometimes to above an hundred and fifty thousand persons. They make a stately engine of wood, as I have seen of them in many other places of the Indies, with I know not how many extravagant figures, almost such as we are wont to paint monsters with two heads or bodies, half man and half beast, or gigantic and terrible heads, satyrs, apes or devils; which engine is put upon fourteen or sixteen wheels, such as the carriages of cannons may be, which fifty or sixty persons more or less do draw, or thrust forwards: upon the middle of it appears most conspicuously the idol Jagannat, richly dressed and adorned, which is thus transported from one place to another.

The first day that they shew this idol with ceremony in the temple the crowd is usually so great to see it, that there is not a year, but some of those poor pilgrims, that come a-far off, tired and harrassed, are suffocated there; all the people blessing them for having been so happy, as to die on so holy an occasion. And when this hellish triumphant chariot marcheth, there are found (which is no fable) persons so foolishly credulous and superstitious as to throw themselves with their bellies under those large and heavy wheels, which bruise them to death, having suffered themselves to be persuaded, that there is no action so heroic nor so meritorious as that, and that Jagannat will at the same time receive them as his children, and cause them to be born again in a state of felicity and glory.

The Brachmans for their particular advantage and interest, I mean that of alms and respect given to them as persons devoted to these mysteries, do entertain the people in these errors and superstitions, and they proceed even to such infamous cheats and villanies, that I could never have believed them, if I had not fully informed myself of it.

These impostors take a young maid, of the fairest they can meet with, to be the bride (as they speak, and bear the besotted people in hand,) of Jagannat, and they leave her all night in the temple (whither they have carried her,) with the idol, making her believe that Jagannat himself will come and embrace her, and appointing her to ask him, whether it will be a fruitful year, what kind of processions, feasts, prayers and alms he demands to be made for it. In the mean time one of these lustful priests enters at night by a little back-door into the temple, deflowereth this young maid, and maketh her believe any thing he pleaseth; and the next day, being transported from this temple into another with the same magnificence, she was carried before upon the chariot of triumph on the side of Jagannat her bridegroom; these Brahmans make her

her ſay, and before all the people, whatſoever ſhe had been taught of theſe cheats, as if ſhe had learnt it from the very mouth of Jagannat. But let us go on (if you pleaſe), to follies of another kind.

Before this chariot and often in the very temples of the idols, on feſtival days, you ſhall ſee public women dance, making an hundred indecent and extravagant poſtures; and yet the Brahmans find a way to accord all that with their religion. I have ſeen ſome women, that are not only famous for their beauty, but alſo for great reſervedneſs, which refuſed very conſiderable preſents of certain Mahometans and Chriſtians, and even of heathen ſtrangers, as if they were only dedicated to the miniſtry and the miniſters of Deuta, or the idol temple, to the Brahmans and theſe Fakires, which are there ſeated moſt of them upon aſhes round about, altogether naked with their fearful hair of Megera, and in the poſture I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter. But let us ſtay no longer upon theſe follies.

There are ſo many writers of voyages relating the cuſtom of the Indian women, burning themſelves with their huſbands, that I think ſomething at laſt will be believed of it. For my part I am going to take my turn alſo, and to write to you of it like others; yet in the mean time obſerving withal, that it is not all true what is ſaid of it, and that now they do not burn themſelves in ſo great a number as formerly, becauſe the Mahometans, that bear ſway at preſent in Indoſtan, are enemies to that barbarous cuſtom, and hinder it as much as they can; not oppoſing it abſolutely, becauſe they are willing to leave their idolatrous people, who are far more numerous than themſelves, in the free exerciſe of their religion, for fear of ſome revolt. But by indirectly preventing it, in that they oblige the women, ready to burn themſelves, to go and aſk permiſſion of the reſpective governors, who ſend for them, make converſe with their own women, remonſtrate things to them with annexed promiſes, and never give them this permiſſion, but after they have tried all theſe gentle ways, and till they find them fixed in their ſottiſh reſolution, which yet hinders not but that many burn themſelves, eſpecially of thoſe that live upon the lands of the Rajas, where no Mahometan governors are. I ſhall not ſtay to give you the hiſtory of all thoſe, which I have ſeen burn themſelves, that would be too long, and too tedious.—I ſhall only relate unto you two or three examples of them, whence you may judge of the reſt; but firſt you ſhall have the relation of a woman, which I was ſent unto to divert her from ſuch a miſchievous deſign.

A friend of mine called Bendidas, the firſt clerk of my Aga Danech-mend-kan, died of an hectick, having been treated by me above two years. His wife immediately reſolved to burn herſelf, together with the body of her huſband; but her parents, by the order of my Agah, whoſe ſervants they were, endeavoured to diſſuade her from it, repreſenting to her, that though it were indeed a generous and laudable reſolution, and would be a great honour and happineſs in the family, yet ſhe ought to conſider, that her children were yet little, that ſhe could not abandon them, and that ſhe was to prefer their good, and the affection ſhe had for them, to the love ſhe had for her huſband, and to her own ſatisfaction. Theſe parents not having been able to prevail with her by all theſe repreſentments, bethought themſelves to deſire me to go to her, as ſent from my Agah, and as an antient friend to the family. I went and when I came, I did, as ſoon as I came in, ſee a cluſter of ſeven or eight fearful old women, together with four or five infatuated and brain-ſick Brahmans, who all cried by turns, beating their hands about the dead corps, and the widow in her looſe hair, looking pale, yet with dry and ſparkling eyes, ſitting and crying alſo aloud, and beating her hands, as the reſt, with a kind of cadency, upon the feet of her huſband. The out-cry and noiſe being ended, I approached to this company of people, and addreſſing myſelf to the widow

widow, I gave her softly to understand, that I came from Danechmend-kan; that he had appointed a monthly pension of two crowns to each of her two sons, but on condition that she should not burn herself, to the end that she might take care of them, and breed them up as was fit; that else we knew ways enough to hinder her from burning herself, if she were obstinate for it, and to make those repent that should allure and incite her to such an unreasonable resolution, especially since none of her kindred was satisfied with it, and that she would not be counted infamous, as those are that want the resolution to burn themselves after the death of their husbands, when they have no children. I often inculcated to her all these considerations, without hearing a word of answer from her; though at last she said, looking fiercely upon me: Well, if I am hindered to burn myself, I am resolved to break my head against the wall. Then said I to myself, what diabolical fury doth possess thee? And to her I answered, full of indignation: Then take thy children, thou unhappy creature, and cut their throats, and burn them with thee; for they will be starved, I being now ready to return to Danechmend-kan, and to annul their pension. These words being spoken by me, with the loudest and most menacing tone I could, made impression upon the spirit of this woman, and upon that of all the assistants: she presently, without any repartee, let her head sink down upon her knees, and most of the old women and Brahmans went away. Whereupon her relations, that were come with me, entered and parleyed with her. And I, thinking I had done enough, took horse and came away to my lodgings, supposing they would do the rest well enough. In short, about evening, when I was going to give an account to my Agah of what I had done, I met with her parents, who thanked me, and said, that the dead corps had been burnt, and the widow persuaded to remain alive.

Concerning the women that have actually burned themselves, I have so often been present at such dreadful spectacles, that at length I could endure no more to see it, and I retain still some horror when I think on it. Yet I shall represent to you some of them but pretend not to express to the life, with what courage and resolution these poor women achieved such a direful tragedy; for there is nothing but the eye itself that can exhibit a right idea thereof.

When I was passing from Amad-avad to Agra, over the lands of the Rajas, that are in those parts, there came news to us in a borough, where the caravan rested under the shade (staying for the cool of the evening to march on their journey) that a certain woman was then upon the point of burning herself with the body of her husband. I presently rose and ran to the place where it was to be done, which was a great pit, with a pile of wood raised in it, whereon I saw laid a dead corps, and a woman which at a distance seemed to me pretty fair, sitting near it on the same pile, besides four or five Brahmans, putting the fire to it from all sides; five women of a middle age, and well enough dressed, holding one another by the hand, and dancing about the pit, and a great crowd of people, men and women looking on. The pile of wood was presently all on fire, because store of oil and butter had been thrown upon it, and I saw at the same time through the flames, that the fire took hold of the cloaths of the woman, that were inbued with well scented oils, mingled with powder of santal and saffron. All this I saw, but observed not that the woman was at all disturbed; yea, it was said, that she had been heard to pronounce with great force these two words, *Five*, *Two*, to signify, according to the opinion of those that hold the soul's transmigration, that this was the fifth time she had burnt herself with the same husband, and that there remained but two times for perfection; as if she had at that time this remembrance, or some prophetical spirit. But here ended not this infernal tragedy: I thought it was only by way of ceremony, that

that these five women sung and danced about the pit; but I was altogther surprized, when I saw, that the flame having taken hold of the cloaths of one of them, she cast herself with her head foremost into the pit, and that, after her, another, being overcome by the flame and smoke, did the like: and my astonishment redoubled afterwards, when I saw, that the remaining three took one another again by the hand, continued their dance without any apparent fear, and that at length they precipitated themselves, one after another into the fire, as their companions had done. It troubled me sufficiently, that I knew not what that meant, but I learnt shortly after, that these had been five slaves, who, having seen their mistress extremely afflicted at the sickness of her husband, and heard her promise him that she would not survive him, but burn herself with him, were so touched with compassion and tenderness towards this their mistress, that they engaged themselves in a promise to follow her in her resolution, and to burn themselves with her. Many persons, whom I then consulted about this custom of women burning themselves with the bodies of their husbands would persuade me, that what they did was from an excess of affection they had for them: but I understood afterwards, that it was only an effect of opinion, prepossession and custom; and that the mothers, from their youth, besotted with this superstition, as of a most virtuous and most laudable action, such as was unavoidable to a woman of honour, did also infatuate the spirit of their daughters from their very infancy; although at the bottom, it was nothing else but an art of the men the more to enslave their wives, thereby to make them have the more care of their health, and to prevent poisoning of them.

But let us proceed to another tragedy, which I shall rather represent to you than many others, at which I have been present, because it hath something uncommon in it. It is true, I was not there myself, but you may do as I do, who do not stand out against crediting these things, because I have seen so many of them which seemed incredible to me. This action is grown so famous in the Indies, that nobody doubts of it, and it may be, that even yourself have already heard of it in Europe.

It is of a woman that was engaged in some love-intrigues with a young Mahometan her neighbour, that was a taylor, and could play finely upon the tabor. This woman in the hopes she had of marrying this young man, poisoned her husband, and presently came away to tell her taylor, that it was time to be gone together as they had projected, or else she should be obliged to burn herself. The young man fearing lest he might be entangled in a mischievous business, flatly refused her. The woman not at all surprized at it, went to her relations, and advertised them of the sudden death of her husband, and openly protested that she would not survive him, but burn herself with him. Her kindred well satisfied with so generous a resolution, and the great honour she did to the whole family, presently had a pit made, and filled with wood, exposing the corps upon it, and kindling the fire. All being prepared, the woman goes to embrace and bid farewel to all her kindred that were there about the pit, among whom was also the taylor, who had been invited to play upon the tabor that day, with many others of that sort of men, according to the custom of the country. This fury of a woman being also come to this young man, made as if she would bid him farewel with the rest, but instead of gently embracing him, she taketh him with all her force about his collar, pulls him to the pit, and tumbleth him together with herself into the ditch, where they both were soon dispatched.

She which I saw burn herself, when I parted from Surat to travel into Persia, in the presence of Monsieur Chardin of Paris, and of many English and Dutch, was of a middle age, and not unhandsome. To represent unto you the undaunted chearfulness that appeared in her countenance, the resolution with which she marched, washed herself,

ſelf, ſpoke to the people; the confidence with which ſhe looked upon us, viewed her little cabin, made up of very dry millet-ſtraw and ſmall wood, went into this cabin and ſat down upon the pile, and took her huſband's head into her lap, and a torch into her own hand, and kindled the cabin, whilſt I know not how many Brahmans were buſy in kindling the fire round about. To repreſent to you, I ſay, all this as it ought, is not poſſible for me, I can at preſent ſcarce believe it myſelf, though it be but a few days ſince I ſaw it.

'Tis true, that I have ſeen ſome of them, which at the ſight of the pile and fire, appeared to have ſome apprehenſion, and that perhaps would have gone back, but 'tis often too late: thoſe demons the Brahmans, that are there with their great ſticks, aſtoniſh them, and hearten them up, or even thruſt them in, as I have ſeen it done to a young woman that retreated five or ſix paces from the pile, and to another that was much diſturbed when ſhe ſaw the fire take hold of her cloaths, theſe executioners thruſting her in with their long poles. Yet I have often ſeen one, that is ſtill a handſome woman and had ſaved herſelf out of their hands, falling into the hands of the Gadous, that ſometimes met there in great numbers, when they know that it is ſome fair and young woman that is to be burnt, and that hath no great kindred, nor much company with her for the women that are afraid of the pile, and fly away from it, knowing that they cannot be received again amongſt the Gentiles, nor live with them, becauſe they repute them infamous, after they have committed ſuch a fault, and brought ſuch a diſgrace upon their religion, ſuch women, I ſay, are ordinarily a prey of this kind of men, who are alſo counted infamous in the Indies, and that have nothing to loſe. A Mogolian durſt not ſave nor receive any, for fear of bringing himſelf into great trouble. Some Portugueze living in ſea-ports, where they were ſtrongeſt, have ſometimes carried away ſome of them For my part, I have often been ſo enraged againſt thoſe Brahmans, that if I durſt, I had ſtrangled them. I remember among others, that at Lahor, I ſaw a very handſome and a very young woman burnt I believe ſhe was not above twelve years of age. This poor unhappy creature appeared rather dead than alive, when ſhe came near the pile, ſhe ſhook, and wept bitterly: mean time three or four of theſe executioners, the Brahmans, together with an old hag that held her under the arm, thruſt her on, and made her ſit down upon the wood, and leſt ſhe ſhould run away, they tied her legs and hands, and ſo burnt her alive I had enough to do to contain myſelf for indignation, but I was forced to content myſelf with deteſting this horrid religion, and to ſay by myſelf, what the poet once ſaid of ſuch another, upon the occaſion of Iphigenia, whom her own father Agamemnon ſacrificed to Diana for the intereſt of the Grecians, amongſt whom he was one of the principal leaders.

——*Tantum religio potuit ſuadere malorum!*

Theſe are certainly very barbarous and cruel cuſtoms, but that which the Brahmans do in ſome other places of the Indies is yet more ſo for inſtead of burning thoſe women that will die upon the death of their huſbands, they bury them to the ground alive up to the very throat, and then two or three of them fall at once upon them and wring their neck round, and ſo choak them, covering them quickly with ſome earth, and then marching over their heads. But let us paſs to ſome other cuſtoms of thoſe countries.

Moſt of the Gentiles burn their dead, but ſome there are, that do no more than with ſome ſtraw broil them on a river's ſide, caſting them thereupon from the height of a ſteep bank into the water, which I have often ſeen upon the river Ganges.

 Some

Some of these Gentiles there are, who, when they perceive a sick person near death, carry him to the side of a river, (at which barbarous action I have been once present) and then first put his feet into the water, and afterwards let him slide down as to his throat, and then, when they think he is now expiring, they sink him quite under water, and there leave him, after they have made a great clamour, and clapping with their hands and this, say they, to the end that the soul leaving the body may be washed from all the impurities she may have contracted in the body. And this is not only a reason given by the vulgar, for I have spoken with the most learned of them, who delivered the same with great seriousness. But let us go on to other extravagancies

Amongst that vast number and great variety of Fakires, Derviches, or religious Heathens of the Indies, there is abundance of them that have convents, in which there are superiors, and wherein they make certain vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, leading so odd a life, that I doubt whether you can give credit to it These are commonly called Jaguis, as if you should say, united to God. You shall see many of them sit stark naked, or lie days and nights upon ashes, and, commonly enough, under some of those large trees that are on the sides of the Talabs or ponds, or else in those galleries that are about their Deuras or idol-temples Some of them have their hair hanging down to the middle of their legs, and that wreathed into several parcels, as the large main of our barbes, or rather, as the hair of those that have the sickness of Poland, called the plica Of these I have seen some in divers places, who held one arm, and sometimes both, lifted up perpetually above their heads, and that had at the end of their fingers wreathed nails, that were longer by measure than half my little finger. Their arms were small and lean, as of heretical persons, because they took not sufficient nourishment in that forced posture, and they could not let them down to take any thing with them, either meat or drink, because the nerves were retired, and the joints were filled and dried up, wherefore also they have young novices, that serve them as holy men with very great respect. There is no Megara in hell so terrible to look on, as those men are, all naked, with their black skin, long hair, dried arms, and in the posture mentioned, and with crooked nails.

I have often met in the field, especially upon the lands of the Rajas, whole squadrons of these Faquires, altogether naked, dreadful to behold. Some held their arms lifted up in the posture mentioned, others had their terrible hair hanging about them, or else they had wreathed them about their head, some had a kind of Hercules's club in their hand, others had dry and stiff tyger-skins over their shoulders. I saw them pass thus quite naked, without any shame, through the midst of a great borough I admired how men, women, and children could look upon them so indifferently, without being moved no more than if we should see pass some Eremite through our streets; and how the women brought them alms with much devotion, taking them for very holy men, much wiser and better than others

I have seen, for a long while, a very famous one in Dehli, called Sarmet, who went thus stark naked along the streets, and who at length would rather suffer his neck to be cut off, than to put on any cloaths, what promises or menaces soever Aureng-Zebe might send to him.

I have seen many of them, who out of devotion went long pilgrimages, not only altogether naked, but charged with iron chains, like those that are put about the legs of elephants. Others, who, out of a particular vow, stood for seven or eight days upright upon their legs, which thereupon swelled as big as their thighs, without sitting

or

or lying down, or without repofing themfelves otherwife than by leaning fome hours of the night upon a ftretched cord, others, who ftood for whole hours upon their hands without wavering, the head down, and the feet upward. and fo of many other forts of poftures fo conftrained, and fo difficult, that we have no tumbler able to imitate them, and all this, it feems upon the account of religion, of which yet there appears not the leaft fhadow in it.

All thefe fo extraordinary things did (to tell you the truth) exceedingly furprize me at firft, I knew not what to fay or think of it. Sometimes I looked upon them as a remainder, or rather as the authors of that ancient and infamous fect of the Cynicks, but only that I found nothing in them, but brutality and ignorance, and that they feemed to me a kind of trees, fomewhat moving from one place to another, rather than rational animals Another time I confidered them as men altogether enthufiaftical, though as I lately faid, I could not find any fhadow of true piety in all they did. Sometimes I thought, that this lazy, idle, and independent life of beggars might have fomething attractive in it Sometimes I imagined that the vanity, which creeps in every where, and which is as often found under the patched mantle of Diogenes, as under the comely garment of Plato, there might lurk that fpring, which might fet a going fo many engines, and then reflecting withal upon the miferable and auftere life they led, I knew not what judgment to make of them.

It is true, that many fay, that they do not exercife thefe ftrange aufterities but in the hopes they entertain of becoming Rajas in their renafcence, or of returning again in a more happy life. But, as I have often told them to their faces, how is it poffible for any man to refolve upon fuch a miferable life from the hope of another, that is to be no longer, and hath alfo, in the upfhot, but very little happinefs in it, though one fhould return a Raja, or even a Jeffeingue or a Jeffomfeingue, which are the two moft puiffant Rajas of the Indies? There muft needs, faid I, lye fomething elfe under it, which you have no mind to difcover to us, or you muft be arrant fools

Amongft thofe, I have been fpeaking of, there are fuch that are believed to be true faints, illuminated and perfect Janguis, entirely united to God. Thefe are people that have altogether abandoned the world, and fequeftered themfelves into fome very remote corner or garden, like Eremites, without ever coming to town. If you carry them any meat they receive it, if they do not, it is believed they can live without it, and fubfift by the fole favour of God in perpetual fafting, prayer, and profound meditations for they fink themfelves fo deep in thefe raptures, that they fpend many hours together in being infenfible, and beholding in that time. as they give out, God himfelf, like a bright and ineffable light, with an unexpreffible joy and fatisfaction, attended with an entire contempt and forfaking of the world for thus much one of them that pretended he could enter into this rapture when he pleafed, and had been often in it, told me, and others that are about them, affirm the thing with fo much ferioufnefs, that they feem to believe in earneft, as if there were no impofture in it. God alone knows whether there be any truth in it, and whether in this folitude and fafting the imagination debilitated, may not fuffer itfelf to be carried away into thefe illufions or whether they be not of that kind of natural raptures, into which Cardan faid he fell when he lifted, and this the rather, becaufe I fee, there is ufed fome art in what they do, forafmuch as they prefcribe to themfelves certain rules, by little and little to bind up their fenfes: for they fay, for example, that after they have fafted many days, ufing nothing but bread and water, it is requifite firft to keep themfelves alone, retired from all company, directing the eyes fteadily towards heaven for a while, when gently

cafting

casting them down again, and then fixing them both so as to look at one and the same time upon the tip of the nose equally, and as much on one side as the other (which is troublesome enough) and remaining firm and intent in that posture, until such a light do come. Whatever the matter be, I know, that these raptures, and these ways of falling into them, make the great mystery of the Cabala of the Janguis, as the Soufys do also. I call it mystery, because they keep it very secret amongst them, and if it had not been for this Pendet or Indian doctor, to whom Danechmend-kan gave a pension, and who durst hide nothing from him; and if also Danechmend-kan had not known the mysteries of the Cabala of the Soufys, I should not have discovered so much of it. I know besides, that as for the extremity of poverty, of fastings, and austerities, that also can do much of it. We must not think (or I am much deceived) that any of our religious friars or Eremites go in this point beyond those men, nor generally beyond all the Asiatic monks; witness the life and fastings of the Armenians, Copthes, Grecks, Nestorians, Jacobites and Maronites. We must rather avow, that we are but novices, when compared with those religious men. But then we must also acknowledge, according to what I have experimented, in respect of those of the Indies, that they can much more easily bear hunger than we can in our colder climates

There are others very different from those, but very strange men likewise; they are almost perpetually travelling up and down, they deride all, take care of nothing, men that brag of secrets, and who, as the people say, know no less than to make gold, and so admirably to prepare Mercury, that a grain or two of it taken every morning restoreth the body to perfect health, and so strengthens the stomach, that it feeds greedily and digests with ease. This is not all When two of these Janguis, that are eminent, do meet, and you stir them up in the point and power of their knowledge of Janguisme, you shall see them do such tricks out of spight to one another, that I know not whether Simon Magus could have outdone them For they divine what one thinketh, make the branch of a tree blossom and bear fruit in less than an hour, hatch eggs in their bosom in less than half a quarter of an hour, and bring forth such birds as you demand, which they make fly about the chamber, and many other such prodigies. I mean, if what is said of them be true; for I remember, that one day my Agah sent for one of these famous diviners, and when he was come, agreed with him to give him the next day 300 rupees, which is about 150 crowns, if he should tell him, as he said he would, his present thought, which he was to write before him upon a paper As also, that I myself made a bargain with the same, to give him 25 rupies, if he should divine mine; but the prophet failed us, as also did at another time one of those pretended producers of birds, to whom I had also promised 20 rupies I am still to be understood, if it be true what is said of them. For, as for me, I am with all my curiosity none of those happy men, that are present at, and see those great feats, and if I should chance to see any of such things as are thought strange, I am always considering and seeking, whether the thing may not be done by some juggle, art, or trick of leger-de-main and I am sometimes even so unhappy, or, if you will, so fortunate, as to find out the cheat, as I did, that made a cup run, to discover who it was, that had stolen money from my Agah.

Lastly, there are some in many places, that are quite of another way than all those I have discoursed of. Their life and their devotion is more meek and more polished, they go over the streets bare foot and bare-headed, girt about with a scarf hanging down to their knees, and having a white sheet which passeth under their right arm, and comes out over their left shoulder like a cloak, without other cloaths under it. They are always very clean and neat in all things, and commonly go two and two together with

with great modesty, holding in their hand a small earthen trevet, with two handles, very neat. They do not go gossipping from shop to shop, as many of the other Fakires do. They go freely every where into the houses of the Gentiles, where they are welcome, and much made of, they being esteemed a blessing to the house. They are by no means to be accused of any thing; though it be well enough known, what in such visits among the women passeth: But it is the custom, they are in possession of being saints for all that, and any house thinks itself honoured with their visit. But it is not only there so; many other places there be in the world, where things are not so strictly looked to. But that which I find most ridiculous in those people is, that they are impertinent enough to compare themselves with our religious men they meet with in the Indies. I have often taken pleasure to catch them, using much ceremony with them, and giving them great respect; but I soon heard them say to one another: This Franguis knows who we are, he hath been a great while in the Indies, he knows that we are the Padrys of the Indians. A fine comparison, said I within myself, made by an impertinent and idolatrous rabble of men!

But we stay too long upon these heathen beggars: Let us go on to their books of law and sciences, you may afterwards judge, whether most of what I am going to say of it may be put, as I think it may, in the number of extravagancies.

Do not wonder, if, though I know not the Hanscrit, the language of the learned (of which somewhat may be said hereafter, and which is perhaps the same with that of the old Brachmans) do notwithstanding tell you many things taken out of books written in that tongue. For you must know, that my Agah Danechmend-kan, partly upon my solicitation, partly out of his own curiosity, took into his service one of the famousest Pendets that was in all the Indies, and that formerly had had a pension of Dara, the eldest son of king Chah-Jehan, and that this Pendet, besides that he drew to our house all the most learned Pendets, was for three years constantly of my conversation. When I was weary of explaining to my Agah those late discoveries of Harvey and Pecquet in anatomy, and of discoursing with him of the philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes, which I translated to him into Persian (for that was my chief employment for five or six years) that Pendet was our refuge, and then he was obliged to discourse, and to relate unto us his stories, which he delivered seriously, and without ever smiling. It is true, that at last we were so much disgusted with his tales and uncouth reasonings, that we scarce had patience left to hear them.

They say then, that God, whom they call Achar, that is to say, immoveable or immutable, hath sent them four Books, which they call Beths, a word signifying science, because they pretend that in these books all sciences are comprehended. The first of these books is called Athen-babed, the second Zager-bed, the third Rek-bed, the fourth Sama-bed. Conform to the doctrine of these books, this people ought to be distinguished, as really they are, into four tribes. the first is of Brahmans, men of the law, the second, of Quetterys, men of arms, the third, men of Bescue, or traffick, commonly called Banians; and the fourth, men of Seydra, that is handycraftsmen and labourers. And these are so discriminated, that those of one tribe cannot marry into another; that is, a Brahman cannot marry with a woman Quettery, and so of the rest.

They all agree in one doctrine, which is that of Pythagoras concerning the Metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, and in this, that they must not kill or eat of any animal. However, there are some of the second tribe that may eat of them, provided it be neither cow's nor peacock's-flesh, they all having a great veneration for these two creatures,

creatures, eſpecially the cow, becauſe they fancy I know not what river lying between this life and that to come, which they are to paſs by holding themſelves faſt on a cow's tail. Poſſibly their ancient legiſlators had ſeen thoſe ſhepherds of Egypt croſſing the Nile, by holding with their left-hand the tail of an ox, and in their right-hand a ſtick to guide him with; or rather they have imprinted in them this reſpect for cows, becauſe they draw from them milk and butter, which is a great part of their ſubſiſtence, and becauſe alſo they are ſo ſerviceable for the plough, and conſequently for the life of man; and that the rather, becauſe it is not ſo in the Indies as in our parts, for maintaining ſo great a number of cattle as we do: if but half as many of them ſhould be killed in the Indies, as there are in England or France, the country would quickly be deſtitute of them, and the land remain untilled. The heat there is ſo violent for eight months of the year, that all is dry, and oxen and cows are often ſtarved, or die of eating traſh in the fields like hogs. And it is upon the account of the ſcarcity of cattle, that in the time of Jehan-Guyre the Brahmans obtained an edict, that no cattle ſhould be killed for a certain number of years, and that of late they preſented a petition to Aurenge-Zebe, and offered him a conſiderable ſum, if he would make the like prohibition. They remonſtrated, that for fifty or ſixty years paſt, much land had remained unploughed, becauſe the oxen and cows were become too ſcarce and too dear. It may be alſo, that theſe law-givers conſidered, that cows and ox-fleſh in the Indies is not very ſavoury nor wholeſome, unleſs it be for a little time in winter, during the cooler ſeaſon: or laſtly, that they would take the people off from mutual cruelty, (to which they were too much inclined) by obliging them, as by a maxim of religion, to exerciſe humanity to the very beaſts, and by making them believe, that killing or eating an animal, it might happen that they did kill or eat one of their grandſires, which would be an horrid crime.

According to the doctrine of theſe Beths, they are obliged to ſay their prayers at leaſt thrice every day, in the morning, at noon, and at night, with their face turned to the eaſt. They are alſo bound to waſh their whole body thrice, or at leaſt before they eat; and they believe, that it is more meritorious to waſh themſelves in running water than in any other. And it may be, that the legiſlators in this point alſo have had a reſpect to what is proper and convenient for this country, where nothing is more deſirable than waſhing and bathing. And they find it troubleſome enough to obſerve this law, when they are in cold countries. I have ſeen ſome of them that were like to die, because they would there alſo obſerve their law of waſhing their body by plunging themſelves into rivers or ponds, when they found any near, or by throwing whole buckets of water over their heads, when they were remote from them. When I told them, upon occaſion, that in cold countries it would not be poſſible to obſerve that law of theirs in winter (which was a ſign of its being a mere human invention) they gave this pleaſant anſwer: that they pretended not their law was univerſal, that God had only made it for them, and it was therefore that they could not receive a ſtranger into their religion, that they thought not our religion was therefore falſe, but that perhaps it was good for us, and that God might have appointed ſeveral differing ways to go to heaven, but they will not hear that our religion ſhould be the general religion for the whole earth; and theirs a fable and pure device.

Theſe ſame books do teach them, that God having determined to create the world, would not execute it immediately, but made firſt three perfect beings: the firſt was Brahma, which ſignifies penetrating into all things; the ſecond Beſchen, that is, exiſting in all things; and the third Mehahden, that is, great lord. That by the means of Brahma he created the world, by the means of Beſchen he preſerveth it, and by the means

means of Mehahden he will destroy it. That it is Brahma, who by the command of God did publish the four Beths, and that therefore he is in some of their churches represented with four heads.

As to those three Beings, I have seen some European missionaries that were of opinion, that these Gentiles had some idea of the Trinity; and said, it was expresly contained in their books, that there are three persons and one only God. For my part, I have made the Pendets sufficiently discourse upon this point, but they declare themselves so poorly, that I could not clearly understand their sense. I have even heard some of them, who said, that these are three creatures very perfect, which they called Deutas, yet without explaining well what they understood by this word Deutas; as our ancient idolaters never explained what they meant by these words Genius and Numina, which is (I think) the same with Deuta among the Indians. 'Tis true, that I have spoken with others of the most knowing amongst them, who said, that these three Beings were indeed nothing but one and the same God, considered three manner of ways, viz. as he is the producer, conservator, and destroyer of things; but they said nothing of three distinct persons in one only Deity.

Moreover, I have seen the reverend father Roa, a German Jesuit and missionary at Agra, who, being well versed in their Hanscrit, maintained that their books did not only import there was one God in three persons, but that even the second person of their Trinity was incarnated nine times. And that I may not be thought to ascribe to myself the writings of others, I shall relate unto you word for word, what a certain Carmelite of Chiras hath lighted upon, which he related when the above-mentioned father Roa passed that way to come back to Rome. The Gentiles (saith he) do hold, that the second person of the Trinity was incarnated nine times, and that because of divers necessities of the world, for whom he hath delivered it: but the eighth incarnation is the most notable, for they hold, that the world being enslaved under the power of giants, it was redeemed by the second person, incarnated and born of a virgin at midnight, the angels singing in the air, and the heavens pouring down a shower of flowers all that night. This favours much of Christianity: but then there follows a fable again, which is, that this God incarnate killed first of all a giant that flew in the air, and was so big as to obscure the sun, and by his fall to make the earth to shake, and that by his great weight he sunk as deep as hell, that this God incarnate being wounded in the side, in the first conflict with this giant, fell, but by his fall put his enemies to flight, that after he had raised himself again, and redeemed the world, he ascended into heaven, and that by reason of his wound, he is commonly called the Wounded in his Side. In the tenth incarnation, which shall then be, when according to our supputation Antichrist shall come, the world shall be delivered from the slavery of the Mahometans: but this is only a vulgar tradition, which is not found in their books.

They say also, that the third person of the Trinity hath manifested himself to the world; concerning which they relate, that the daughter of a certain king, being fit to be married, and asked by her father, whom she would marry, answered, that she would not be united but to a divine person, and that at the same time, the third person of the Trinity appeared to the King in the form of fire; that that King forthwith gave notice of it to his daughter, who presently consented to the marriage: that this person of the Trinity, though altogether in a fiery appearance, was called before the King's council, and seeing that the counsellors opposed this marriage, took hold of their beards and burned them, together with the whole royal palace, and then married the daughter. Ridiculous!

They add, that the first incarnation of the second person, was in the nature of a lion; the second, in that of a swine, the third in that of a tortoise; the fourth, in that of a serpent; the fifth, in that of Brahma, the dwarf, only a foot and a half high; the sixth, in that of a monster, a man-lion; the seventh in that of a dragon, the eighth, as hath been said already, the ninth, in an ape; the tenth, in that of a great cavalier.

Concerning this I shall acquaint you, that I doubt not but that the reverend father Roa, hath taken all he saith of this matter out of the books of the Gentiles, and that is the main ground of their mythology. I had written many things of it at large in my papers, and had also taken the figures of their gods or idols, which I had seen in their temples, having also got of them the characters of their language Hanscrit; but finding at my return all those things, or at least the best part of it, printed in the China Illustrata of father Kircher, who had obtained it at Rome from the same father Roa; I shall content myself to have named the book to you. 'Tis true, that the word Incarnation, which the reverend father useth, was new to me, having never seen it so expressly used; I had only heard some Pendets thus explaining the thing, viz. that God had formerly appeared in those figures, when he did all those wonders they relate. Others explained it to me after this manner, to wit, that it was the souls of certain great men, such as we call heroes, that had passed into these bodies, and that these heroes were thus become Deutas, or to speak in the phrase of our idolaters, some powerful and considerable divinities, Numen's, Genio's, Demons, Spirits; for I see not that this word Deuta can signify any other thing: but this second explication of the Pendets cometh in effect to the first, for as much as most of them believe that our souls are portions of God.

Others there were that gave me a much sublimer explication, saying, that all those incarnations and apparitions, which their books speak of, are not to be understood according to the letter, but mystically, forasmuch as thereby are explained the several attributes of God. Some there were, and those of the most learned, acknowledging to me candidly, that there was nothing more fabulous than those incarnations, and that they were only the inventions of legislators, to retain people in some religion: and though this were so, if there were nothing else but this, (which is common to them all) that our souls were portions of the Deity, it were to be exploded in sound philosophy, without making any mysteries in religion of it, seeing that in respect of our souls we should be God, and that in effect it should be ourselves that had imposed upon us a religious worship, metempsychoses, paradise and hell, which would be ridiculous.

I shall here add a few words, to declare that I am not less obliged to Monsieur Henry Lor, and to Monsieur Abraham Roger, than to the reverend fathers Kircher and Roa. I had compiled an hundred things relating to the Gentiles, which I found in the books of those gentlemen, and which would have been great trouble to me to range them as they have done. I shall therefore content myself to say something in general to you of their studies and sciences, not indeed in that good order which possibly you might expect, but just as I have learnt it, and as 'tis probably found in their books; I mean by fragments, and without coherence.

The town of Benares, which is seated upon the Ganges in a very fine and rich country and place, is the general school, and as it were the Athens of the gentry of the Indies, where the Brachmans and the Religious (those that addict themselves to study) come together. They have no colleges nor classes ordered as with us; methinks, 'tis more after the way of the school of the antients; the masters being dispersed over the town in their houses, and especially in the gardens of the suburbs, where the great merchants

merchants do suffer them. Of these masters some have four disciples; others, six or seven; and the most famous, twelve or fifteen at most, who spend ten or a dozen years with them. All this study goeth on very costly, because most Indians are of a slow and lazy humour, to which the heat and diet of the country contributes much; and because they are not animated to industry as we, by that great emulation, and by the great hopes we have of coming thereby to great preferment. They study leisurely, and without much tormenting themselves, eating their Kichery or mixture of legums, which the rich merchants cause to be dressed for them.

Their first study is of the Hanscrit, which is a language altogether different from the common Indian, and not known but by the Pendets. And this is that tongue, of which father Kircher hath published the alphabet received from father Roa. It is called Hanscrit, that is, a pure language; and because they believe this to be the tongue in which God, by the means of Brahma, gave them the four Beths, which they esteem sacred books; they call it an holy and divine language. They pretend also, that it is as ancient as Brahma, whose age they do not reckon but by Lecques, or hundred thousands of years. But I would gladly have a warrant for such an antiquity. However, it cannot be denied that 'tis very old, in regard that the books of their religion, which certainly is very ancient, are written in this tongue: and besides that, it hath its authors in philosophy and physick in verses, and some other poems, and many other books, of which I have seen a great hall quite full in Benares.

After they have learned the Hanscrit, (which is very difficult to them, because they have no grammar worth any thing) they commonly apply themselves to read the Purane, which is as it were the interpretation and sum of the Beths, which are very large, at least if those be they which were shewed me at Benares: and besides, they are so very rare, that my Agah could never find them to be sold, what industry soever he used in it. And they keep them very secret, for fear lest the Mahometans should lay their hands on them, and burn them, as they have already done several times.

After the Purane, some fall upon philosophy, wherein certainly they go not far. I have already intimated, that they are of a slow and lazy temper, and are not excited by the hopes to obtain some good place by their study.

Among their philosophers there have been principally six very famous, who make so many different sects, which causeth also a difference and emulation among the Pendets or doctors: for they know, that such a one is of this sect, another of another, and every one of them pretends his doctrine to be better than that of others, and more conform to the Beths. There is indeed another, a seventh sect, called Bauté, whence do proceed twelve other different sects; but this is not so common as the others, the votaries of it being hated and despised, as a company of irreligious and atheistical people, nor do they live like the rest.

All these books speak of the first principles of things, but very differently. Some say, that all is composed of little bodies that are indivisible, not by reason of their solidity, hardness and resistance, but smallness; adding divers things which approach to the opinions of Democritus and Epicurus, but with so much confusion that one knows not where to fasten, all seeming like a rope of sand; which yet may be as much, or more the fault of the Pendets, which seem to me very ignorant, than of the authors.

Others say, that all is made up of matter and form; but not one of them explains himself clearly about the matter, and less about the form. Yet so much I have found, that they understand them not at all, as they are wont to be explained in our schools, by educing the form out of the power of the matter; for they always alledge examples of things

[illegible] artificial, and [illegible] that of a [illegible] shapes divers [illegible]

Others [illegible] compoſed of four elements [illegible] all explain [illegible] concerning motion, and [illegible] thing, which comes near to our privation, they admit [illegible] many ſorts of them, which (I believe) they underſtand not at all, nor are [illegible] to others.

[illegible] are alſo ſome, that maintain light and darkneſs to be the [illegible] principles, and ſay a thouſand impertinent and confuſed things upon it, making long [illegible] diſcourſes, which favour nothing at all of philoſophy, but are like the talk of the vulgar.

Others there are that admit privation for the principle, or rather privations, which they diſtinguiſh from nothing, and of which they make long enumerations, ſo uſeleſs and little philoſophical, that I can ſcarce imagine them to be in their books, or that their authors could have entertained themſelves with ſuch uncouth things.

Laſtly, ſome of them do pretend that all is compoſed of accidents, of which alſo they make odd, long, and tedious enumerations, and ſuch as favour only ſome pettifogger, that can amuſe the common people.

Touching theſe principles in general, they all agree that they are eternal; our production out of nothing not having come (it ſeems) into their thoughts, as it hath neither to many others of the ancient philoſophers; yet they ſay, that there is one of them that hath touched ſomething of it.

As to phyſick, they have many little books, that are rather collections of receipts than any thing elſe; the moſt ancient and chief whereof is in verſe. I ſhall here tell you, that their practiſe is ſufficiently different from ours, and that they ground themſelves upon theſe principles; that one who is ſick of a fever, needs no great nouriſhment; that the main remedy of ſickneſſes is abſtinence: that nothing is worſe for a ſick body than fleſh-broth, nor which corrupts ſooner in the ſtomach of a feveriſh patient: that no blood is to be let but in great and evident neceſſity, as when you apprehend ſome tranſlation into the brain, or find ſome conſiderable part, as the cheſt, liver, kidneys, inflamed.

Whether this practice be better than ours, I leave to phyſicians to decide; but I ſee 'tis ſucceſsful among them. The ſame practice is not peculiar to the phyſicians of the Gentiles, but the Mogolian and Mahometan doctors, that follow Avicen and Averroes, do alſo very ſtrictly obſerve it, eſpecially as to meat-broths. 'Tis true that the Mogols are ſomewhat more prodigal of their blood than the Gentiles; for in thoſe ſickneſſes wherein they fear thoſe accidents lately ſpecified, they commonly let blood once or twice; but theſe are none of thoſe petty venteſections of the new invention of Goa and Paris, but they are of thoſe plentiful ones uſed by the ancients of 18 or 20 ounces of blood, which often come to a ſwooning, and frequently choak the diſeaſe in the very beginning, as Galen ſaith, and as I have often experienced.

Concerning anatomy, I may ſafely ſay, that the Gentiles underſtand nothing at all of it, and they can ſpeak nothing as to that ſubject but what is impertinent. Nor is it a wonder they are ſo ignorant in it, ſince they never open any body of man or beaſt: they do ſo much abhor it, that when I opened ſome living kids and ſheep before my Agah, to make him underſtand the circulation of the blood, and to ſhew him the Pecquetian veſſels, through which the chyle at laſt comes into one of the ventricles of the heart, they trembled for fear, and ran away. Yet notwithſtanding they affirm, that there are five thouſand veins in man, neither more nor leſs, as if they had well counted them all.

Touching aſtronomy, they have their tables, according to which they foreſee the eclipſes; and though they do not do it with that exactneſs as our European aſtronomers,

[illegible]

[illegible] the eclipſe of the moon, [illegible] is the [illegible], that black [illegible] and [illegible] Deuta [illegible] the moon and blacken her. They [illegible] about [illegible] above the ſun [illegible] lucid [illegible] and that it is the front whence we receive a certain vital water, which gathereth and diffuſeth itſelf in the brain, deſcending thence as from a ſource into all the members for their functions. Beſides this, they are of opinion, that the ſun and moon, and generally all ſtars are Deutas; that 'tis night when the ſun is behind the Someire, that imaginary mountain, which they place in the midſt of the earth, and make I know not how many thouſand leagues high, and to which they give the ſhape of an inverted ſugar-loaf; ſo that it is not day with them, but when the ſun gets out from behind this mountain.

In geography they have ſped no better. They believe the earth to be flat and triangular, and that it hath ſeven ſtories, all differing in beauty, perfection, and inhabitants; each of which is encompaſſed, they ſay, by its ſea; that of theſe ſeas one is milk, another of ſugar, the third of butter, the fourth of wine, and ſo forth; ſo that after one earth, there comes a ſea, and after a ſea an earth, and ſo on unto ſeven, beginning from Someire, which is in the midſt of the ſtories: that the firſt ſtory, which is at the foot of Someire, hath Deutas for its inhabitants, which are very perfect; that the ſecond contains likewiſe Deutas, but leſs perfect; and ſo the reſt, ſtill leſſening the perfection unto the ſeventh, which they ſay is ours, that is, of men far leſs perfect than all the Deutas; and laſtly, that this whole maſs is ſuſtained upon the heads of divers elephants, which, when they ſtir, cauſe an earthquake.

All theſe ſtrange impertinences, which I have had the patience to relate, have often made me think, that if they be thoſe famous ſciences of the ancient Brahmans of the Indies, very many have been deceived in the great opinion they entertained of them. For my part, I can hardly believe it, but that I find the religion of the Indians to be from immemorial times; that it is written in the language of Hanſcrit, which cannot be but very ancient, ſince its beginning is unknown, and 'tis a dead language, not underſtood but by the learned; that all their books are only written in that tongue: all which are as many marks of a very great antiquity. Let us now add a few words about the worſhip of their idols.

When I deſcended along the river Ganges, and paſſed through Banares, that famous ſchool of all the Indian gentility, I went to ſee the chief of the Pendets, who hath there his ordinary reſidence. This is a Fakire, or religious monk, ſo renowned for his knowledge, that Chah-Jehan, partly for his ſcience, partly to pleaſe the Rajas, gave him a penſion of 2000 rupies, that is, about a 1000 crowns. This was a big and proper man, goodly to look on; who for all his cloaths had nothing but a white ſilken ſcarf tied about his waiſt, and hanging down to the mid-leg with another red ſcarf about his ſhoulders, like a little cloak. I had often ſeen him, at Dehli, in this poſture before the King, in the aſſembly of all the Omrahs, and marching upon the ſtreets, ſometimes on foot, ſometimes in a palekey. I had alſo frequently ſeen, and many times converſed with him, when for a whole year together he conſtantly came to our conference before my Agah, whom he courted, that he might procure him again that penſion which Aureng-Zebe (being come to the crown), had taken from him, that he might appear a great Muſulman. In the viſit I made him at Banares, he was exceedingly courteous to me, and even gave me a collation in the library of his univerſity, attended with ſix of the moſt famous Pendets of the town. When I found myſelf in ſo good company, I prayed them all to tell me their ſenſe about the adoration of their idols, intimating to them,

them, that I was leaving the Indies, extremely scandalized upon that score; and reproaching them, that their worship was a thing against all reason, and altogether unworthy such scholars and philosophers as they were. Whereupon I received this answer:

"We have indeed" (said they) "in our deuras or temples store of divers statues, as those of Brahma, Mehaden, Genich and Gavani, who are some of the chief and the most perfect Deutas: and we have also many others of less perfection, to whom we pay great honour, prostrating ourselves before them, and presenting them flowers, rice, scented oils, saffron, and such other things, with much ceremony: but we do not believe these statues to be Brahma or Bechen, &c. themselves, but only their images and representations, and we do not give them that honour, but upon the account of what they represent. They are in our temples, because 'tis necessary for praying well, to have something before our eyes, that may fix the mind, and when we pray, it is not the statue we pray to, but he that is represented by it. For the rest, we acknowledge that 'tis God that is absolute, and the only omnipotent Lord and Master."

This is, without adding or subtracting any thing, the resolution they gave me. But, to tell you true, this seemed a little too much accommodated to our christianity, in respect of what I had learned of it from several other Pendets.

After this, I put them upon their chronology, where they pretended to shew me far higher antiquities than all ours. They will not say, that the world is eternal, but they make it so old, that I almost know not which is best. Its determined duration, say they, is of four Dgugue. This Dgugue is a certain determined number of years, as amongst us we have a seculum, (an age,) with this difference, that an age of ours contains only an hundred years, but their Dgugue is made up of an hundred Lecques, that is, an hundred times an hundred thousand years. I do not precisely remember the number total of the years of each Dgugue, but this I know very well, that the first, called Sate-Dgugue, is of twenty-five Lecques of years: that the second, which they call Trita, is of above twelve Lecques: the third, called Duaper, of eight Lecques, and sixty-four thousand years, if I remember well; and the fourth, called Kali-Dgugue, is of I know not how many Lecques. The three first, say they, and much of the fourth, are elapsed; so that the world shall not last so long as it hath done, because it is to perish at the end of the fourth, all things being then to return to their first principles. I made them compute again and again, to have their age of the world aright, but finding that that perplexed them, and that they agreed not among themselves about the number of the Lecques, I contented myself to see that they make the world exceeding old. But being pressed a little to make out this antiquity, they pay you with nothing but little stories, and at length come to this, that they find it so in their Beths, or the books of their law, given them by the hands of Brahma.

After this I urged them concerning the nature of their Deutas, of which I desired to be particularly instructed, but I received nothing but what was very confused. They said, that there were three sorts of them, good, evil, and indifferent ones, that were neither good nor bad, that some thought they were made of fire, others of light; others that they were Biapeck, of which word I could not get a clear explication; only they said, that God was Biapeck, and our soul was Biapeck, and what is Biapeck is incorruptible, and depends neither from time nor place: that others would have them to be nothing else but portions of the Deity; and lastly, that some there were, that made them certain kinds of divinities severed and dispensed over the world.

I remember, that I also put them upon the nature of the Lengue-cherire, which some

of their authors do admit · but I could obtain nothing else of it but what I had long since understood from our Pendet, which was, that the seeds of plants and animals are not formed anew, but were contrived in the first production of the world, and dispensed abroad every where, and mixed in all things; and that they are (not only potentially but actually), the very and entire plants and animals, though so small, that their parts cannot be distinguished; but when put into a convenient womb, and there nourished, they extend themselves, and increase, so that the seeds of an apple and pear-tree are a Lengue-cherire, that is, a little entire and perfect apple and pear-tree, having all its essential parts: and so the seeds of a horse, an elephant, and a man, &c. are a Lengue-cherire, a little horse, a little elephant, a little man, in which there wants nothing but the soul and nourishment to make them appear what they are.

For a conclusion, I shall discover to you the mystery of a great Cabala, which in these last years hath made great noise in Indostan, because certain Pendets, or heathenish doctors, had possessed with it the minds of Dara and Sultan-Sujah, the two first sons of Chah-Jehan.

You cannot but know the doctrine of many of the antient philosophers, touching that great soul of the world, which they will have our souls, and those of animals to be portions of. If we did well penetrate into Plato and Aristotle, we might perhaps find that they were of this sentiment. It is in a manner the general doctrine of the heathen Pendets of the Indies, and 'tis the same which still maketh the Cabala of the Soufys, and of the greatest part of the learned men in Persia, and which is found explained in Persian verses, so sublime and emphatical in their Goultchenraz or parterre of mysteries: which is also the very same of Dr Flud's, whom our great Gassendus hath so learnedly refuted, and that wherein most chemists lose themselves. But these Indian cabalists or Pendets I speak of, drive this impertinence farther than all those philosophers, and pretend that God, or that soveraign being, which they call Achar (immutable), hath produced, or drawn out of his own substance, not only souls, but also whatever is material and corporeal in the universe, and that this production was not merely made by way of an efficient cause, but by a way resembling a spider that produceth a webb, which it draws forth out of its own body, and takes in again when it will. Creation therefore, say these doctors, is nothing else but an extraction and extension, which God maketh of his own substance, of those webbs he draws from his own bowels; as destruction is nothing else but a reprisal, or taking back again this divine substance, and these divine webbs into himself: so that the last day of the world, which they call Maperlé or Pralea, when they believe that all shall be destroyed, shall be nothing else but a general reprisal of all those webbs which God hath drawn forth out of himself. There is therefore nothing (so they go on) that is real or effective in all we think we see, hear, smell, taste or touch. all this world is nothing but a kind of dream and a mere illusion, in regard that all this multiplicity and diversity of things that appear to us, is nothing but one and the same thing, which is God himself, as all those several numbers of 10, 20, 100, 1000, &c. are indeed nothing but one and the same unity many times repeated. But if you demand any reason for this phantasy, or any explication of the manner, how this issuing from and reprisal into the substance of God, this extension, and this variety of things is made; or how it can be, that God being not corporeal, but Biapeck and incorruptible (as they acknowledge), should yet be divisible into so many portions of bodies and souls; they never make any other return, but of some pretty comparisons, as, that God is like an immense ocean, in which if many vials full of water should be floating, they would, wherever they should move, be found always in the same ocean, in the same water, and that coming to break, their

their water would at the same time be united with their whole, and with that great ocean of which they were portions. Or they will tell you, that it is with God as with light, which is the same through the whole universe, and which yet appears an hundred different ways, according to the diversity of the objects it falls upon, or according to the several colours and shapes of glasses through which it shineth. They will pay you, I say, only with such kind of similitudes, that bear no proportion at all with God, and are good for nothing, but to cast dust into the eyes of the ignorant people: and you must not expect any solid answer from them, if you would tell them, that those vials would indeed be in a like water, but not in same; and that it is indeed a like light over all the world, but not the same: or if you should make any other objections against them, they return always to the same comparisons, pretty expressions, or as the Soufys, to the fine verses of their Goulchen-raz.

Now sir, what think you? Had I not reason, from this great heap of extravagancies, I mean, from that panick and childish terror struck into those Indians by eclipses; from that superstitious compassion for the sun to deliver it from that black dæmon, accompanied with those apish prayers, washings, plungings and alms cast into the river; from that mad and infernal obstinacy of the women, burning themselves with the corps of their husbands; from those several madnesses of the Fakires; and lastly, from all that fabulous stuff of the Beths and other Indian books: had I not reason, I say, to premise in the title of this letter, (which is but a poor advantage to me from so long travelling)—that there are no opinions so ridiculous or extravagant, of which the mind of man is not capable.

To conclude, I have no more to add than to desire you, to do me the favour and deliver with your own hands the letter to Monsieur Chapelle. It is he that first procured me that familiar acquaintance I had with Monsieur Gassendi, your intimate and illustrious friend, that hath been so advantageous to me; which maketh me acknowledge my great obligations to him, and exceedingly engageth me to love him, and to remember him in what part of the world soever I am: as I am no less bound to honour you as long as I live, as well for the peculiar affection you have always expressed to me, as for the good counsel you have assisted me with in your many letters during the whole course of my voyages, and for that favour of sending to me with so much generosity (without interest or money) unto the end of the world, whither my curiosity had carried me, a chest of books, when those, of whom I demanded them for money, ordered by me to be paid at Marseilles, and who should have honestly sent them me, abandoned me there, and laughed at all my letters, looking upon me as a lost man, whom they should never see again.

A RELA-

A RELATION

OF

A VOYAGE MADE IN THE YEAR 1664

When the Great Mogol, Aureng-Zebe, went with his army from Dehli, the capital of Indostan, to Lahor, from Lahor to Bember, and from thence to the Kingdom of Kachemire, commonly called by the Mogols, The Paradise of the Indies, &c

By way of several Letters, written by the AUTHOR to his Friends

---

LETTER I.—*To Monsieur de Merveilles.—Written at Dehli, December 1664. Aureng-Zebe being ready to march.—Containing the Occasion and Cause of this Voyage of Aureng-Zebe, together with an Account of the State and Posture of his Army, and the Equipage and ordinary Provisions of the chief of his Cavalry, and some curious Particulars observable in the Voyages of the Indies.*

SIR,

SINCE that Aureng-Zebe began to find himself in better health, it hath been constantly reported, that he would make a voyage to Lahor, and go from thence to Kachemire, to change the air, and to be out of the way of the approaching summer heats, for fear of a relapse: that the more intelligent sort of men would hardly be persuaded, that as long as he kept his father Chah-Jehan prisoner in the fort of Agra, he would think it safe to be at such a distance. Yet notwithstanding we have found, that reason of state hath given place to that of health, or rather to the intrigues of Rauchenara-Begum, who was wild to breathe a more free air than that of the seraglio, and to have her turn in shewing herself to a gallant and magnificent army, as her sister Begum-Saheb had formerly done during the reign of Chah-Jehan.

He departed then the 6th of December, about three o'clock in the afternoon; a day and hour that must needs be fortunate for a great voyage, if we may give credit to the gentlemen astrologers, who have so decreed it. And he arrived at Chah-limar, his house of pleasure, distant about two leagues from hence, where he spent six whole days, thereby to give to all sufficient time to make necessary preparations for a voyage that would take up a year and an half. We have but this day news, that he is gone to encamp on the way of Lahor, and that, when he hath stayed there two days, he intends to continue his march without any further expectation. He hath with him not only the thirty-five thousand horse, or thereabouts, and ten thousand foot, but also both his artilleries, the great or heavy, and the small or lighter, which is called the artillery of the stirrup, because it is inseparable from the person of the King, whereas the heavy sometimes leaveth him to keep the high and well beaten roads.

The great artillery is made up of seventy pieces of cannon, most of them cast, of which some are so ponderous that they need twenty yoke of oxen to draw them; and some of them require elephants to help all those oxen, by thrusting and drawing the wheels of the waggons with their trunks and heads, when they stick in any deep way, or are to pass some steep mountain. That of the stirrup is composed of fifty or sixty small

small field-pieces, all of brass each carried upon a little, pretty and painted chariot (as hath been already said in another place) beautified with many little red streamers, and drawn by two very handsome horses, driven by the gunner himself, together with a third horse which the gunner's assistant leads for a relief. All these chariots go always a great pace, that they may be soon enough in order before the tent of the King, and discharge all at once at the time of his entry to give the army notice.

All these great preparations give us cause to apprehend, that instead of going to Kachemire, we be not led to besiege that important city of Kandahar, which is the frontier to Persia, Indostan, and Usbeck, and the capital of an excellent country, yielding a very great revenue, and which for this very reason hath been ever the bone of contention between the Persians and Indians. Whatever it be, there is now a necessity to dispatch at Dehli, any business whatsoever notwithstanding; and I should find myself much cast behind the army, if I should tarry any longer: besides, I know that my Navah, or Agah, Danechmend-kan, stays for me abroad with impatience. He can no more be without philosophizing in the afternoon upon the books of Gassendi and Descartes, upon the globe and the sphere, or upon anatomy, than he can be without bestowing the whole morning upon the weighty matters of the kingdom, in the quality of secretary of state for foreign affairs, and of great master of the cavalry. I shall depart this night, after I have given the last order for all my business, and provided all necessaries for my voyage, as all the principal persons of the cavalry do; that is, two good Tartarian horses, whereto I am obliged by reason of the one hundred and fifty crowns of pay, which I have by the month, a camel of Persia, and a groom, a cook, and another servant, which must be had ordinarily to march in these countries before the horse, and to carry a flaggon with water in his hand. I also have provided the ordinary utensils; such as are a tent of a middle size, and a proportionate piece of foot tapestry, and a little bed with girdles, made up with four strong and light canes, and a pillow for the head; two coverlets, whereof one folded up four-fold serveth for a matrass; a round table-cloth of leather to eat upon; some napkins of dyed cloth, and three small sacks for plate, which are put up in a greater sack, and this sack into a very great and strong sack made of girdles, in which are put all the provisions, together with the linen of the master and servants. I have also made provision of excellent rice for five or six days, for fear I should not always find so good; of some sweet biscuit, with sugar and annis, of a linen sleeve with its little iron hook, to let, by the means thereof, run out, and to keep curdled milk; and of store of lemons with sugar to make lemonade, such milk and lemonade being the two great and sovereign refreshments of the Indies: all which, as I said, is put into the last-named sack, which is so large and heavy, that three or four men have pains enough to lift it up; though two men do first fold and turn o[illegible] upon the other when it is full, and though the camel be made to stoop very ni[illegible] and there need no more than to turn one of the sides of that sack upon the camel. All this equipage and provision is absolutely necessary in such voyages as these. We must not look for such good lodgings and accommodations as we have in our country. We must resolve to encamp and live after the Arabian and Tartarian mode, without expecting any other inns than tents. Nor must we think to plunder the country-man; all the lands of the kingdom being in propriety to the King: we are well to consider, that we must be sober and prudent, and that to ruin the country-man were to ruin the demesne of the King. That which much comforts me in this march is, that we go northward, and depart in the beginning of the winter, after the rains; which is the right season for travelling in the Indies, because it raineth not, and we are not so much incommoded by heat and dust. Besides that, I find

find myself out of danger of eating the bread of Bazar, or of the market, which ordinarily is ill baked, full of sand and dust; nor obliged to drink of those naughty waters, which being all turbid, and full of nastiness of so many people and beasts that fetch thence, and enter into them, do cause such fevers, which are very hard to cure, and which breed also certain very dangerous worms in the legs. They at first cause a great inflammation, accompanied with a fever, and ordinarily come forth a little after the voyage, although there have been some, that have stayed a whole year and more before they appeared. They are commonly of the bigness and length of a small vial-string, so that one would sooner take them for some nerve than for a worm; and they must be drawn out little by little, from day to day, gently winding them about a little twig of the bigness of a needle, for fear of breaking them. This I say comforteth me not a little, that I find myself exempt from these inconveniencies; my Navah having vouchsafed me a very particular favour; which is, that he hath appointed to give me every day a new loaf of his house, and a souray of the water of Ganges, with which he hath laden several camels of his train, as the whole court doth. Souray is that tin flaggon full of water, which the servant that marcheth on foot before the gentleman on horseback, carrieth in his hand, wrapt up in a sleeve of red cloth. Ordinarily it holded but one pint; but I had some of them expresly made, that hold two. We shall see whether this cunning will succeed. The water cooleth very well in this flaggon, provided that care be had always to keep the sleeve moist, and that the servant that holds it in his hand, do march and stir in the air, or else that it be held towards the wind; as is commonly done upon three pretty little sticks, crossing one another, that they may not touch the earth: for the moistness of the linnen, the agitation of the air or wind, are absolutely necessary to keep the water fresh; as if this moistness, or rather the water imbibed by the sleeve, did keep out the little igneous bodies or spirits that are in the air, at the same time when it giveth entrance to the nitrous or other parts, which hinder the motion in the water, and cause coolness; in the same manner as glass keeps out water, and giveth passage to the light, by a reason of the particular texture and disposition of the parts of the glass, and the diversity there must be between the particles of light and those of water. We do not use this tin-flaggon for keeping our water cool but in the field when we are at home, we have jars of a certain porous earth, in which it is much better cooled, provided it be exposed to the wind, and moistened with a linnen cloth, as the flaggon; or else use is made of salt-petre, as all persons of quality do, whether in towns or in the army. They put water, or any other liquor, to be cooled, in a round and long-necked tin flaggon, such as are the English bottles, and for the space of half a quarter of an hour this flaggon is stirred in water, into which hath been cast three or four handfuls of salt-petre, this maketh the water very cold, neither is it unwholesome, as I did apprehend; but only that sometimes it causeth gripings at first, when one is not accustomed to it.

But to what purpose, to play so much the philosopher, when we should think to depart, and to endure the sun, which at all seasons is incommodious in the Indies, and to swallow the dust, which is never wanting in the army; to put up, to load, to unload every day our baggage, to help the servants to fasten sticks, to draw cords, to put up tents, and to take them down again, to march in the day, and in the night to devour cold and heat, and, in a word, to turn Arabians for a year and an half, during which time we are to be in the field. Adieu; I shall not fail to acquit myself of my promise, and from time to time to inform you of our adventures: and besides, since the army for this time will make but small journies in its march, and pass on with all that pomp and magnificence which the Kings of Indostan do affect, I shall endeavour to observe the

the most considerable things, that I may impart them to you, as soon as we shall arrive at Lahor.

LETTER II.—*Containing the Number and Magnificence, the Order and the Disposition of the Tents of the Great Mogol in the Field.—The Number of Elephants, Camels, Mules, and Porters, necessary to carry them.—The Disposition of the Bazars or royal Markets.—That of the particular Quarters of the Omrahs, or Lords, and of the rest of the Army.—The Extent of the whole Army when encamped.—The Confusion there met with, and how it may be avoided.—The Order of preventing Robberies.—The different Manners of the March of the King, the Princesses and the rest of the Seraglio.—The Danger there is in being too near the Women.—The several Ways of the royal Hunting, and how the King hunts with his whole Army.—The Abundance of People there is in the Army, and the Method of making them all subsist.*

SIR,

THIS indeed is called marching with a gravity, and as we speak here, *a la Mogole*; it is no more but fifteen or sixteen days journey from Dehli to Lahor, which make little more than six score leagues, and yet we have spent almost two months on this way. 'Tis true, the King with the best part of the army went somewhat aside from the highway the better to enjoy the divertisements of hunting, and for the conveniency of the water of Gemna, which we went to look for on the right hand, and which we leisurely followed long enough in our hunting. crossing fields of tall grass, full of all sorts of game, where the horsemen could scarcely been seen. At present, whilst we are at rest, I am going to make good what I have promised you in the title of this letter, hoping shortly to make you come to Kachemire, and to shew you one of the best countries in the world.

When the King is in the field he hath usually two camps, I mean two bodies of tents separated, to the end that when he breaketh up and leaveth one, the other may have passed before by a day, and be found ready when he arriveth at the place designed to encamp in: and 'tis therefore, that they are called *Pieche-kanes*, as if you should say, houses going before These two Pieche-kanes are almost alike, and there are requisite above threescore elephants, more than two hundred camels, above an hundred mules, and as many more porters to carry one of them. The elephants carry the most bulky things, such as are the great tents, and their great pillars, which being too long and too heavy, are taken down in three pieces. The camels carry the lesser tents · the mules, the baggage and kitchens. And to the porters are given all the little moveables, and such as are delicate and fine, that might easily be broken, as porcelain, which the King usually employeth at table; those painted and guilded beds, and those rich Karguais, which I shall speak of hereafter.

One of these two Pieche-kanes, or bodies of tents, is no sooner arrived at the place designed for encamping, but the great marshal, that orders the lodgings, chuseth some fair place for the King's quarters, yet with regard, as much as is possible, to the symmetry and order that is to be observed for the whole army, and he marketh out a square, of which each side is above three hundred ordinary paces long. An hundred pikemen presently clear and level this place, making square planes to raise the tents upon, and surrounding all this great square with Kanates or skreens seven or eight foot high, which they fasten with cords tied to sticks, and with perches fixt in the ground, by couples, from ten to ten paces, one without, and the other within, inclining the one upon the other. These Kanats are made of a strong cloth lined with stained linen. In

2 the

the middle of one of the sides of this square is the entry or royal gate, great and magnificent, and the Indian stuff which 'tis made of, as also those stuffs, of which the whole side of the square of the face is lined without, are far better and richer than the others.

The first and the greatest of the tents, that is reared in this inclosure, is called Amkas, because it is the place where the King and all the lords in the army do assemble about nine o'clock in the morning, when the Mokam, that is, the usual public meeting is held. For the kings of Indostan, although they are in a march, do not dispense but very rarely with this almost inviolable custom, which is passed into a kind of duty and law, viz. to appear twice a day in the assembly, there to give order for state-affairs, and to administer justice.

The second, which is little less than the first, and a little farther advanced into the inclosure, is called Gost-kane, that is to say, a place to wash in: and here it is, where all the lords every night meet, and where they come to salute and do obeisance to the King, as ordinarily they do when they are in the metropolis. This assembly, in the evening, is very inconvenient to the Omrahs, but it is a thing that looks great and stately, to see afar off, in an obscure night, in the midst of a campaign, cross all the tents of an army, long files of torches lighting these Omrahs to the King's quarters, and attending them back again to their tents. 'Tis true, these lights are not of wax as ours, but they last very long they are only an iron put about a stick, at the end of which are wound rags of old linen from time to time, which is moistened with oil, held by the link-men in their hands in a brass or latten flaggon with a long and straight neck.

The third tent, which is not much less than the two first, and is yet farther advanced into the inclosure, is called kalvetkane, a retired or the privy council place, because none but the first officers of the kingdom enter into it, and 'tis there where the greatest and the most important affairs are transacted

Yet farther into the square are the particular tents of the King, encompassed with small kanates or screens, of the height of a man, and lined with stained Indian stuff, of that elegant workmanship of Maslipatam, which do represent a hundred sorts of different flowers, and some of them lined with flowered satin, with large silk fringes.

The tents joining to the King's are those of the Begum or Princesses, and the other great ladies and she-officers of the seraglio, which are likewise encompassed, as those of the King, with rich kanates, and amidst all these tents are placed those of the lower she-officers, and other serving-women, always, upon the matter, in the same order, according to their office.

The Amkas, and the five or six principal tents are raised high, that they may be seen at a good distance, and the better fence off the heat. Without it is nothing but a coarse and strong red cloth, yet beautified and striped with certain large stripes, cut variously and advantageously to the eye, but within it is lined with those fine Indian flowered stuffs, of the same work of Maslipatam, and this work is raised and enriched with silk, gold and silver embroideries having great fringes, or with some fine flowered satin. The pillars supporting these tents, are painted and gilt: one marcheth on nothing but rich tapestry, having matrasses of cotton under them four or five inches thick, and round about these tapestries there are great square rails richly covered to lean upon.

In each of the two great tents where the assembly is kept, there is raised a theatre richly adorned, where the King giveth audience under a great canopy of velvet, or purfled with gold. In the other tents are found the like canopies, and there you may see also set up certain karguais, that is, fine cabinets, whose little doors are shut with

silver

ſilver locks. To conceive what they are, you may repreſent to you two ſmall ſquares of our ſcreens, ſet upon one another, and neatly round about faſtened to one another with a ſilken ſtring; yet ſo, that the extremities of the ſides of the uppermoſt come to incline upon one another, ſo as to make a kind of a little tabernacle, with this difference from our ſcreens, that all the ſides of theſe are of very thin and ſlight fir boards, painted and gilt without, and enriched round about with gold and ſilk fringes, and lined within with ſcarlet, or flowered ſatin, or purfled with gold.

And this is very near what I can tell you of what is contained within the great ſquare.

What concerns the particulars that are without the ſquare, there are firſt two pretty tents on both the two ſides of the great entry or royal gate, where are found two choice horſes ſaddled, and richly harneſſed, and altogether ready to be mouuted upon occaſion, or rather for ſtate and magnificence.

On the two ſides of the ſame gate are placed in order thoſe fifty or threeſcore ſmall field-pieces, that make up the artillery of the ſtirrup above-mentioned, and which diſcharge altogether, to ſalute the King entering into his tent, and to give notice thereof to the whole army.

Before the gate there is always left void, as much as may be, a great place, at the end of which there is a great tent, called Nagar-kane, becauſe that is the place of the timbals and trumpets.

Near this tent there is another great one, which is called Tchauky-kane, becauſe it is the place where the Omrahs keep guard, every one in his turn, once a week twenty-four hours together; yet notwithſtanding moſt of the Omrahs on the day of their guard, cauſe cloſe by, to be reared one of their own tents, to be the more at liberty, and to have more elbow-room.

Round about the three other ſides of the great ſquare are ſet up all the tents of the officers, which are always found in the ſame order and diſpoſition, unleſs it be that the place permit it not: they have all their peculiar names; but as they are hard to pronounce, and I pretend not to teach you the language of the country, it will be ſufficient to tell you, that there is a particular one for the arms of the King, another for the rich harneſſes of horſes, another for veſts purfled with gold, which are the ordinary preſents beſtowed by the King. Beſides, there are four more, near one another; the firſt of which is deſigned for keeping fruit; the ſecond for comfits; the third for Ganges water, and the ſaltpetre to cool it; and the fourth for the betele, which is that leaf whereof I have ſpoken elſewhere, which is offered to friends as coffee is in Turkey, and chewed to make ruddy lips, and a ſweet breath. Next to theſe, there are fifteen or ſixteen others that ſerve for kitchens and what belongs to them. Amongſt all theſe tents are thoſe of a great number of officers and eunuchs. Laſtly, there are four or five long ones for led horſes, and ſome others for the beſt elephants, and all thoſe that are for hunting: for there muſt needs be a retreat for all that great number of birds of prey that are always carried for game and magnificence; and ſo there muſt be for thoſe many dogs, and thoſe leopards ſerving to take wild goats; for thoſe nylgaus, or grey oxen, which I take for elcks; for thoſe lions and rhinoceros's that are led for greatneſs; for thoſe great buffalos of Bengal fighting with lions; and laſtly, for thoſe tamed wild goats, they call gazelles, that are made to ſport before the King.

This vaſt number of tents, now ſpoken of, together with thoſe that are within the great ſquare, make up the King's quarter, which is always in the middle, and as it were in the centre of the army, except the place do not allow it. It will eaſily be thence concluded, that this quarter of the King muſt needs be ſomething great and royal

royal, and afforded a very fine prospect, if one behold from some high place this great body of red tents in the midst of the army, encamped in a fair and even campaign, where may be fully seen all that order and disposition that is to be observed in the whole.

After that the great marshal of the camp hath chosen a place fit for the King's quarter, and hath made the Am-kas to be set up highest of all the tents, and by which he is to take his measure for the ordering and disposing the rest of the army accordingly; he then marketh out the royal bazars, or markets, whence the whole army is furnished with necessaries, drawing the first and chief of all, like a great street running straight, and a great free way traversing the whole army, now on the right-hand, and by and by on the left of the Am-kas and the King's quarter, and always in the straightest line that may be towards the encamping of the next day. All the royal bazars, that are neither so long nor so broad, commonly cross this first, some on this, others on the other side of the King's quarter; and all these bazars are discerned by very high canes like great perches, which are fixed in the ground from three hundred to three hundred paces, or thereabout, with red standards, and cows' tails of the great tibet fastened on the top of these canes like perukes.

The same marshal designs, next, the place of the Omrahs, so as they may always keep the same order, and be ever as near as may be the King's quarter; some on the right, others on the left-hand, some on this side of him, others beyond him; so that none of them may change the place that hath been once appointed for him, or that himself hath desired in the beginning of the voyage.

The quarters of the Omrahs and Rajas, as to their particular order and disposition, are to be imagined in a manner like that of the King: for commonly they have two peiche-kanes with a square of canates, which encloseth their principal tent and those of their women; and round about these are put up the tents of their officers and cavaliers, with a peculiar bazar, which is a street of small tents for the lower sort of people that follow the army, and furnisheth the camp with forage, grain, rice, butter, and the other things that are most necessary, whereby they are so accommodated, that they need not always go to the royal bazars, where generally all things are to be found, as in the capital city. Each bazar is marked at the two ends by two canes planted in the ground, which are as tall as those of the royal bazars, that so at a good distance the particular standards fastened to them may be discovered, and the several quarters distinguished from one another.

The great Omrahs and Rajahs affect to have their tents very high. But they must beware lest they be too high, because it may happen, that the King, passing by, might perceive it, and command them to be thrown down; of which we have seen an example in this last march. Neither must they be altogether red from without, since those of the King alone are to be so. Lastly, out of respect, they must all look towards the Am-kas or the quarter of the King.

The residue of the space between the King's quarter, and those of the Omrahs and the Bazars, is taken up by the Manseb-dars or little Omrahs, and of that infinite number of great and small merchants that follow the army; of all those that belong to the law; and lastly, of all such as serve both the artilleries; which maketh indeed a prodigious number of tents, and requireth a very great extent of ground. Yet is it not all true what is said of either of them. And I believe, that when the whole army is in a fair and even campaign, where it may encamp with ease, and that, following the ordinary plot, it comes at length to be lodged, as near as may be, in a round, (as we have often seen it does upon this road) the compass of it will not be above two leagues, or two.

two leagues and an half; and with all this there will yet be left here and there several void places; but then the great artillery, which taketh up a great tract of ground, doth very often a day or two go before.

Nor is all true, what is said of the strange confusion, which commonly strikes an astonishment into all new comers. For a little acquaintance with the method of the army, and some heeding of the order observed in the camp, will soon enable one to avoid all embarrassment, and to go to and fro about his business, and to find his quarter again; forasmuch as every one regulateth himself by the King's quarter, and the particular tents and standards of the Omrahs, that may be seen afar off, and by the standards and perukes of the royal Bazars, which may also be seen at a great distance.

Yet for all these marks, it will sometimes fall out, that one shall be extremely perplexed, and even in the day time, but especially in the morning, when a world of people do arrive, and every one of those is busy and seeks to lodge himself: and that not only, because there is often raised so great a dust, that the King's quarter, the standards of the Bazars and the Omrahs, which might serve for guides, cannot be discovered: but because a man finds himself between tents that are putting up, and between cords, which the lesser Omrahs, that have no Peiche-kane, and the Manseb-dars stretch out to mark their lodgings, and to hinder that no way may be made nigh them, or that no unknown person may come to lodge near their tents, where often they have their women: if in this case you mean to get by on one side, you will find the ways obstructed by those stretched-out cords, which a troop of mean serving-men, standing there with big cudgels, will not suffer to be lowered, to suffer the baggage to pass: if you will turn back, you'll find the ways shut since you passed. And here it is, where you must cry out, storm, intreat, make as if you would strike, and yet well beware of doing so, leaving the men, as well as you can, to quarrel against one another, and afterwards to accord them for fear of some mischief, and, in short, to put yourself into all imaginable postures to get away thence, and to make your camels pass: but the great trouble is, when a man is obliged to go in an evening to a place somewhat remote, because that those offensive smokes of the fire of green wood, of cow-shares, of camel-dung, which the common people then make in their kitchens, and do raise a mist (especially when there is no wind) so thick, that you can see nothing at all. I have been three or four times surprized with it, so as not to know what to do Well might I ask the way; I knew not whither I went, and I did nothing but turn. Once among other times, I was constrained to stay till this mist was past, and the moon risen. And another time I was forced to get to the Aguacy-die to lie down at the foot thereof, and there to pass all the night as well as I could, having my servant and horse by me. This Aguacy-die is like a tall mast, but very slender, which can be taken down in three pieces, and 'tis planted towards the King's quarter, near that tent which is called Nagar-kane: in the evening is drawn up to the top of it a lanthorn with a light burning in it all night long, which is very commodious, as being seen a great way off; and thither it is that people gone astray do retire, from thence to get again to the Bazars, and to ask the way, or there to pass the rest of the night; for nobody hinders one from doing so, and a man may be there in safety from robbers. It called Aguacy-die, as if you should say, light of heaven, in regard that from afar off it appears like a star.

For the prevention of robberies, each Omrah causeth a guard to be kept all the night long, in his particular camp, of such men that perpetually go the round, and cry Kaber-dar, have a care. Besides, there are round about the army set guards, at five hundred common paces from one another, that keep a fire, and cry also, Kaber-dar.

And

And over and above all theſe, the Cotoual, who is, as it were, the great provoſt, ſends out troops of guards every way, that paſs through all the Bazars, crying out and trumpeting all night long. Yet for all this, ſome robberies there are now and then committed; and 'tis neceſſary always to be upon one's guard, to go to ſleep by times, that ſo you may be awake the reſt of the night, and not to truſt your ſervants too much to keep guard for you.

But let us now ſee, how many different ways this great Mogol is carried in the field.

Ordinarily he cauſeth himſelf to be carried on men's ſhoulders, in a kind of ſedan or litter, upon which is a Tact-ravan, that is, a field-throne, on which he is ſeated: and this is like a magnificent tabernacle, with pillars, painted and gilded, which may be ſhut with glaſs, when 'tis ill weather; the four branches of the litter are covered with ſcarlet of purpled gold, with great gold and ſilk fringes; and at each branch there are two robuſt and well cloathed porters, that change by turns with as many more that follow.

Sometimes, alſo, he goeth on horſe-back, eſpecially when 'tis a fair day for hunting. At other times he rideth on an elephant, in a Mik-dember, or Hauze; and this is the moſt ſplendid appearance; for the elephant is decked with a very rich and magnificent harneſs; the Mik-dember, being a little ſquare houſe or turret of wood, is always painted and gilded, and the Hauze, which is an oval ſeat, having a canopy with pillars over it, is ſo likewiſe.

In theſe different marches he is always accompanied with a great number of Omrahs and Rajas following him cloſe and thick on horſe back, without any great order: and all thoſe that are in the army are obliged to be at the Am-kas at break of day, unleſs he do exempt them from it, upon account either of their peculiar office, or their great age. This march is very inconvenient to them, eſpecially on hunting days; for they muſt endure the ſun and duſt as the ſimple ſoldiers, and that ſometimes until three of the clock in the afternoon, whereas, when they do not attend the King, they go at eaſe in their Palekys, cloſe covered, if they pleaſe, free from the ſun and duſt; ſleeping in them couched all along as in a bed, and ſo coming in good time to their tent, which expects them with a ready dinner, their kitchen being gone the night before, after ſupper. About the Omrahs, and amongſt them, there is always a good number of horſemen well mounted, called Gourze-berdars, becauſe they carry a kind of ſilver mace of arms. There are alſo many of them about the right and left wings, that precede the perſon of the King, together with ſtore of foot-men. Theſe Gourze-berdars are choice men, of a good mien and a fair ſtature, appointed to carry orders, and having all of them great ſticks in their hands, whereby they put people aſide at a good diſtance, and hinder that no body march before the King to incommode him.

After the Rajas marcheth a train mixed of a great number of timbals and trumpets. I have already ſaid in another place, that this train conſiſts of nothing but of figures of ſilver repreſenting ſtrange animals, hands, ſcales, fiſhes, and other myſterious things, that are carried at the end of great ſilver ſticks.

At laſt, a great troop of Manſebdars, or little Omrahs, well mounted, and furniſhed with ſwords, arrows and quivers, follow after all the former, and this body is much more numerous than that of the Omrahs, becauſe, beſides that all thoſe that are of the guard dare not fail to be at break of day, as the Omrahs, at the gate of the King's tent to accompany him, there are alſo many that come amongſt them to make their court, and to become known there.

The princesses, and the great ladies of the seraglio, are also carried in sundry fashions; some are carried, like the King, on men's shoulders, in a Tchaudoule, which is a kind of Tact-ravan, painted, gilded, and covered with great and costly net-work of silk of divers colours, enriched with embroidery, fringe, and thick pendant tufts. Others are carried in very handsome Palekys closed, that are likewise painted and gilded, and covered with that rich silken net-work. Some are carried in large litters by two strong camels, or by two small elephants, instead of mules; and in this manner I have sometimes seen carried Rauchenara-Begum; when I also observed, that in the fore-part of her litter, being open, there was a little she-slave, that with a peacock's tail kept off from her the flies and dust. Lastly, others are carried upon elephants richly harnessed, and covered with embroidered deckings, and great silver bells, where these ladies sit, raised, as it were, into the middle region of the air, four and four, in Mik-dembers, latticed, which always are covered with silken net-work, and are no less splendid and stately than Tchaudoules and Tact-ravans.

I cannot forbear relating here, that in this voyage I took a particular pleasure in beholding and considering this pompous march of the seraglio. And certainly nothing more stately can be imagined, than to see Rauchenara-Begum march first, mounted upon a lusty elephant of Pegu, in a Mik dember, all shining of gold and azur, attended by five or six other elephants with their Mik-dember, almost as splendid as hers, filled with the principal she-officers of her house; some of the most considerable eunuchs, richly adorned, and advantageously mounted, riding on her side, each with a cane in his hand, a troup of Tartarian and Kachemirian maids of honour about her, oddly and fantastically dressed, and riding on very pretty hackney-horses; and lastly, many other eunuchs on horseback accompanied with store of pages and lackeys, with great sticks in their hands, to make way afar off. After this Rauchenera-Begum, I saw pass one of the principal ladies of the court, mounted and attended in proportion: and after this, a third in the same fashion; and then another, and so on to fifteen or sixteen, all (more or less) bravely mounted and accompanied according to their quality, pay, and office. Indeed this long file of elephants to the number of fifty, or sixty, or more, thus gravely marching with paces, as it were, counted, and withal this gallant train and equipage, does represent something that is great and royal; and if I had beheld this pomp with a kind of philosophical indifference, I know not whether I should not have suffered myself to be carried away to those extravagant sentiments of most of the Indian poets, who will have it, that all these elephants carry as many hidden goddesses. 'Tis true, one can hardly see them, and they are almost inaccessible by men; it would be a great misfortune to any poor cavalier whosoever, to be found in the field too near them in the march; all those eunuchs, and all the crew of servants are to the highest degree insolent, and desire nothing more than such a pretext and occasion to fall upon a man, and give him some bastinadoes. I remember I was once thus unfortunately surprized, and certainly I had been very ill used, as well as many other cavaliers, if at length I had not resolved to make my way out by my sword, rather than suffer myself to be thus maimed, as they began to order the matter; and if by good luck I had not been provided with a good horse, that carried me vigorously out of the press, when I put him on through a torrent of people, that was to be repassed. And it is grown in a manner a common proverb of these armies, that, above all, one must beware of three things; first, not to let himself to be engaged amongst the troops of the chosen led horse, they never failing to strike; secondly, not to come into the places of hunting: thirdly, not to approach too near the women of the seraglio. Yet notwithstanding, by

by what I hear, it is much less dangerous here than in Persia; for there 'tis death to be found in the field in sight of the eunuchs that attend them, though you were half a league distant from them. It is required, that as many men as there are in the villages and boroughs, where they pass, do all abandon them, and retire afar off.

As to the hunting of the King, I knew not first how to imagine what is commonly said, which is, that the great Mogol goes to hunt with an hundred thousand men: but now I see, it may very well be said, that he goes to hunt with above two hundred thousand; nor is it a thing hard to comprehend. In the neighbouring places to Agra and Dehli, along the river Gemna as far as to the mountains, and even on both sides of the high-way to Lahor, there is abundance of untilled lands, some of copse-wood, and some of grass above a man's height: in all these places there are great numbers of guards, incessantly roving up and down, and hindering all other people from hunting, except partridges, quails, and hares, which the Indians know to take with nets: so that every where in those places there is very great store of all kind of game. This being so, the hunting guards, when they know that the King is in the field, and near their quarters, give notice to the great hunting master, of the quality of the game, and of the place where most of it is; than the guards do [illegible]e all the avenues of that quarter, and that sometimes for above four or five leagues of ground, that so the whole army may pass by, either this or that way, and the King being in his march may at the same time enter into it with as many Omrahs, hunters and other persons as he shall please, and there hunt at his ease, now in one manner and then in another, according to the difference of the game. And now behold first, how he hunted the Gazelles or wild fawns with tamed Leopards.

I think, I have elsewhere told you, that in the Indies there is store of Gazelles, that are in a manner shaped as our hinds or fawns; that these Gazelles commonly go in several troops, and that every troop, which never consists of above five or six, is always followed by one only male, discernable by the colour. One of such troops being discovered, they endeavour to make the leopard see them, who is held chained upon a little chariot. This crafty animal doth not presently and directly run after them, but goes winding and turning, stopping and hiding himself, so to approach them with more advantage, and to surprize them: and as he is capable to make five or six leaps with an almost incredible swiftness, when he finds he is within reach, he lanceth himself upon them, worrieth them, and gluts himself with their blood, heart and liver: if he faileth (which often happens) he stands still, and it would be in vain for him to attempt to take them by running after them, because they run much faster, and hold out longer than he. Then the master comes gently about him, flattering him, and throwing him some pieces of flesh, and thus amusing him, puts something over his eyes to cover them, and so chains him, and puts him upon the chariot again. One of these leopards gave us once in our march this divertisement, which frighted store of people. A troop of Gazelles appeared in the midst of the army, as they will do every day; it chanced that they passed close to two leopards that were carried, as they used to be, upon their little chariot. One [illegible] not blinded, made such an effort that he burst his chain, and darted himself after them, but without catching any of them: yet the Gazelles, not knowing which way to escape, being pursued, cried after, and hunted on every side, there was one of them that was forced to repass again near the leopard, who, notwithstanding the camels and horses that pestered all the way, and contrary to what is commonly said of this beast, that it never returns to its prey when it hath once failed of it, flew upon it and caught it.

The

The hunting of the Nilgaux or grey oxen, which I said were a kind of elcks, hath no great matter in it. They are inclosed in great nets, that are by little and little drawn closer together, and when they are reduced to a small compass of enclosure, the King, the Omrahs, and the hunters do enter and kill them at pleasure with arrows, half-pikes, sabres, or musquets; and sometimes in so great numbers, that the King sends quarters of them for presents to all the Omrahs.

The game of the Cranes hath something of divertisement. 'Tis a pleasure to see them defend themselves in the air against the birds of prey; they sometimes kill some of them; but at length, not being nimble in turning, many strong birds master them.

Of all the games that of the Lion is the most royal, because there is none but the King and princes that can exercise it (unless it be by a very particular leave); but it is also the most dangerous. The manner of it is this: when the King is in the field, and the hunting guards have discovered the place of the lion's retirement, they tie fast an ass thereabout, which the lion soon comes to devour, and without caring to look out for other prey, as oxen, cows, mutton, or shepherds, he goes to seek for drink, and returns to his ordinary lodging place, where he lies down and sleeps until next morning, when he finds another ass in the self same place, which the hunters have fastened there as the day before; and when they have thus baited and amused him several days in the same place, and now know that the King is nigh, they at length tye fast another ass, but whom they have made to swallow a quantity of opium, to the end that his flesh may the better lull asleep the lion, and then all the country-men of the circumjacent villages spread large and strong nets, made for that purpose, which they also by degrees reduce to a small compass, as is practised in the hunting the Nil-gaux. All things thus prepared, the King mounted on an elephant traped with iron, being attended by the great hunting master, some Omrahs riding also on elephants, by abundance of Gourze-bedars on horseback, and by a numerous hunting-guard on foot, armed with half-pikes, approacheth to the nets from without, and with a great musquet shoots at the lion; who when he finds himself wounded, comes directly to the elephant, as his custom is; but he meets with those big nets stopping him, and the King shoots so often at him, that at last he kills him. Yet in this last hunting there was a lion that leapt over those nets, fell upon an horseman whose horse he killed, and then ran away; but the hunters met with him, and inclosed him again in the net, which caused a great disturbance to the army; we were three or four days padling in small torrents running down the mountains, betwixt under-wood and such long grass as that camels hardly can be seen therein; and happy were these that had some provision of victuals, for all was in disorder: the Bazars could not range themselves, and the villages were remote. The reason why they were to stop there so long, was, that as it is a good omen with the Indians when the King kills a lion, so it is a very ill one, when he faileth, and they think that the state would run great hazard if they should not master him. Hence 'tis also that they make many ceremonies upon the account of this hunting; for they bring the dead lion before the King in the general assembly of the Omrahs, and after he hath been well viewed, and exactly measured, 'tis recorded in the archives, that such a king, at such a time, slew a lion of such bigness, of such hair, of so long and large teeth and claws, not omitting the least circumstances.

I shall here only add a word in reference to what is commonly said of the opium, that the ass is made to swallow, viz. that one of the chief hunters assured me, that it was but a tale of the vulgar, and that the lion slept sufficiently without it, when he had his belly full.

10 Now

Now to return to our march. When the great rivers, which in these quarters commonly have no bridges, are to be passed, there are made two boat bridges, about two or three hundred paces distant from one another; which they know well enough how to chain and fasten together. Upon them they cast earth and straw mingled together, which preventeth the sliding of the animals. The first passing upon, and the coming from it are only dangerous, because, that besides the great crowd, which then commonly througeth, and the great confusion and embarassment, it often happens that pits or holes are made when it is moving earth; and then you shall have horses and burthened oxen tumble upon one another, over whom people do pass with an incredible disorder; which would be yet greater, if all were to pass in one day: but ordinarily the king encamped but half a league from the bridge, where he stays a day or two, and he never almost encampeth farther than half a league from the river on the other side of the bridge, that so the army may have at least three days and three nights to pass more conveniently.

Lastly, as to the number of people that is found in the army, it is not so easy a thing to determine it. It is so differently spoken of, that one knows not what to judge of it. What I can tell you of it in the general, that is most probable, is this: that in this march there were at least, as to soldiers and others, an hundred thousand horsemen, and above an hundred and fifty thousand animals, as horses, mules or elephants, that there were near fifty thousand camels, and almost as many oxen or asses, that serve to carry the grain and other provisions of these poor people of the Bazars, their wives and children: for they lug all with them, as our Bohemians do. Upon this measure, you may reckon pretty near the number of the serving people, supposing that nothing is there done but by the force of servants, and that I, who am but in the rank of a cavalier of two horses, can hardly do my business with less than three men: some say, that in the whole army, there is scarcely less than between three or four hundred thousand persons. Others reckon more; others less. Nobody ever told them to determine the precise number. I can say nothing of certainty, but only that it is a prodigious and almost incredible number, but then you are to imagine, it is all Dehli, the capital city, that marcheth, because that all the inhabitants of that town, living upon the court and the army, are obliged to follow them, especially when the voyage is to be long, as this, or else they must starve.

The difficulty is to know, whence, and how so great an army can subsist in the field, so vast a number of people and beasts. For that, we must only suppose (which is very true), that the Indians live very soberly, and observe a very simple diet, and that of all this great number of cavaliers, there is not the tenth, no not the twentieth man, that in his march eats flesh; provided they have their kichery, that is, their mixture of rice, and of other legums, upon which they pour butter when they are boiled, they are content.

We are also to know, that camels endure labour, hunger and thirst extremely well, live upon little, and eat almost any thing: and that as soon as the army encampeth any where, the camel-drivers let them go into the field to brouze, where they eat whatever they light upon. Besides, that the merchants that entertain Bazars in Dehli, are obliged to entertain them in the field; and that all the small merchants that keep shop in the Bahars of Dehli, keep them also in the army, either by force, or out of necessity; and lastly, that as to forage, all these poor people go roving up and down every where in the villages, to buy what they can get, and to gain something by it, and their great and common refuge is, with a kind of trowel to raspe or knock down whole fields, to beat and wash what they have there gotten, and so to carry it to sell to the army.

army, which they do sometimes very dear, and sometimes very cheap. I forgot to mention one thing that is remarkable, viz. that the king passeth into the camp, now on one side, then on another; and to-day he passeth near the tents of certain Omrahs, and to-morrow near those of others, which he doth not without design; for the Omrahs, which he passeth by so near, are obliged to meet him, and to make him some small present or other; so that some will present him with twenty roupies of gold, which maketh thirty pistoles; others with fifty, and so others in proportion, according to their generosity, and the greatness of their pay.

For the rest, you will excuse me, that I do not observe to you the towns and boroughs that are between Dehli and Lahor. I have seen in a manner none of them; for I went almost always cross the fields, and in the night, because my Agah was not placed in the middle of the army, where often is the high way, but very forward in the right wing. We went as well as we could by star-light cross the fields to gain the right wing of the camp, without seeking for the high-way; though sometimes we found ourselves much perplexed, and in lieu of three or four leagues, which is the ordinary distance of one encampment from another, we sometimes made five or six; but when the day comes on, we soon found ourselves where we should be.

LETTER III.—*A Description of Lahor, the Capital of Penjeab, or the Kingdom of the Five Waters.*

SIR,

IT is not without reason, that this kingdom, of which Lahor is the capital city, is called Penje-ab, or the country of the five waters, because there are actually five considerable rivers coming down from those mountains, within which the kingdom of Kachemire is locked up, and that run cross this tract of land to fall into the river Indus, discharging themselves together into the ocean at Scyndi, towards the entry of the Persian gulf. Whether Lahor be that ancient Bucephalos, I decide not. Mean time, Alexander is sufficiently known here under the name of Sekander Filifous, that is, Alexander son of Philip; but as to his horse, they know it not. The city of Lahor is built upon one of these five rivers, which is not less than our river Loire, and for which there is great need of a like bank, because it maketh great devastation, and often changeth its bed, and hath but lately retired itself from Lahor for a quarter of a league; which very much incommodeth the inhabitants. The houses of Lahor have this peculiar above those of Dehli and Agra, that they are very high, but most of them are ruinous, because it is now more than twenty years that the court is always at Dehli or at Agra, and that in these later years the rains have been so excessive, that they have overthrown many of them, whereby also much people hath been killed. It is true, there remains still five or six considerable streets, of which there are two or three that are above a league long; but in them also are many buildings found that fall down. The king's palace is no longer upon the river-side, as it was formerly, because that the river hath left it. It is very high, and magnificent, yet those of Agra and Dehli do much surpass it. It is now above two months that we are here, expecting the melting of the snow of the mountains of Kachemire, for a more convenient passage into that kingdom. But at length we are to depart to-morrow. The king hath been gone these two days. I have got a little Kachemirian tent, which I bought yesterday. I was advised to do like others, and to leave here my ordinary tent, which is big and heavy enough, because, they say, that between the mountains of Kachemire, whither we are now marching, it will be difficult to find room enough, and that the camels

not having place enough to pass, we shall be obliged to get our baggage carried by porters, and that my large tent would cost me much to carry. Adieu.

LETTER IV.

Sir,

I believed, that after we had overcome the heats of Moka, near Babel-mandel, I could defy those of the rest of the earth; but since these four days that the army left Lahor, I find I come very short of my reckoning, and I have experimented to the hazard of my life, that it is not without reason, that the Indians themselves did apprehend the eleven or twelve days march of the army, from Lahor to Bamber, the entry of the mountains of Kachemire. I protest unto you, without any exaggeration, that the heats have been so excessive, that sometimes they have reduced me to extremity, insomuch that I knew not in the morning whether I should live till night. The cause of this extraordinary heat is, that the high mountains of Kachemire being on the north of our road, keep from us all the cool wind that might come and refresh us from that quarter, and do reflect the sun-beams upon us, and leave the field burnt up and choaking. But to what purpose, to play the philosopher, and to seek reasons for that, which perhaps will kill me to-morrow.

LETTER V.

Sir,

I PASSED, yesterday, one of the greatest rivers of the Indies, called the Lchenau. The excellency of its water, of which the great Omrahs make provision, in lieu of that of Ganges, (whereof they have drunk hitherto) keeps me from believing this to be some river to pass to hell, rather than to Kachemire, where they would make us believe we should find snow and ice: for I find it grow worse and worse every day, and that the more we advance, the more heat we feel. It is true that I passed the bridge at noon-day, but I almost knew not which was best, to march in the field, or to keep one's self stuffed up under a tent: at least, I have succeeded in my design, which was, to pass the bridge with ease, whilst all men did repose themselves, expecting to leave the camp towards evening when the heat is not so violent: whereas if I had staid as the rest did, some mischief perhaps might have befallen me. For it hath been, I hear, the most terrible confusion, and the greatest disorder that ever was in any the like former passage from Dehli; the entring upon the first boat, and the going off from the last, having been made very difficult, because it was mere moving sand, which as people marched upon it and stirred it, did slide away into the water, and left a pit; insomuch that a great number of camels, oxen and horses were, in the crowd, overthrown and trampled under foot, and store of blows distributed besides. There are ordinarily, upon such occasions, some officers and cavaliers of the Omrahs, who, to make way for their masters and baggage, are not sparing of them. My navab hath lost one of his camels with the iron oven it carried; which maketh me apprehend, I shall be reduced to the bread of Bazar. Farewell.

LETTER VI.

Sir,

IT is too much curiosity, it is folly, or at least temerity in an European to expose himself to such heats and dangerous marches. It is putting one's self into manifest peril

peril of life. Yet, notwithstanding, misfortune is good for something. Whilst we stayed at Lahor, I was seized on by a flux, and by gripings, which did very much incommode me, caused by my constant lying upon a terrase, and taking the cool of the night, as we used to do at Dehli without danger: but since we have been marching these eight or nine days, the sweat hath dissipated all these humours. My body is become a right sieve, very dry; and I have no sooner taken into my stomach a pint of water (for less will not serve our turn), but I see it at the same time issue out of my limbs, like a dew, to the very ends of my fingers. I believe I have this day drank above ten pints. And this is some comfort, that one may drink of it as much as one lists without danger, provided it be good water.

LETTER VII.—*To the same.—Written from the Camp of the Army, marching from Lahor to Kachemire, the tenth of March in the Morning.*

SIR,

THE sun is but just now rising, yet he is intolerable; there is not a cloud in the sky; nor a breath of wind; my horses are spent, they have not seen a green herb since we came out of Lahor, my Indians, for all their black, dry and hard skin, sink under it. My face, hands and feet are pealed off, and my body is covered all over with pimples, that prick me as so many needles. Yesterday one of our poor cavaliers, that had no tent, was found dead at the foot of a small tree he had seized on. I doubt whether I shall out-live this day's journey, all my hope is in a little dry curdled milk, which I am going to dilute with water and sugar, and some lemons, I have left, to make lemonade, farewell; the ink dryeth at the end of my pen, and the pen falls out of my hand. Farewell.

LETTER VIII.—*To the same.—Written from Bember, the entry of the Mountains of Kachemire, after having Two Days encamped there.—What Bember is, the Change of Carriages for the Mountains, the incredible Number of Porters, and the Order observed in the Army.*

SIR,

WE are at length arrived at Bember, the foot of a steep, black and burned mountain, and we are encamped in the channel of a large torrent dried up, full of sand and stones burning hot. It is like an hot oven: and if it were not for the shower of rain we had this morning, and for the curdled milk, the lemons, and the fowl brought to us from the mountains, I know not what would have become of me, and you would perhaps never have seen this letter. But, God be thanked, I feel the air a little cooler; my stomach, strength and tongue are returned. So then take this account of our new kind of march and trouble.

Yester-night the king first of all, together with Rauchenara-Begum, and the other women of the seraglio, the Raja Ragnat that performs the office of the vizir, and Fazel-kan the high-steward, went away from this burning place, and last night the great hunting-master departed, with some of the greatest and most necessary officers of the royal family, and many considerable women. This night it is our turn; my Navab, Danech-mend-kan, will go away, and Mahmet-Emir-kan, the son of that famous Emir-Jemla, of whom I have spoken so much in another place, will be of our company; and so will Dianet-kan, our good friend, with his two sons, and many other Omrahs, Rajas and Manfebdars: and after us, all the other lords, that are bound for

Kachemire,

Kachemire, will be gone all in their turns, to avoid in theſe difficult and narrow ways of the mountains, the trouble and confuſion, during theſe five days of marching between this place and Kachemire. All the reſt of the court, as Feday-kan, the great maſter of the artillery, three or four great Rajas, and many Omrahs, are to ſtay here about, for a guard, during three or four months, until the king do return after the great heats are over. Some ſhall go to dreſs their tents on the one ſide of the river Tchenau, others in the neighbouring towns and boroughs, and others will be obliged to camp here in this fire of Bember.

The king, for fear of ſtarving this ſmall kingdom of Kachemire, firſt carries with him the leaſt number of women he can, the greateſt ladies, the beſt friends of Rauchenara-Begum, and thoſe that are moſt neceſſary for ſervice. Nor doth he carry more of the Omrahs and Milicia than needs he muſt · and the Omrahs that have leave to come with him, cannot take with them all the cavaliers, but only 25 of 100; yet without comprehending therein the particular officers of their family. And that is to be religiouſly obſerved; becauſe there is an Omrah upon the guard at the entry of the mountains, that reckons all that paſs, one by one, and hinders the paſſing of that great number of Manſeb-dars and other cavaliers, that would fain go and enjoy the cool air of Kachemire, as alſo all thoſe ſmall merchants and little people of Bazar that ſeek to gain a livelihood. The king, for the carriage of neceſſaries and the women of the ſeraglio, taketh with him ſome of the ſtrongeſt and beſt elephants: theſe beaſts, though groſs and unweildy, are very ſure-footed, and in an ill way they march very warily, aſſuring themſelves firſt of one foot before they remove the other. He taketh alſo ſome mules with him, but camels, the moſt neceſſary, he cannot make uſe of in this paſſage, theſe mountains being too ſteep and craggy for their long ſhoulded and ſtiff legs porters muſt ſupply their places, and what number, think you, muſt there be, if the king alone, as they ſay, hath above ſix thouſand for his occaſions, and I, a private man, though I have left at Lahor my ordinary tent and much of my baggage, as every one hath done, even the king himſelf and the Omrahs, find myſelf obliged to have three of them? It is believed, there are already no leſs here than fifteen thouſand, partly of thoſe which the governor of Kachemire, and the Rajas, hereabout have compelled to be here, partly of thoſe that come hither of their own accord out of the neighbouring villages to earn ſomething, for a man is obliged, following the king's order, to give them ten crowns for an hundred pound weight. It is ſaid, that, in all, there are above thirty thouſand of them, without reckoning that a month ago the king and the Omrahs ſent away ſome baggage before, and the merchants all ſorts of commodities.

LETTER IX.—*An exact Deſcription of the Kingdom of Kachemire, and the preſent State of the neighbouring Mountains, together with an Anſwer to five conſiderable Queſtions of a Friend*

SIR,

THE hiſtories of the ancient kings of Kachemire tells us, that all that country was formerly nothing but a great lake, and that there was an old holy man, called Kacheb, that gave an outlet to the waters, by a miraculous cut he made in the mountain of Baramoule. This may be ſeen in the abridgement of theſe hiſtories, which Jehan-Guyre cauſed to be made, and which I am tranſlating out of the Perſian tongue For my part, I would not deny, all this land to have once been covered with water, the like is affirmed of Theſſaly, and ſome other countries; but it is hard to believe, that the

opening is the work of one man, because the mountain is very big and very high. I should rather think, that some great earthquake (those parts being subject enough to them) had opened some cavern under ground, which the mountain did sink into, after the same manner as the opening of Babel-Mandel is made (if it be true what the Arabians of that country say of it), and as whole towns and mountains have been seen to be swallowed up in great lakes.

However it be, Kachemire is no lake now, but a very fair champaign, diversified by many little hillocks, about thirty leagues long, and ten or twelve leagues broad; situated in the extreme of Indostan, north of Lahor, locked up within the mountains of Caucasus, between those of the kings of the great Tibet, the little Tibet, and the Raja Gamon, its next neighbours.

The first mountains surrounding it, I mean those that are next to the plain, are of a middle height, all green with trees of pasture, full of all sorts of cattle, as cows, sheep, goats, horses, and of game of divers kinds, as partridges, hares, gazelles, and of some animals yielding musk. There are also abundance of bees, and (which is rare in the Indies) there are found no serpents, tigers, bears, lions, but very seldom. So that it may be said, that these are not only very innocent mountains, but flowing with milk and honey, as were those of the land of promise.

Beyond those middle sized mountains, there rise others, very high ones, the top of which are always covered with snow, and appear above the ordinary clouds and mists, always calm and clear, as well as mount Olympus.

Out of all these mountains do issue innumerable sources and rivulets on all sides, which the inhabitants know how to convey to their rice-fields, and even through raised ground unto their little hillocks; and which, after they have made a thousand other little rivulets, and a thousand cascatas every where, come at last to meet, and to make a very fair river, that carryeth boats as big as our river of Seine, and after it hath gently turned about the kingdom, and passed through the midst of the capital city, finds its out-let at Baramoule between two steep rocks, and having afterwards taken in many small rivers that come down from the mountains, falls about Atek into the river Indus.

All these rivulets, descending from the mountains, make the plain and all those hillocks so fair and fruitful, that one would take this whole kingdom for some ever-green garden, intermixed with villages and boroughs discovering themselves between the trees, and diversified by meadows, fields of rice, corn, and divers other legumes, of hemp and saffron, all interlaced with ditches full of water, with channels, with small lakes and rivulets here and there. Up and down, every where, are also seen some of our European plants, flowers, and all sorts of our trees, as apples, pears, prunes, apricots, nuts, vines. The particular gardens are full of melons, water-melons, skirrets, beets, radishes, all sorts of our pot-herbs, and of some we have not.

'Tis true, there are not so many sorts of fruit as with us, nor are they so excellent as ours, but I believe that that is not the fault of the soil, but that if they had as good gardeners as we, knowing to cultivate and graft trees, to chuse proper places and proper stocks, and to send for grafts from foreign countries, they would have as many and as good as we; because among that number of divers sorts, which I often caused to be brought to me, I have frequently met with very excellent ones.

The capital city, which is of the same name with that of the kingdom, is without walls; 'tis three quarters of a league long, and half a league broad; situate in a plain about two leagues distant from mountains, which seem to make, as it were, a semi-circle, and standing upon a lake of sweet water of four or five miles in compass, which is

 made

made up of live ſprings, and of rivulets running down the mountains, and diſgorgeth itſelf, by a navigable channel, into the river which paſſeth through the midſt of the town. This river hath, in the town, two wooden bridges over it, for communication Moſt houſes are of wood, but well built, and of two or three ſtories high, not as if they had not very good free-ſtone there (many old idol-temples ruined, and other buildings made of it, being yet to be ſeen); but the abundance of wood, eaſily deſcending from the mountains by little rivers, which it is caſt into, maketh people find that way of building turn to better account. The houſes that ſtand upon the river have almoſt all of them their little garden, lying upon the water, which maketh a very pleaſant perſpective, eſpecially in the ſpring and ſummer, when men walk on the river-ſide. The other houſes that ſtand not upon the river, have alſo almoſt all of them ſome garden; and there are a good number of ſuch that have a channel anſwering to the lake, and a little boat to go and divert themſelves upon it

In one end of the town there appears an hill, looſe from all the reſt, which maketh another very agreeable perſpective, becauſe on its declivity there ſtand very fine houſes with gardens, and on the top, a moſque and an hermitage well built, with a garden and ſtore of fine green trees, and 'tis upon the account of theſe trees and gardens, that in the language of the country 'tis called Haryperbet, as if you ſhould ſay, the mountain of verdure.

Oppoſite to this hill there is ſeen another, on which there is alſo a moſque, but a little one, together with a garden, and a very ancient building, which ſeems to have been a temple of idols, though they call it Tact Souliman, that is, the throne of Solomon, becauſe that Solomon as the Mahometans ſay, cauſed it to be built when he came to Kachemire, but how they will prove that Solomon made this voyage, I know not

The lake hath this peculiar, that 'tis full of little iſles, which are as many gardens of pleaſure, that appear all green in the midſt of the water, by reaſon of thoſe fruit-bearing-trees, and of the walks, on both ſides ſet with arbours, and becauſe they are ſurrounded with large leaved aſpen-trees, ſtanding at two foot diſtance from one another, the biggeſt whereof may be claſped about, but as tall as maſts of great ſhips, having only a tuft of branches at the top like palm trees

Beyond the lake, upon the ſide of the hills, there is nothing but houſes and gardens of pleaſure, the place having been found wonderfully proper for it, as being in a very fine air, in the view of the lake, the iſles and the town, and full of ſprings and rivulets

The moſt admirable of all theſe gardens is that of the King, which is called Chah-limar From the lake, one enters into it by a great canal, bordered with great green turfs This canal is above five hundred common paces long, and runs betwixt two large alleys of poplars. it leadeth to a great cabinet in the midſt of the garden, where begins another canal far more magnificent, which runs with a little riſing unto the end of the garden This canal is paved with large free-ſtone, its ſloping ſide covered with the ſame, and in the midſt of it there is a long row of jets of water, from fifteen to fifty foot There are alſo, from ſpace to ſpace, great rounds of water ſerving for ſtore-houſes, whence many jets of water, variouſly figured, do ſpring up. and this canal ends at another great cabinet, which is almoſt like the firſt.

Theſe cabinets, which are in a manner made like domes, ſituate in the middle of the canal, and encompaſſed with water, and conſequently between thoſe two great alleys of poplars, hath a gallery that reigneth round about, and four gates oppoſite to one another, two of which do reſpect the alleys, with two bridges to paſs over, one on one ſide, and the other on the other, the other two look upon the oppoſite canals Each cabinet

cabinet conſiſts of a great chamber in the midſt of four other leſſer chambers, which are in the four corners. All is painted and gilded within, the great chamber as well as the little ones, having ſentences with great letters in the Perſian tongue written upon them. The four gates are very rich, they are made of great ſtones with two columns, taken from thoſe ancient idol-temples ruined by Chah-Jehan. The price of theſe great ſtones and pillars is not well known, nor what kind of ſtone they be; though it appears ſufficiently, that 'tis a ſort of precious ſtone, finer than marble or porphiry.

From all that hath been ſaid, one may eaſily conjecture, that I am ſomewhat charmed with Kachemire, and that I pretend, there is perhaps nothing in the world like it for ſo ſmall a kingdom. It deſerves very well to reign over all thoſe neighbouring mountains as far as Tartary, and over all Indoſtan as far as Ceylon, as once it did: and 'tis not without ſome cauſe, that the Mogols call it the terreſtrial Paradiſe of the Indies; that Ekbar took ſo much pains to make himſelf maſter of it, and that his ſon Jehan-Guyre became ſo amorous thereof, that he could not leave it, and often ſaid, he would rather loſe all his empire, than Kachemire. And from the time that we arrived there, all the poets, both Kachemerians and Mogolians, ſtrove to make poems to the praiſe of this little kingdom, to preſent them to Aureng-Zebe, who gladly received and rewarded them. I remember, that among others, there was one, that exaggerating the extraordinary height of the mountains encompaſſing it, and rendering it almoſt inacceſſible any where, ſaid, that the top of theſe mountains was the cauſe, that the heavens did retire into the figure of a vault, as we ſee it, and that Kachemire being the maſter-piece of nature, and the king of the kingdoms of the world, it was ſuitable it ſhould be hard of acceſs, and ſo enjoy an undiſturbed peace and tranquillity, commanding all, and not being liable to be commanded by any. He added, that the reaſon why nature had ſurrounded it with mountains, of which ſome, namely the higheſt and moſt remote, were always white and covered with ſnow, the lowermoſt and the next to the plain, all green and covered with wood, was, becauſe that the king of the kingdoms of the world was to wear the moſt precious crown, the top whereof was to be of diamonds, and the bottom of emeralds. If the poet had added (ſaid I to my Navab Danechmend-kan, who was willing to make me admire all thoſe poems), that all thoſe great countries of mountains that environ it, as the little Tibet, the ſtate of the Raja Gamon Kachguer and Serenaguer, are to be comprehended under the kingdom of Kachemire, ſince, according to the hiſtory of the country, they once depended from it, and conſequently that the river Ganges on the one ſide, that of Indus on the other, the Chenau on a third, and the Gemma on the fourth, do iſſue out of the Kachemire, that theſe rivers, with ſo many others that run thence, do countervail the Gihon, the Piſon*, and the two others, and if at laſt he had concluded, that this was certainly the true terreſtrial paradiſe, rather than that in Armenia, this would have much enhanced the worth of all his commendations.

The Kachemirians have the reputation of being a very witty people, much more intelligent and dextrous than the Indians, and as fit for poeſy and ſciences as the Perſians. Beſides, they are very induſtrious, and willing to take pains: they make palekys, trunks, bedſteads, ſtandiſhes, boxes, ſpoons, and many other pieces, and all of good and very handſome workmanſhip, ſent over all the Indies. They know how to give it a good varniſh, and ſo dextrouſly to counterfeit the veins of a certain wood that hath very fine ones, by applying gold ſtrings upon it, that there is nothing finer. But what is peculiar and conſiderable in them, and which draws the trade and ſilver into the

* Gen ii. 11, 12, 13, 14.

country,

country, is that prodigious quantity of ſtuffs called chales, which they work there, and employ their little children in. These chales are certain kinds of ſtuff an ell and an half long, and about an ell broad, which are embroidered at each end with a kind of embroidery about a foot large. The Mogols and Indians, both men and women, wear of them in winter upon their heads, paſſing them over their left ſhoulder like a mantle. They make two ſorts of them; one, of the wool of the country, which is finer than that of Spain, the other, of a wool, or rather of an hair, they call touz, taken from the breaſt of a wild goat of the great Tibet. Theſe latter are of a far greater price than the former: neither is there any caſtor ſo ſoft and delicate. The miſchief is, the worms get eaſily into it, unleſs you have a particular care often to unfold and air them. I have ſeen of theſe, which the Omrahs purpoſely cauſed to be made, which coſt an hundred and fifty rupies: of the others, that are made of the wool of the country, I have ſeen none that coſt above fifty.

'Tis obſerved of theſe chales, that, work them never ſo carefully in Patna, Agra, and Lahor, you ſhall never make the ſtuff ſo ſoft and fine, as in Kachemire, which is commonly imputed to the particular water of the country; as at Maſulipatam they make thoſe fine ſtuffs, which become fairer by waſhing.

The Kachemirians are alſo famous for their good complexion. They look as well as our Europeans, and have nothing of a Tartarian flat-noſed and little-eyed face, as thoſe of Kachguer, and moſt of the people of the great Tibet. The women, eſpecially, are very beautiful, and therefore all ſtrangers, that are new comers to the court of Mogol, are furniſhed from thence, that ſo they may have children whiter than the Indians, and which by this means may paſs for true Mogols. And certainly, if one may judge of the beauty of the retired women by that of the common people, met with in the ſtreets, and ſeen up and down in the ſhops, we muſt believe, that there are very handſome ones. At Lahor, where they have the repute of being proper and ſlender, and the handſomeſt of the brown laſſes of the Indies (as really they are), I uſed an art which is ordinary among the Mogols, which is, to follow ſome elephants, eſpecially thoſe that are richly harneſſed, for as ſoon as thoſe women hear the two bells ringing on the ſides of that beaſt, they will put their heads out of the windows. The ſame trick I uſed here, and I made alſo uſe of another, in which I ſucceeded very well, it was deviſed by an old and famous maſter of a ſchool, whom I had taken to help me to underſtand a Perſian poet. He made me buy ſtore of comfits, and he being known and reſpected every where, carried me into above fifteen houſes, telling them that I was his kinſman, newly come out of Perſia, that I was rich and to be married. As ſoon as we came into a houſe, he diſtributed comfits to the children, and preſently all came about us, women and children, great and ſmall, to have their ſhare, or to be ſeen. This curioſity coſt me many a good rupy, but it confirmed me, that in Kachemire there are as fair faces, as in any place of Europe.

There remain only to impart unto you what I obſerved moſt conſiderable in coming through the mountains, from Bember hither (with which perhaps I ſhould have begun,) and after having given you an account of ſome other little voyages I have been obliged to make in divers parts of this kingdom, you will learn all I could come to know of the reſt of the circumjacent mountains.

Concerning then, firſt, our voyage from Bember hither, it ſeemed to me ſurpriſing enough to find myſelf, from the firſt night that we parted from Bember, and entered into the mountains, paſs from a torrid to a temperate zone: for, we had no ſooner mounted that dreadful wall of the world, I mean, this high, ſteep, black and bald mountain of Bember, but that in deſcending on the other ſide, we found an air that

that was pretty tolerable, fresh, gentle and temperate. But that which surprized me more in these mountains was, to find myself, in a trice, transported out of the Indies into Europe. For, seeing the earth covered with all our plants and shrubs, except issop, thyme, marjoram and rosemary, I imagined I was in some of our mountains of Auvergne, in the midst of a forest of all our kinds of trees, pines, oaks, elms, plane-trees. And I was the more astonished, because in all those burning fields of Indostan, whence I came, I had seen almost nothing of all that.

Among other things relating to plants, this surprized me, that one and a half days journey from Bember, I found a mountain that was covered with them on both sides, but with this difference, that on the side of the mountain that was southerly toward the Indies, there was a mixture of Indian and European plants, and on that which was exposed to the north I observed none but European ones; as if the former had participated of the air and temper of Europe and the Indies, and the other had been merely European.

As to the trees, I admired this natural course of generations and corruptions; below in these bottoms, where perhaps no man ever was, I saw hundreds that were falling, or fallen, one upon another, dead and half rotten of age, and other young and verdant ones growing out of the foot of those that were dead: some of them also I saw burnt, whether it was from lightning, or that in the heat of summer they had taken fire by rubbing themselves against one another, when they were agitated by some hot and impetuous wind; or, as the country people say, that they take fire of themselves, when they are grown old and dry.

I admired also those natural cascatas of water, which we found between those rocks. We met, among others, one of them so wonderful, that doubtless it cannot be paralleled. One seeth afar off from the side of an high mountain, running down, a torrent of water, in a channel covered with trees, and precipitate itself in a trice to the bottom of a steep rock of a stupendous height, with a noise that is able to strike one deaf, like a cataract. There was erected near it a theatre, upon a rock, which Jehan-Guyre had caused purposely to be made plain, that the court passing, might there repose themselves, and from thence, with conveniency, behold this admirable workmanship of nature; which, as well as those old trees I was just now speaking of, seems to resemble something of great antiquity, and of the first production of the world.

All these divertisements were blended with an odd accident. On the day that the King went upon the mountain of Pirepenjale, which is the highest of all, and whence one begins to discover afar off the country of Kachemire, on that day, I say, that the King ascended this mountain, being followed by a long row of elephants, upon which sit the women in Mik-dembars, and Embarys, one of those elephants was frighted by beholding, as the Indians would have it, such a long and steep ascent, and fell back upon him that was next, and he upon the next, and so on to the fifteenth, so that not one of them being able to turn in this way, which was extremely rude and steep, they all tumbled into the precipice. It was good fortune for those poor women, that the precipice itself was not very steep, so that there were but three or four of them killed; but the fifteen elephants remained upon the place. When these bulky masses do once fall under those vast burdens they are loaden with, they never rise again, though the way be never so fair. We saw them two days after, in passing by, and I observed some of them yet stirring their trunk. This accident put the whole army, which had marched four days along the mountains in file, into great disorder, because to recover these women and all that wreck, a stop was made for the remainder of that day and all the night, every one being necessitated to stop where he was, because it was in many places

places impoſſible to advance or go back, and none had near him thoſe porters that carried his tent and victuals. As for myſelf, I was not in the worſt condition, having found means to creep out of the way, and to take the conveniency of a ſmall place to lie down in, for myſelf and my horſe. And, to my good luck, one of my ſervants that followed me, had a little bread, which we ſhared together. I remember, it was there where, ſtirring ſome ſtones, we found a great black ſcorpion, which a young Mogol of my acquaintance took, and ſqueezed it in his own hand, and then in the hand of my ſervant, and at laſt in mine, without our being ſtung by him. This young cavalier ſaid, that he had charmed him, as he had done many others before, by a paſſage of the Alcoran, which he would not teach me, becauſe, ſaid he, the power of charming would paſs to me and leave himſelf, as it had paſſed to him by quitting his teacher.

In traverſing this ſame mountain of Pirepenjale, where the elephants tumbled down, there occured thoſe things which called to my mind ſome of my former philoſophical thoughts. The firſt was, that in leſs than an hour we felt ſummer and winter; for in aſcending we did ſweat groſs drops, all men going on foot in a burning ſun, and when we came to the top of the mountain, we yet found the icy ſnow, that had been cut to open the way; there was a froſt upon a miſling rain, and there blew a wind ſo cold, that all people ſhook and ran away, eſpecially the ſilly Indians, who never had ſeen ice or ſnow, nor felt ſuch a cold.

The ſecond was, that in leſs than two hundred paces I met with two quite contrary winds, one from the north, which blew in my face aſcending, eſpecially when I came near the top and another from the ſouth, which blew againſt my back in deſcending; as if this hill had protruded exhalations out of its bowels from all ſides, which coming forth had cauſed a wind that had deſcended and taken its courſe in thoſe two oppoſite dales.

The third was the meeting an old hermit, that had lived on the top of this mountain ſince the time of Jehan-Guyre, and whoſe religion was not known, though it was ſaid, that he did miracles, cauſed ſtrange thunders when he would, and raiſed ſtorms of hail, ſnow, rain, and wind He looked ſomewhat ſavage-like, having a long and large white beard uncombed. He aſked alms ſomewhat fiercely, ſuffered us to take up water in earthen cups, he had ranged upon a great ſtone; made ſign with his hand, importing that we ſhould ſpeedily march away, and grumbled at thoſe that made a noiſe, becauſe, ſaid he to me, (when I was come into his cave, and had a little ſweetned his looks with half a roupy, which with much humility I put into his hand) a noiſe raiſeth furious ſtorms and tempeſts. Aureng-zebe, ſaid he further, did very well in following my counſel, and not permitting to make any noiſe Chah-Jehan always took care of the ſame; but Jehan-Guyre once mocking at it, and cauſing trumpets and cymbals to ſound, was like to have periſhed here.

In reference to the little voyages I have made in divers parts of this kingdom, behold the particulars I took notice of as I paſſed We were no ſooner arrived at Kachemire, but my Navab Danechmend-kan ſent me, together with one of his horſemen for a convoy, and a countryman, to one of the extremities of this kingdom, three ſmall days journey from hence, upon the relation made him, that this was the very time to ſee the wonders (for ſo they ſpeak of them) of a ſpring that is thereabout. These wonders are, that in the month of May, the time when the ſnow begins but to melt, this fountain, for about the ſpace of fifteen days, regularly flows and ſtops thrice a-day, at break of day, at noon, and at night: its flowing ordinarily laſts three quarters of an hour, more or leſs, and that plentifully enough to fill a ſquare receptacle having ſteps to go down to it, and being about ten or twelve foot broad, and as many foot deep.

After

After the first fifteen days, its course begins to be less regular, and less copious; and at length, after a month or thereabout, it quite stops and runs no more for the rest of the year, unless it be, that during some rains, it flows incessantly and without rule, as other fountains do. The Gentiles have on the side of the receiver a little temple of the idol Brare, which is one of their false deities; and thence it is that they call this fountain Send-Brary, as if you should say, Water of Brare; and that thither they come from all parts in pilgrimage, to bathe and sanctify themselves in this miraculous water. Upon the origin of this water they make many fables, which I shall not recite to you, because I find not the least shadow of truth in them. During the five or six days of my stay there, I did what possibly I could to find the reason of this wonder. I did attentively consider the situation of the mountain, at the foot of which this spring is found: I went to the very top with great pains, searching and prying every where. I observed that it extends itself in length from north to south; that 'tis severed from other mountains, which are very near to it, that it is in the form of an ass's back; that its top, which is very long, hath not much more than an hundred paces where it is largest; that one of the sides of the mountain, which is covered with nothing but green grass, is exposed to the east, yet so that the sun comes not to shine out before eight a clock in the morning, because of the other opposite mountains; and lastly, that the other side, which is exposed to the west, is covered with trees and bushes. All this being considered, I did imagine, that the heat of the sun, together with the particular situation, and the internal disposition of the mountain, might very well be the cause of this pretended miracle, that the morning sun, coming briskly to strike on the side opposite thereto, heats it, and melts part of the frozen waters, which, during the winter, when all was covered with snow, had insinuated themselves into the inner parts of the earth of this mountain, that these waters penetrating, and by little and little running down unto certain beds of quick rock, which retain and convey them toward the spring head, cause the flowing of the fountain at noon, that the same sun, raised to the south, and leaving that other side, now growing cold, for to strike with its beams as it were perpendicularly, the top, doth also melt other frozen waters, which likewise run down by little and little as the other but by other turnings, unto those rocky beds, and cause the flowing at night: and that lastly, the sun heating likewise this western side, produceth the like effect, and causes the third flux in the morning, which is slower than the two others, either because this western side is remote from the eastern where the source is, or because that being covered with wood, it is not so soon heated, or by reason of the cold of the night. Now I found this my reasoning the more cogent, forasmuch as it seems to agree with what is affirmed, that in the first days the water comes in greater abundance than in the latter, and that at last it stops, and runs not at all; as if indeed in the beginning there were of these frozen waters great plenty in the earth than at last it seems also to agree with what is observed, that there are some days in the beginning, in which one flux is found more abounding than the other, and sometimes more at noon than in the evening or morning, or in the morning more than at noon; it commonly falling out, so that some days there are hotter than others, or that some clouds arise which interrupt the equality of the heat, and consequently make the flux unequal.

Returning from Send-brary I turned a little aside from the road to go and lie at Achiavel, which is an house of pleasure of the ancient kings of Kachemire, and at present of the great Mogol. That which most adorns it, is a fountain, the water whereof diffuseth itself on all sides round about that fabrick (which is not despicable) and into the gardens by an hundred canals. It breaks out of the earth, as if by some

violence

violence it ascended up from the bottom of a well, and that with such an abundance as might make it to be called a river rather than a fountain. The water of it is admirably good, and so cold that one can hardly endure to hold one's hands in it. The garden itself is very fine, there being curious walks in it, and store of fruit-bearing trees of apples, pears, prunes, apricocks, and cherries, and many jets of waters of various figures, and ponds replenished with fish, together with a very high cascata of water, which by its fall maketh a great nape of thirty or forty paces long, which hath an admirable effect, especially in the night, when under this nape there is put a great number of little lamps fitted in holes purposely made in the wall; which maketh a curious shew.

From Achiavel I went yet a little more out of my way to pass through another royal garden, which is also very beautiful, and hath the same pleasantness with that of Achiavel; but this is peculiar in it, that in one of its ponds there are fishes that come when they are called, and when you cast bread to them; the biggest whereof have golden rings in their noses, with inscriptions about them, which, they say, that renowned Nour-Mehalle, the wife of Jehan Guyre, the grandfather of Aurenge-Zebe, caused to be fastened in them.

I was no sooner returned from Send-biary, but Danech-mend-kan, well satisfied with my voyage, made me undertake one more, to see another sure miracle, as he called it, which should be capable to make me soon change my religion, and turn Musselman. Go, saith he, to Baramoulay, which is not further from hence than Send-biary, there you shall find a mosque, in which is the tomb of one of our Pires or saints, which still every day works miracles in curing sick people, that flock thither from all parts: it may be, that you will believe nothing of all those miraculous cures you shall see, but you will at least believe one miracle, which is done every day, and you may see with your own eyes: and that is of a big round stone, which the strongest man is hardly able to raise in the least from the ground, but yet eleven men, by praying to that saint, lift up, as if it were a straw, with the end of their eleven fingers, without any trouble at all, and without being sensible of any weight. Hereupon I began this journey also, accompanied with my horseman and the country fellow, and being arrived at Baramoulay, I found it a place pleasant enough. The mosque is sufficiently well built, the tomb of the pretended saint well adorned, and round about it there was store of people of great devotion, who said they were sick. Near the mosque there was a kitchen with large kettles full of flesh and rice, which, in my opinion, was the magnet drawing the sick people thither, and the miracle that cured them. On the other side was the garden and the chambers of the Mullahs, who with great conveniency and delight spend their life there, under the shadow of the miraculous sanctity of this Pire, which they are not wanting to celebrate: but as I am always very unhappy in such occasions, he did not miracle that day upon any of the sick. As for the great stone, which was the business I came for; there were eleven cheats of these Mullahs that crouded together in a round, and by their long vests hindred me from seeing well in what manner they took and lifted it up, yet said all, that they held it only with the end of one of their fingers, and that it was as light as a feather. For my part, who had my eyes open and looked on narrowly, I perceived well enough, that they took great pains, and they seemed to me, that they used also the thumb, which they held very firm upon the second finger bent and circled: but yet I was not wanting to cry out as well as the Mullahs and all the other assistants, Karamet, Karamet, miracle, miracle, giving at the same time a roupy for the Mullahs, and with great shew of devotion praying them to favour me with suffering me once to be one of the eleven lifters up of the stone,

ſtone. They did heſitate long before they reſolved to permit it; but having given them another roupy, and made them believe I was perſuaded of the truth of the miracle, one of the eleven gave me his place; they doubtleſs imagined, that ten of them joined together would be ſufficient to do the buſineſs; though I ſhould not add much to it; and that they would ſo range themſelves and croud together, that I ſhould perceive nothing of their impoſture. But they found themſelves egregiouſly deceived, when they ſaw that the ſtone, which I would not ſupport but only by the end of my finger, always inclined and fell to my ſide, until at length I found it neceſſary to put my thumb to it, and to hold it with my finger as they did, and then we lifted it up from the earth, yet not without much pain. Notwithſtanding which, when I ſaw that they all looked upon me a-ſquint, not knowing what to make of me, I ſtill went on crying like the reſt, Karamet, miracle, miracle, and over and above caſting to them another roupy to ſecure myſelf from being ſtoned: and ſtealing away from among the crowd, I preſently took horſe, without eating or drinking, and left the ſaint and the miracles to thoſe that had faith enough to believe them. obſerving, as I paſſed along, that famous opening, which is an outlet to all the waters of this kingdom, of which I have already ſaid ſomething in the beginning of this book.

I left my way again, to approach to a great lake, which I ſaw afar off, through the middle whereof paſſeth the river that runs to Baramoulay. It is full of fiſh, eſpecially eels, and covered with ducks and wild-fowl, and many other river-fowl, and 'tis where the governor comes in winter, at which time 'tis covered with thoſe creatures to divert themſelves with fowling. In the midſt of this lake there is an eremitage with its little garden, which, as they ſay, doth miraculouſly float upon the water, and where the eremite paſſeth his life without ever going from it. Beſides which, they make a thouſand other ridiculous tales of it, which are not worth reciting, unleſs perhaps you will except what ſome have told me, that it was one of thoſe ancient kings of Kachemire, who out of curioſity cauſed this eremitage to be built upon thick beams faſtened to one another.

Thence I went to find out a fountain, which hath ſomething that's rare enough in it bubbling up gently, and riſing with ſome little impetuoſity, and making ſmall bubbles of air, and carrying with it, to the top, ſome ſmall ſand that is very fine, which goeth away again as it came, the water becoming ſtill, a moment after it, without ebullition, and without bringing up ſand; and ſoon after beginning afreſh as before, and ſo continuing its motion by intervals, which are not regular. But the wonder, as they ſay, conſiſts in this, that the leaſt noiſe, made by ſpeaking, or by knocking one's foot againſt the ground, moveth the water, and maketh it run and bubble as was ſaid. Yet I found plainly, that ſpeaking or knocking availeth nothing to produce that effect, and that it moveth as well when one ſaith nothing, as when one ſpeaks or knocketh. But now to give the true cauſe of it, that requireth more thinking than I have beſtowed upon it; unleſs one ſhould ſay, that the ſand, by falling down again, obſtructeth the narrow channel of this ſmall and weak ſpring, until the water, being cloſed up and kept in, make an effort to remove and raiſe again the ſand, and ſo to diſengage itſelf; or rather that ſome wind, pent in the channel of the ſpring, riſes by turns, as it comes to paſs in artificial fountains.

After we had conſidered this fountain, we entered into the mountains to ſee a great lake, which hath ice in ſummer, and looketh like a little icy ſea, having heaps of ice, made and unmade by the winds. Afterwards we paſſed through a certain place, called Seng-ſafed, that is, white ſtone; which is famous for being full all the ſummer long of all ſorts of flowers like a parterre, and for this obſervation, that when much people go thither, making a great noiſe and much ſtirring the air, there preſently falls a ſhower

of

of rain. This is certain, that when, some years since, Chah-Jehan went thither, he was in danger of perishing by the great and extraordinary rain survening, though he had commanded, they should make the least noise they could. This agreed with what my eremite of Pirepengale had told me.

And now I was going to a grotto of odd congelation, which is two days journey from thence; but I received news, that after my so long absence my Navah was troubled about me.

As to the condition of the neighbouring mountains round about, I have, since our being here, done what possibly I could to inform myself about them; but I have profited but little, for want of people that are intelligent and observe things; yet notwithstanding I will not omit to relate to you what I have learned of it.

The merchants of Kachemire, that go every year from mountain to mountain, gathering fine wool to make those stuffs I have above been speaking of, do all agree, that between the mountains, which still depend from Kachemire, there are found very fine places of good land, and that amongst others there is one place, which pays its tribute in leather and wool, sent for by the governor every year: and where the women are extreme handsome, chaste and laborious; that there is also another farther off from Kachemire, which also pays its tribute in leather and wool, and hath very pretty, though but small fertile plains, and most pleasant vallies, abounding in corn, rice, apples, pears, apricocks and melons, as also in raisins yielding very good wine, the inhabitants whereof have sometimes refused to pay the tribute, relying upon the difficulty of access to their country; but there hath always been a way found to enter and to reduce them. The same merchants agree also, that among the other mountains, that are more distant and depend no more from Kachemire, there are likewise found very pleasant countries, peopled with very handsome whites, but such as almost never come out from their homes, of which some have no kings, nor as far as could be perceived, any religion, only that some of them do eat no fish, counting them unclean.

I shall add here, what I was lately told by a good ancient man, that had married a wife of the ancient family of the Kings of Kachemire. He said, that when Jehan-Guyre made a strict inquiry after all those that were of that family, he was afraid to be taken, and thereupon fled with three servants cross these mountains, not knowing in a manner whither he went; that thus wandring he came at last into a very fine small canton, where, when it came to be known who he was, the inhabitants came to visit him and brought him presents, and that, to make up their kindness, they brought to him in the evening one of the beautifullest of their young maidens, praying him that he would bed with her, because they desired very much to have issue of his blood: that passing from thence into another canton, not much distant from the former, the people likewise came to see him, and to present him, but that the kindness of the evening was far different from the other, in that these inhabitants brought to him their own wives, arguing that those of the other canton were beasts, because that his blood would not remain in their house, since the maidens would carry the child with them into the house of him to whom they should be married.

I may further add, that some years since, there being a dissention risen between the family of the King of the little Tibet, which borders upon Kachemire, one of the pretenders to the crown did secretly call for the assistance of the governor of Kachemire, who by order of Chah-Jehan gave him powerful succours, and put to death or flight all the other pretenders, and left this man in possession of the country, on condition of an annual tribute to be paid in crystal, musc, and wool. This petty king

could not forbear coming to see Aureng-Zebe, bringing with him a present of those things I just now named; but he had so pitiful a train, that I should never have taken him for what he was. My Navah entertained him at dinner, that he might receive the better information concerning those mountains. I heard him say that his country on the east side did confine with great Tibet; that it was about thirty or forty leagues broad; that there was indeed some little crystal, musc, and wool, but for the rest very poor; and that there were no gold mines, as was said; that in some places there was very good fruit, especially melons; that they had very hard winters and very troublesome, because of the deep snows; and that the people, which formerly had been heathen, were almost all become Mahometan, as himself, namely, of that sect called Chia, which is that of all Persia. Besides, that seventeen or eighteen years ago Chah-Jehan had attempted to make himself master of the kingdom of the great Tibet, as formerly also had done the Kings of Kachemire; that his army after sixteen days difficult march, always among mountains, did besiege a castle which they took; that there remained no more for him to do, than to pass a river, which is famous and very rapid, and thereupon to march directly to the capital town, which he would have easily carried, the whole kingdom being in a panick terror; but that the season being far spent, the governor of Kachemire, who was the general of that army, did apprehend that he should be surprized by the snow, and so returned, leaving in that castle a garrison, which, whether it was for fear of the enemy, or from want of sufficient provision, he could not say, soon abandoned it, which broke the design the governor had of returning thither the next spring.

Now that the King of this great Tibet knows that Aureng-Zebe is at Kachemire, and threatens him with war, he hath sent to him an embassador, with presents of the country, as crystal, and those dear white cow-tails, by way of ornament fastened to the ears of elephants, as also musc, and a stone of Jachen of great price, because of an extraordinary bigness. This Jachen is a blueish stone with white veins so hard that it is wrought with nothing else but the powder of diamond, highly esteemed in the court of the Mogol. They make cups of it and other vessels, of which I have some richly wrought with threads of gold, of very curious workmanship. The train of this embassador did consist of three or four cavaliers, and ten or twelve tall men, dry and lean, having three or four hairs in their beards like the Chinese, and plain red bonnets upon their heads like our seamen, the rest of their garments suitable. I think there were four or five of them with swords, but the rest marched behind the embassador without any rod or stick. He treated with Aureng-Zebe in his master's name, promising him that he would suffer a mosque to be built in the capital city, wherein prayers should be made after the Mahometan way; that the money henceforth to be coined should on the one side have the impress of Aureng-Zebe, and that he would pay him a certain annual tribute. But 'tis believed, that as soon as this king shall know that Aureng-Zebe is gone from Kachemire, he will laugh at all this treaty, as he did formerly at that which he had made with Chah-Jehan.

This embassador had in his suite a physician, which was said to be of the kingdom of Lassa, and of the tribe Lamy or Lama, which is that of the men of the law in that country, as the Brahmans are in the Indies; with this difference, that the Brahmans have no Caliph, or high-priest, but the Lamians have one that is not only acknowledged for such by the kingdom of Lassa, but also by all Tartary, and who is honoured and reverenced like a divine person. This physician had a book of receipts, which he would never sell to me; the writing of it seemed, at a distance, somewhat like ours. We made him begin to write the alphabet, but he wrote so slowly, and his writing was so bad in respect of that in his book, that we soon judged this must needs be a poor doctor.

He was much wedded to the Metempsychosis or transmigration of souls, and was full of admirable stories of it; among the rest he related of his great Lama, that when he was old and ready to die, he assembled his council, and declared to them, that now he was passing into the body of a little child lately born, that this child was bred up with great care, and when it was about six or seven years old, they brought to it store of houshold-stuff, pel-mel, with his own, and that the child was able to distinguish those that were or had been his, from that of others; which was, said this doctor, an authentic proof of the transmigration. For my part, I thought at first he rallied, but I found at last that he spoke very seriously. I was once to see him at the embassador's, with a merchant of Kachemire that knew the language of Tibet, and was an interpreter to me. I made as if I would buy some stuffs he had brought to sell, which were some kind of ratines of about a foot and a half broad, but it was really to learn something of that country, yet it was no great matter I obtained from him. He only told me in general, that all the kingdom of the great Tibet was, in comparison to his, a miserable country, full of snow for more than five months of the year; that his king made often war with the Tartars; but he could never distinguish to me, what kind of Tartars they were. At length, after I had made a good many questions to him, without receiving any satisfaction upon them, I saw I lost only my time with him.

But there is another thing, which is so certain, that nobody here doubts of it. It is not yet twenty years that there went caravans every year from Kachemire, which crossed all those mountains of the great Tibet, entered into Tartary and arrived in about three months at Cataja, notwithstanding the very ill ways, and the rapid torrents; which latter are to be passed over cords stretched from one rock to another. These caravans brought back musc, chinawood, rhubarb, and mamiron, which last is a small root exceeding good for ill eyes. Repassing over the great Tibet, they also loaded themselves with the merchandise of that country, viz. musc, cristal and jachen; but especially with store of very fine wool of two sorts, one of sheep, and the other called Touz, which is rather, as I have said, a kind of hair approaching to our castor, than a wool. But since the attempt which Chah-Jehan made on that side, the king of the great Tibet has altogether shut up the way, and suffers not any one from Kachemire to enter into his country. and thence it is, that the caravans at present go from Patna upon the Ganges, not passing through his country at all, but leaving it on the left-hand, and coming directly to the kingdom of Lassa.

Concerning this kingdom, here called Kacheguer, which doubtless is that which our maps call Kascar, I shall relate to you what I was able to learn of it from the merchants of the country itself, who, knowing that Aureng-Zebe was to stay a-while at Kachemire, were come thither with a good number of slaves, of both sexes, whom they had to sell. They say, that the kingdom of Kacheguer lyeth east of Kachemire, drawing a little northward, that the shortest way thither was to go directly to the great Tibet; but that passage being obstructed, they were forced to take their way through the little Tibet: that first they went to a small town called Gourtche, the last town depending from Kachemire, and four days journey distant from the same; that from thence, in eight days, they came to Eskerdou, the capital of the king of the little Tibet, and thence in two days more to a small town called Cheker, likewise belonging to the little Tibet, and situate upon a river very famous for being medicinal; that in fifteen days they came to a great forest upon the confines of the little Tibet, and in fifteen days more to Kacheguer, a small town, once the seat of the king of Kacheguer, which is now at Jourkend, lying somewhat more to the north,

and

and ten days journey diſtant from Kacheguer. They added, that from the town of Kacheguer to Katay, it is no more but two months voyage; that every year there go caravans, bringing back all thoſe commodities I have named, and paſſing into Perſia through Uſbeck, as there are others that do paſs to Patna in Indoſtan. They ſaid moreover, that to go from Kacheguer to Katay, travellers muſt get to a town that is eight days journey from Coten, the laſt town of the kingdom of Kacheguer; that the ways from Kachemire to Kacheguer are very difficult; that among others there is a place, where, in what ſeaſon ſoever it be, you muſt march for about a quarter of a league upon ice. This is all I could learn of thoſe parts, which though indeed it be very much confuſed and very little, yet will it be found much, conſidering I had to do both with people ſo ignorant, that they almoſt know not to give a reaſon of any thing; and with interpreters, who, for the moſt part, know not how to make the queſtions to be underſtood, nor intelligibly to deliver the anſwers made thereto.

I thought once, I would have here concluded this letter, or rather this book, and taken my leave of you until I came to Dehli, whither we are now returning: but ſince I am in the vein of writing, and at ſome leiſure, I ſhall endeavour to give you ſome ſatisfaction to thoſe five particulars you demanded of me in your laſt letter, in the name of Monſieur Thevenot, that illuſtrious perſon, who daily giveth us more diſcoveries, without going out of his ſtudy, than we have learned of thoſe that have gone round the world.

The firſt of his demands is; whether it be true, that in the kingdom of Kachemire there are Jews ſettled there from immemorial times, and if ſo, whether they have the holy ſcripture, and if their old teſtament be altogether conform to ours?

The ſecond is; that I would give you an account of what I have obſerved touching the Monſons, or the ſeaſon of the ordinary rains in the Indies.

The third is; that I would give you my obſervations, and declare to you my thoughts concerning the wonderful regularity of the current of the ſea, and the winds in the Indies.

The fourth is; whether the kingdom of Bengal is ſo fertile, ſo rich, and ſo beautiful, as it is ſaid to be?

The fifth is; that I would at length decide unto you the old controverſy touching the cauſes of the increaſe of the Nile.

Anſwer to the firſt demand, concerning the Jews.

I ſhould indeed be very glad, as well as M. Thevenot, that there were Jews to be found in the valley of thoſe mountains, who might be ſuch, as I believe he would have them, I mean, of thoſe ten tribes tranſported by Salmanaſſer. But you may aſſure him, that if anciently there have been of them in this place (as there is ſome reaſon to believe there were,) there are none of them at preſent, and all the inhabitants of it are now either Gentiles or Mahometans; and that perhaps it is China where they may be found. For I have lately ſeen, in the hands of our reverend father, the Jeſuit of Dehli, ſome letters of a German Jeſuit, written from Pekin, taking notice, that he had there ſeen ſome of them that had preſerved the Jewiſh religion, and the Old Teſtament, that knew nothing of the death of Jeſus Chriſt, and that they would have even made this Jeſuit their Kacan, if he would have foreborn to eat ſwine's fleſh.

Mean time here alſo are not wanting ſeveral marks of Judaiſm. The firſt is, that at

 the

the entering into this kingdom, after having passed the mountains of Pirepenjal, all the inhabitants I saw in the first villages seemed to me to be Jews in their garb and mein, and in something peculiar, which maketh us often discern nations from one another. I am not the only person that hath had this thought, our father, the Jesuit, and many of our Europeans had the same before me. The second is, that I have observed, that among the meaner sort of the people of this town, though they be Mahometans, yet the name of Mousa, that is Moses, is much used. The third, that commonly they say, that Solomon came into their country, and that it was he that cut the mountain of Baramoule to give an outlet to the waters. The fourth, that they say, Moses died at Kachemire, and that his tomb is one league distant from this town. The fifth, that they pretend, that that little and very ancient edifice, which appears from hence upon an high mountain, was built by Solomon, and that thence they call it to this very day the Throne of Solomon. So that I would not deny, but that some Jews may have penetrated hither, and that in length of time they may have lost the purity of their law, turned idolaters, at last Mahometans. In short, we see store of the Jewish nation that have passed into Persia to Lar, Ispahan, and also into Indostan, on the side of Goa and Cochin. I have been informed, that there were of them in Æthiopia, even gallant and military men, and some of them so considerable and potent, that there was one of them, fifteen or sixteen years ago, that had attempted to make himself king of a little country of the mountains of a very hard access, if it be true, what two embassadors of the king of Æthiopia, that were lately in this court, related to me.

Answer to the second demand, about the stated rains in the Indies.

The sun is so strong and violent in the Indies all the year long, and principally for the space of eight months, that he would burn all, and render the country barren and uninhabitable, if providence had not particularly provided and disposed things in so admirable a way, as in the month of July, when the heats are most violent, rains begin regularly to fall, which continuing for three months together, do temper the earth, and render it very fruitful, and so qualify the air that it may be endured. Yet are not these rains so regular, that they fall always just at the same time, of which I have made many observations in different places, and principally at Dehli, where I lived a long while. The like is found in other countries; and there is always some difference in the time from year to year; for sometimes they begin or end a fortnight or three weeks sooner, sometimes later, and there are also some years, in which they are not so plentiful as in others, insomuch that two years together it did almost not rain at all, which caused much sickness, and great famine. Besides, there is also this difference, in respect of countries different and remote from one another, that these rains ordinarily begin sooner, or are more plentiful in one than in the other. For example, in Bengal and along the coast of Coromandel, as far as to the isle of Ceilan, they begin and end a month sooner than towards the coast of Malabar: and in Bengal these rains are pouring down for four months, and sometimes continue for eight days and nights together without intermission, whereas at Dehli and Agra they are never so strong, nor so durable, there passing sometimes two or three whole days without any rain; and ordinarily the whole morning, from break of day until about nine or ten o'clock, it rains but very little or nothing. But the most considerable difference I have observed, is, that the rains in divers places come from different quarters of the world, as about Dehli

Dehli they come from the east, where lies Bengal; whereas, on the contrary, in the parts of Bengal, and upon the coast of Coromandel, they come from the south; and upon the coast of Malabar they proceed almost always from the west.

I have also observed another particular, about which they all agree in those parts; viz. That according as the heat of the summer comes sooner or later, is more or less violent, and lasts longer or a shorter time; the rains also come sooner or later, are more or less plentiful, last longer or a shorter time.

These observations have given me ground to believe, that the heat of the earth and the rarefaction of the air must be the principal cause of these rains, and draw them; forasmuch as the air of the seas, which lie near round about the lands, being colder, more condensed and more gross, filled with clouds which the great heats of the summer raise from the waters, and which the winds drive and agitate, dischargeth itself easily upon the land, where the air is hotter, more rarified, in more motion and less resisting than upon the seas, so as that this discharge is more or less tardy and abundant, according as the heat comes sooner and is more violent.

Suitable to the same observations, I was persuaded, that if the rains begin sooner upon the coast of Coromandel than upon that of Malabar, it is by reason that the summer begins there sooner, it being possible that there it may do so for some particular reasons which perhaps would not be hard to find, if the country were well examined: for we know, that according to the different situation of a land in respect of seas or mountains, and according as it is more sandy, or hilly, or woody, the summer comes there either sooner or later, and with more or less violence.

I am further persuaded, that it is no wonder, that the rains come from different quarters; that upon the coast of Coromandel, for example, they come from the south, and upon that of Malabar from the west; because that in all appearance it must be the nearest seas that send them, and the coast of Coromandel is nearer to the sea, which lyeth southerly in respect of it, and is more exposed to it, as the coast of Malabar is to the west of it, lying towards Babel-mandel, Arabia, and the gulf of Persia.

Lastly, I have imagined, that if at Dehli, for example, the rains come from the east, it may yet be that the seas which are southerly to it are the origin of them; but that they are forced by reason of some mountains, or some other lands where the air is colder, more condensed and more resisting, to turn aside and discharge themselves another way, where the air is more rarified, and where consequently they find less resistance.

I forgot to tell you, that I also observed at Dehli, that there it never rains to purpose, till for many days there have passed store of clouds westward; as if it were necessary that those spaces of air which are beyond Dehli westward, should be first filled with clouds, and that these clouds finding there some obstacle, as it may be some air less hot and less rarified, and consequently more condensed and more able to resist, or some other contrary clouds and winds repelling them, should become so thick, so burthensome and so heavy, that they must fall down in rain, after the same manner as it often enough falls out, when the wind driveth the clouds against some high mountain.

Answer to the third demand, concerning the regularity of the current of the sea, and of the winds in the Indies.

As soon as the rains do cease (which ordinarily comes to pass towards the month of October,) it is observed, that the sea taketh its course southward, and that the cold northern wind ariseth. This wind blows for four or five months without intermission,

termiſſion, and without ſtorms, always keeping the ſame equality as to its ſtrength and quarter, unleſs it change or ceaſe a day or ſo by accident; but then it returns again unto its former place and temper. After that time, for two months or thereabout, the other winds do reign without any rule. These two months being paſt, which is called the intermediate ſeaſon, or, according to the Hollanders, the wavering or changing ſeaſon, the ſea returns back from ſouth to north, and the ſouth wind riſeth to reign alſo in his turn for four or five months, as the current of the ſea doth; ſo that there paſs two months of intermediate ſeaſon; during which navigation is very difficult and dangerous whereas during the two ſeaſons it is very eaſy, pleaſant, and without peril, except it be about the end of the ſeaſon of the ſouth-wind. Hence you may find cauſe not to wonder, if you hear that the Indians, though elſo very timorous and inexpert in the art of navigation, do notwithſtanding make pretty long and conſiderable voyages; as when they ſail from Bengal to Tanaſſery, Achem, Malaque, Sian and Makaſſar; or to Maſlipatan, Ceilan, the Maldives, Moka, and Bender-Abaſſy; becauſe they take their time to go with one good ſeaſon, and to return with the other. 'Tis true, that oft enough they are ſurprized and caſt away; but that is, when they cannot diſpatch their affairs in good time, or fail of taking their meaſures. Our Europeans alſo do ſometimes loſe themſelves, though they be far better ſeamen, bolder and more underſtanding, and their ſhips better condition'd and equipp'd.

Of theſe two intermediate ſeaſons, that which maketh the ſouth-wind is incomparably more dangerous than the other, and much more ſubject to tempeſts and ſtorms: and even in the ſeaſon itſelf this wind is ordinarily much more impetuous and unequal than that of the north. And here I muſt not omit to give you a remark, which is, that about the end of the ſeaſon of the ſouth-wind, during the time of the rain, although there be a great calm out at ſea, yet 'tis very tempeſtuous near the coaſts, to the diſtance of fifteen or twenty leagues, whence the ſhips of Europe, or others, when they will approach the Indian coaſts, for example, of Surat, or Maſlipatan, muſt be very careful of taking their time to arrive juſt after the rains, or elſe they run great hazard of being ſplit and loſt upon the coaſt.

This is very near what I could obſerve of the ſeaſons in theſe parts; of which I much wiſh I could give you a good reaſon. I ſhall venture to tell you, that it came into my thoughts, firſt, that the air, which environs the globe of the earth, ought to be eſteemed to have a ſhare in it, as alſo the water of the ſea and rivers, foraſmuch as both the one and the other gravitate upon this globe, tend to the ſame centre of it, and ſo are in ſome manner united and faſtened to it; ſo that from theſe three bodies, the air, the water and the earth, there reſults, as it were, one great globe. Next, that the globe of the earth being ſuſpended and balanced, as it is, in its place, in that free and unreſiſted ſpace, where the Creator thought good to place it, would be capable to be eaſily moved, if ſome adventitious body ſhould come againſt it and hit it. Thirdly, that the ſun having paſt the line to move towards one of the poles, for example, the Arctic, coming to caſt its rays that way, maketh there impreſſion enough to depreſs a little the Arctic pole, and to do that more and more according as it advanceth towards the Tropic; letting it riſe again by little and little, according as he returns towards the line, until by the force of his rays he do the like on the ſide of the Antartic pole.

If theſe ſuppoſitions, joined to that of the diurnal motion of the earth, were true, it were not, methinks, without reaſon what is commonly affirmed in the Indies, viz. that the ſun conducts and carries with him the ſea and wind. For, if it be true, that having paſſed the line to go towards one of the poles, he cauſeth a change in the direction of the axis of the earth, and a depreſſion in the pole on that ſide, the other pole muſt needs

 be

be raised, and that consequently the sea and the air, being two fluid and heavy bodies, run down in this inclination: so that it would be true to say, that the sun advancing towards one pole, causeth on that side two great regular currents, viz. that of the sea, and that of the air which maketh the monson wind, as he causeth two opposite ones, when he returns towards the other pole.

Upon this ground, methinks, it might be said, that there are no other but two main opposite fluxes of the sea, one from the side of the pole Arctic, the other from that of the Antartic; that if there were a sea from one pole to the other, that passed through our Europe, we should see, that these two currents would there be regular every where, as they are in the Indies, and that that which hinders this regularity of the flux from being general, is, that the seas are intercepted by lands, which impede, break, and vary their course; in like manner as some say, that the ordinary flux and reflux of the sea is hindered in those seas that lie in length, as the Mediterranean doth from east to west. And so likewise might it be said upon the same foundation, that there are but two principal opposite winds or fluxes of the air, and that they would be universally regular, if the earth were perfectly smooth and equal, and one part like another every where.

An answer to the fourth question, concerning the fertility, riches, and beauty of the kingdom of Bengal.

All ages have spoken of Egypt, as of the best and fruitfulest part of the world; and writers will not grant, there is any country comparable to it: but as far as I can see by the two voyages I have made in the kingdom of Bengal, I am of opinion, that that advantage belongs rather to it, than to Egypt. It bears rice in that abundance, that it not only furnishes its neighbours, but many very remote parts. 'Tis carried up the river Ganges to Patna; and 'tis transported by sea to Maslipatan, and to many other ports of the coast of Cormandel. Besides, 'tis sent away into foreign kingdoms, and principally into Ceilon and the Maldives. Further, it also abounds in sugar, so that it furnishes with it the kingdoms of Golkonda and Karnates, where there grows but very little. Arabia also and Mesopotamia are thence provided with it, by the way of Moka and Bassora; and Persia itself, by Bander-Abassy. Moreover, Bengal is also the country of good comfits, especially in those places where the Portugueze are, who are dextrous in making them, and drive a great trade with them. They ordinarily make store of those big ponte-citrons, as we have in Europe; and a certain root, which is longish, like sarsaparilla, and very delicate; and of that common fruit of the Indies called amba, and of ananas, and the small mirobolans, which are excellent; as also of lemons and ginger.

'Tis true, that the country of Bengal yields not so much corn as Egypt, but if that be a defect, it is imputed to its inhabitants that eat very little bread, and much more rice than the Egyptians: yet it always bears what is sufficient for the country, and to afford excellent biscuits, very cheap, for the provision of our European ships, English, Dutch, and Portugueze. You may there have, almost for nothing, those three or four kinds of legumes, which together with rice and butter, are the most usual food of the meaner people. And for a rupy, which is about half a crown, you may have twenty good pullets or more; geese and ducks in proportion. There are also kids and sheep in abundance, and such store of Pork, that the Portugueze, settled there and accustomed to the country, live almost on nothing else but that; and the English and Dutch victual their ships with it. There is also plenty of many sorts of fish, both fresh and salt: and in a word, Bengal is a country abounding in all things; and 'tis for this very

very reason, that so many Portuguese, Mesticks, and other Christians are fled thither from those quarters, which the Dutch have taken from them. For the Jesuits and Augustinians, that have great churches there, wherein they exercise their religion with all freedom, did assure me, that in Ogouli alone there were no less than eight or nine thousand souls of Christians; and (which I will easily believe) that in the rest of that kingdom there were above twenty-five thousand. And 'tis this affluence of all those things necessary for life, joined to the beauty and good humour of the women natives, that hath occasioned this proverb amongst the Portugueze, English and Hollanders, viz. that there are an hundred open gates to enter into the kingdom of Bengal, and not one to come away again.

As to the commodities of great value, and which draw the commerce of strangers thither, I know not whether there be a country in the world, that affords more and greater variety; for, besides the sugar I have spoken of, which may be numbered amongst the commodities of value, there is such store of cottons and silks, that it may be said, that Bengal is, as it were, the general magazine thereof, not only for Indostan or the empire of the great Mogol, but also for all the circumjacent kingdoms, and for Europe itself. I have sometimes stood amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloth of all sorts, fine and others, tinged and white; which the Hollanders alone draw from thence; and transport into many places; especially into Japon and Europe; not to mention what the English, Portugal and Indian merchants carry away from those parts. The like may be said of the silks and silk-stuffs of all sorts; one would not imagine the quantity that is hence transported every year; for this country furnishes generally all this great empire of Mogol, as far as Lahor and Caboul, and most of the other foreign parts, whither cotton cloth is carried. 'Tis true, that these silks are not so fine as those of Persia, Syria, Sayd and Barut, but then there is also a great difference in the price; and I know from good hands, that whosoever shall take care of choosing them well, and of getting them well wrought, may have very good stuffs made of them. The Hollanders alone have sometimes seven hundred or eight hundred men of the natives at work in their factory of Kassem-Bazar; as the English and other merchants have theirs in proportion.

It is also in Bengal, where that prodigious quantity of salt-petre is found, which is so conveniently carried down the river Ganges from Patna, and where the English and Dutch load whole ships full for many places of the Indies, and for Europe.

Lastly, 'tis Bengal, whence the good lacca, opium, wax, civet, long pepper do come; and even butter is to be had there in so great plenty, that though it be a gross commodity, yet notwithstanding 'tis thence transported into divers places.

It cannot be denied that the air, in regard of strangers, is not so healthy there, especially near the sea. and when the English and Hollanders first came to settle there, many of them died; and I have seen in Balasor two very fine English ships, which having been obliged, by reason of the war of the Hollanders, to stay there above a year, were not able to go to sea, because most of their men were lost. Yet since the time they have taken care and made orders, as well as the Hollanders, that their people shall not drink so much Bouleponges, nor go so often ashore to visit the sellers of arrack and tobacco, and the Indian women; and since they have found, that a little wine of Bourdeaux, Canary or Chiras is a marvellous antidote against the ill air, there is not so much sickness amongst them, nor do they now lose so many men. Bouleponge is a certain beverage made of arrack, that is, of strong water, black sugar, with the juice of lemon-water and a little muscadine upon it; which is pleasant enough to the taste, but a plague to the body and to health.

And

And to the beauty of the country, you are to know, that all Bengal, taking it near an hundred leagues in length on both sides of Ganges, from Raje-mehale unto the sea, is full of great channels, formerly cut out of the river Ganges with vast labour, reaching far into the country for the conveniency of transporting commodities, and the water itself, which by the Indians is counted the best in the world. These channels are on both sides lined with well peopled villages and boroughs of Gentiles, and the large fields, lying near them, bear abundance of rice, sugar, corn, legumes, mustard, sezamum for oil, small mulberries of two or three foot high, to feed silk worms. But then the vast number of great and small isles that are in the midst of Ganges, and fill all that great space of six or seven days journey, (as there is in some places of this river from one side to the other;) this giveth an incomparable beauty to the country: for, they are very fertile, filled with fruit-bearing trees, Ananas', and all sorts of verdure, and interlaced with a thousand little channels, which you cannot see the end of, as if they were so many water mails all covered with trees. The worst of it is, that many of these isles that are next the sea, are now abandoned, by reason of those Corsairs, the Franguis of Rakan, elsewhere spoken of; and that they have at present no other inhabitants but tigers (which sometimes swim over from one island to the other), and gazelles, and hogs, and poultry grown wild. And 'tis upon the account of these tigers, that for people travelling between these little isles in small boats, as usually they do, 'tis dangerous in many places to land; besides, great care is to be had, that the boat, which in the night is fastened to trees, be not too near the bank; for there are now and then some men surprized; and I have heard it said, that tigers have been so bold as to come into the boats, and to carry away men that were asleep, chusing the biggest and fattest of them, if one may believe the water-men of the country.

I remember, I made once a voyage of ten days, from Pipli to Ogouli, between those isles and channels; which I cannot forbear to relate to you, because there passed not a day without some extraordinary accident. My chaloupe of seven oars was no sooner got out of the river Pipli, and advanced 3 or 4 leagues into the sea along the coast, to gain the isles and channels, but we saw the sea covered with fishes like huge carps, pursued by a shoal of dolphins. I made my men row that way, and saw that most of those fishes lay along the coast as if they were dead; that some advanced a little, others played and tumbled as if they were drunk. We all laboured to take some of them, and we caught 24 with our hands without any difficulty. Viewing them, I observed, that out of all their mouths there came out a bladder (like those that are in carps,) which was full of air, and reddish at the end. I imagined easily, that this must be the bladder which kept them from sinking; but I could not conceive, why it should thus come out of their mouth, unless it were that they had been long and close pursued by those dolphins, and had made so great an effort to fly away as to make this bladder thus swell, and colour, and to hang out of their mouth. I afterwards told this thing to an hundred seamen, but they could not believe it, and I never found but one Dutch pilot, who told me, that sailing once upon the coast of China, he had met with the like, and that presently they put out their boat to sea, and took, as I did, with their hands abundance of fishes.

The day after, about even, we came among those isles, and after we had looked for a place where 'twas likely no tigers would come, we landed, made a fire, dressed a couple of pullets, and our fish, which was excellent. Presently after supper I made my men row until night, and for fear of losing our way between those channels in the dark, we retired out of the great channel, and found a good shelter in some small creek, where we fastened our boat to a thick branch of a tree, far enough from the land,

land, for fear of tygers. In the night, when I was watching, there fell out a philosophical accident, of which kind two had happened to me before at Dehli. I saw a rainbow of the moon, which I shewed to all my company, and which very much surprised two Portugueze pilots, I had taken into my boat at the desire of a friend, who had never seen nor heard of such a thing.

The third day we went a-stray between these channels, and if we had not met with some Portugueses making fast in one of the isles, that directed us in our way, I know not what would have become of us. But behold another philosophical accident. In the night, being got again under shelter in a little channel, my Portugueses that still were concerned about the rainbow of the last night; and whom that observation had made more curious to behold the heavens, awakened me, and shew me another, as fair and as well formed as that was, which I had shewed them. Mean time I would not have you think, that I mistook an Iris or rainbow for a Corona, or crown. There is no month almost but at Dehli these lunar rainbows are seen in the season of the rains, when the moon is high above the horizon: and I found that it must be so; having seen of them three or four nights one after another, and sometimes double ones. They were not circles about the moon, but opposite to her, and in the like position with solar rainbows: and as often as I have seen them, the moon was westward, and the rainbow eastward. The moon was also near full; which, in my opinion, is necessary; because at other times she would not have light enough to form any. Lastly, these rainbows were not so white as the crowns use to be, but much more coloured, insomuch that there might be discerned in them some distinction of colours. And thus you see, how I have been more happy than the ancients, who, according to Aristotle, had observed none such before him.

The fourth day about evening we retired out of the great channel, as we used to do, into a very fair place of safety; but had one of the most extraordinary nights that ever I knew. There was not a breath of wind, and the air was so hot and stuffing that we could scarce breathe. The bushes round us were so full of those little shining worms, that they seemed to be on fire; and there arose fires here and there, which were like flames, and frightened my seamen, who said, they were devils. Among the rest there arose two, that were very extraordinary, one was a great globe of fire, which in falling and spinning lasted above the time of saying a Pater-noster; and the other, which lasted about a quarter of an hour, was like a little tree all in a flame.

The night of the fifth day was terrible and dangerous. There arose so great a storm, that though we were under the shelter of trees, and that our small boat was well fastned, yet notwithstanding all that, the wind broke our cable, and was casting us into the great channel, where we had infallibly perished; if I had not, together with my two Portugueses, presently laid hold on the branches of some trees, where we held fast for above two hours, whilst the storm lasted: for there was no assistance to be expected from my Indian oar-men, whom fright had made incapable to help us in this occasion. But, what was most troublesome and amazing, there fell a rain as if it had been poured down with buckets, which filled our boat, and was accompanied with such lightning and thunder-claps, very near our head, that every moment we thought we should sink.

The remainder of our voyage unto the ninth day, when I arrived at Ogouli, we passed very well and with pleasure, for I could not be satisfied with beholding such beautiful countries: mean time my trunk and all my baggage was wet, my pullets dead, my fish spoiled, and all my biscuit drunk with water.

Answers

Answer to the Fifth Question, about the increase of the Nile.

I do not know, whether I shall acquit myself, in respect of this Fifth Question, as it were to be wished; but I shall faithfully impart to you what I have set down of it, after I had twice observed the Nile's increase, and carefully examined the same, and taken notice withal of some things in the Indies, which have afforded me greater aids for it, than that learned man could have, that hath so ingeniosly written of it, though he never saw Egypt but in his study.

I have already said in another place, that at the time when the two ambassadors of Ethiopia were at Dehli, my Agah Danechmend-kan, who is extraordinarily curious, sent often for them, to inform himself, in my presence, of the condition and government of their country; and one day, amongst other things, we occasioned them to discourse of the source of the Nile, which they call Abbabile; whereof they spake to us as a thing so known that no body doubted of it, and where one of these ambassadors, and a Mogolian that was returned with him out of Æthiopia, had been in person. They told us, that it taketh its origin in the country of Agaus, and issueth out of the earth at two big bubbling springs, near one another, which form a small lake of about thirty or forty paces long; that at the coming out of this lake it is then already a pretty river, and that from place to place it receiveth other rivers which enlarge it. They added, that it runs bending, and forming a great peninsula, and that after several Cascata's from steep rocks, it falls into a great lake, which is not above four or five days journey from its source in the country of Dumbia or Dembea, three little days journey from Gonder, the metropolis of Æthiopia; that having traversed that lake, it issueth thence swelled with all the waters that fall there, passeth through Sonnar, the principal city of the King of Funges or Barbaris, tributary to the King of Æthiopia, running on and making the cataracts, and so entering into the plains of Messer which is Egypt.

After we had learned these particularities of the source and course of the Nile, I asked him, (to judge whereabout the source of the Nile might be) towards which part of the world they believed the country of Dumbia, wherein is Gonder, to be, in respect of Babel-mandel? But they knew not what to answer to this, but only, that they went always westward; and especially the Mahometan ambassador (who was obliged to know better, and to take more notice of the position of the world, than the Christian, because the Turks are obliged, in saying their prayers to turn themselves towards Mecca) did assure me that I was not at all to doubt thereof, which did astonish me very much, because, according to their description, the source of the Nile should be much on this side of the equinoctial, whereas all our maps, with Ptolemy, place it a good way beyond it.

We also asked them, at what time it did use to rain in Æthiopia, and whether there were regular seasons of rain as in the Indies? To which they answered, that it rained almost never upon that coast of the Red-Sea, from Suaken, Arkiko, and the isle of Mesuva to Babel-mandel, no more than it doth at Moka, which is on the other side, in the Happy Arabia; but that in the heart of the country, in the province of Agaus, and in that of Dumbia and the circumjacent places it rained much for two of the hottest months of the summer, and at the same time when it rained in the Indies; which was also, according to my computation, the very time of the increase of the Nile in Egypt. They said further, that they knew very well, it was the rain of Ethiopia, which

which swelled the Nile, overflowed Egypt, and fertilized the ground of it by the slime it carried upon it; and that it was even therefore, that the kings of Ethiopia pretended a tribute to be due to them out of Egypt, and that, when the Mahometans made themselves masters of it, ill treating the Christians of the country, they had a mind to turn the course of the Nile another way, viz. into the Red Sea, thereby to ruin Egypt and to render it infertile; but that this design miscarried by reason of the great difficulties in effecting the thing.

All these particulars, which I had already learned, when I passed over to Moka, from a dozen merchants, that come there every year in the name of the King of Ethiopia to attend the Indian trading vessels, are considerable to make us judge, that the Nile increaseth not but by the rains which fall without Egypt towards the source of that river: but the particular observations, I have made upon two increases of this river, make them yet more so; for, in reference to all those stories, that are made of it, as, that 'tis on a determined day it begins to increase; that on the first day of its increase there falls a certain dew, which maketh the plague cease, so that nobody dieth any more of it after that hath once fallen; and that there are peculiar and hidden causes of the overflowing of the Nile: in reference, I say, to these stories, I have found during the said two inundations, that they are but tales fancied and amplified by the people of Egypt, naturally inclined to superstition, and amazed to see a river swell in summer in a country where it rains not: and I have found, that 'tis no otherwise with the Nile than 'tis with other rivers, that swell and overflow by plentiful rains, without any such fermentations of the nitrous soil of Egypt, which some have suggested as the cause thereof.

I have seen it swelled above a foot, and very turbid, near a whole month before that pretended determined day of its increase. I have observed during its increase, and before the channels were opened, that when it had grown for some days a foot or two, it afterwarded decreased little by little, and then began to increase anew, and so went on to increase and decrease without any other measure but that of the rains that fall nigh the source, and, as is often seen in our river of Loire, according to the fall of more or less rain in the mountains whence it flows, and the days or half-days of fair weather there.

In my return from Jerusalem, going up from Damietta to Cairo, I chanced to be upon the Nile about a month before the pretended day of the dew-fall, and in the morning we were all wet of the dew fallen in the night.

I have been in Rosette at supper with Monsieur de Bermon, vice-consul of our nation, eight or ten days after this day of the dewfall, when three persons were struck with the plague, of whom there died, two within eight days, and the third, which was M. de Bermon himself, had perhaps not escaped, if I had not pierced his plague-sore; which presently infected myself like others; so that, if I had not forthwith taken some butter of Antimony, I might have been, as well as they, an example of the little certainty there is in the plague after the dew; but this emetic medicine in the beginning of the evil did wonders, and I kept but three or four days within doors, during which, I remember, my Bedouin that served me made no scruple to drink, in my presence, the remainder of my broth, to encourage me, and from his principle of predestination, to laugh at the fear we have of the plague. Yet experience shews, that after the day of the dew the plague is commonly not so dangerous as before, but the dew contributes nothing to that; 'tis only, in my opinion, that then there is a greater opening of the pores, which gives a vent to the malign and pestiferous spirits, that were shut up in the body.

Moreover,

Moreover, I have carefully enquired of some masters of boats, that had gone up as far as the ends of the plains of Egypt, that is, to the very rocks and cataracts; who assured me, that when the Nile did overflow in the plains of Egypt, where that pretended fermenting nitrous earth is, 'tis at the same time much swelled between those mountains of the cataracts, where, in all appearance, there is no such nitrous earth.

Besides, I have made diligent inquiry of those negroes of Sonnars, that come to serve at Cairo, and whose country, being tributary to the King of Ethiopia as I have said, lies upon the Nile between the mountains above Egypt; and they have assured me, that at the same time when the Nile is high and overflowing in Egypt, 'tis so also with them by reason of the rains then falling in their mountains, and higher up in the country of Habeche or Ethiopia.

The observations I have made in the Indies concerning the regular rains that fell at the same time when the Nile swells in Egypt, are also very considerable in this matter, and may make you imagine, that the Indus, Ganges, and all the other rivers of those parts are so many Niles; and the land, that is near their fall into the sea, so many Egypts. This was my thought of it in Bengal, and what follows are the very words I set down about it.

That great number of isles which are found in the gulf of Bengala at the mouth of the river Ganges, and which by lapse of time are joined to one another, and at length with the continent, put me in mind of the mouths of the Nile, where I have observed almost the same thing; so that as 'tis said, after Aristotle, that Egypt is the workmanship of the Nile, so it may be said, that Bengal is the work of the Ganges, only with this difference, that as the Ganges is incomparably bigger than the Nile, so he carrieth with him towards the sea a far greater quantity of earth; and so forms greater and more islands than the Nile; and that the islands of the Nile are destitute of trees, whereas those of Ganges are all covered with them, because of those four months of constant and plentiful rains that fall in the heart of the summer, and render it needless to cut channels in Bengal, to water and enrich the earth, as they do in Egypt. It is just so with Ganges and the other rivers of Indostan, as with the Nile, this and those increase in summer by the means of rain, which ordinarily fall at that time; except that then, and almost never, there are no rains in Egypt; but a little towards the sea, and that it rains not about the source of the Nile; whereas in the Indies it rains in all the countries, through which any rivers pass; except the kingdom of Scymdi towards the Persian gulf, where is the mouth of the river Indus; it happening that in some years it doth not rain there at all, though for all that the Indus swells there, and the fields are watered by the means of cut channels, just as in Egypt.

For the rest, concerning the desire of M. Thevenot, to impart to you my adventures of the Red Sea, of Suez, of Tor, of mount Sinai, of Gidda (that pretended holy land of Mahomet, half a day's journey distant from Mecca), as also of the isle of Camarane and Louhaya, and of whatever I could learn at Moka of the kingdom of Ethiopia, and of the most commodious way to enter into it; these particulars, I say, I shall in time draw fair out of my manuscripts if God permit.

Some

Some Particulars forgotten to be inserted in my first Book, to perfect the Map of Indostan, and to know the Revenue of the Great Mogol.

TO understand the better what follows, 'tis requisite to know the signification of these terms, viz.

1. Soubah, that is government and province.
2. Pragna, that is, the principal town, borough or village that hath many others depending from it, where rents are paid to the King, who is absolute lord of all the land of his empire.
3. Serkar, that is the exchequer of the King's treasure.
4. Kazine, that is, treasure.
5. Roupie, the money of the country, equivalent to 29 or 30 pence.
6. Lecque, that is, an hundred thousand Roupies.
7. Courour, that is, an hundred Lecques.

1. Jehan-Abad, or Dehli, is the first Soubah, it hath sixteeen Serkars in its dependance, and 230 Pragnas it yields to the King nineteen millions and five hundred twenty-five thousand Roupies.

2. Agra, otherwise called Akbar-abad, is the second. It hath 14 Serkars, and 260 Pragnas, yielding to the King twenty-five millions two hundred and twenty-five thousand Roupies.

3. Lahor hath 14 Serkars, and 314 Pragnas, bringing in to the King the rent of twenty-four millions six hundred and ninety-five thousand Roupies.

4. Hasmer, which belongs to a Raja, yields to the King a tribute of twenty-one millions nine hundred and seventy thousand Roupies.

5. Gusarate, the capital whereof is Amadavad, hath 9 Serkars, and 190 Pragnas; yielding to the King thirteen millions three hundred and ninety-five thousand Roupies.

6. The kingdom of Candahar belongs to the King of Persia; but the Pragnas that remain united to the crown of the Great Mogol, are 15, and yield in rent 1992500 Roupies.

7. Maloua hath 9 Serkars, 190 Pragnas; bringing in 9162500 Roupies.

8. Patna, or Beara, hath 8 Serkars, and payeth the rent of 9580000 Roupies.

9. Elabas hath 17 Serkars, and 260 Pragnas; rendring 9470000 Roupies.

10. Haoud hath 5 Serkars, and 149 Pragnas: it yields 6430000 Roupies.

11. Moultan hath 4 Serkars and 96 Pragnas: brings in 11840500 Roupies.

12. Jagannat, in which is comprehended Bengal, hath 11 Serkars, and 12 Pragnas; it yields 7270000 Roupies.

13. Kachemire hath 5 Serkars, and 45 Pragnas; yields 350000 Roupies.

14. Caboul hath 35 Pragnas, and brings in 3272500 Roupies.

15. Tata hath 4 Serkars and 54 Pragnas, and giveth 2320000 Roupies.

16. Aureng-abad, formerly Daulet-abad, hath 8 Serkars, and 79 Pragnas: yields 17227500 Roupies.

17. Varada hath 20 Serkars and 191 Pragnas; yielding 15875000 Roupies.

18. Candeys, whose principal town is Brampour, hath 3 Serkars, and 103 Pragnas: it brings in 18550000 Roupies.

19. Talengand, which borders upon the kingdom of Golkonda on the side of Massipatan, hath 43 Pragnas, and payeth in rent 6885000 Roupies.

20. Baganala, on the confines of the lands of the Portugueses, and the mountains of Seva-gi (that Raja which plundered Surat), hath 2 Serkars, and 8 Pragnas, paying the rent of 500000 Roupies.

According to these particulars, which I take not to be the most exact or the most true, the Great Mogol's yearly revenue of his lands alone would amount to above two Kourours of Roupies.

EXTRACT FROM TAVERNIER's VOYAGES.

CHAP. I.—*Of Diamonds, and the Mines and Rivers where they are found; and in the firſt place of the Author's Journey to the Mine of Raolconda.*

THE diamond is the moſt precious of all ſtones, and it is the trade to which I am the moſt attached. In endeavouring to acquire a perfect knowledge of them I viſited all the mines, and one of the two rivers where they are found; and as the idea of danger has never impeded me in my travels, the dreadful picture given me of theſe mines, as being placed in the moſt barbarous countries, only attainable by the moſt dangerous roads, was neither capable of frightening or deterring me from my deſign. I have conſequently viſited the four mines mentioned in the following deſcription, and one of the two rivers from whence diamonds are procured, and have neither met with thoſe difficulties nor that barbarity, which ſome perſons, but ill acquainted with the nature of theſe countries, had taught me to expect. I can alſo ſay that I have ſet an example for others, and am the firſt European who have ſhewn the way to theſe mines to the Franks, as theſe are the only parts of the earth where diamonds are found.

The firſt of the mines I viſited, is ſituated in the territories of the King of Viſapour in the province of Carnatica, the place is called Raolconda, it is five days' journey from Golconda, and eight or nine from Viſapour. As the kings of Golconda and Viſapour were formerly ſubjects of the Mogul, and governors of theſe provinces, which they poſſeſs in conſequence of their revolt, it may be ſaid, and is ſaid by many perſons, that diamonds are found in the kingdom of the Great Mogul. It is but two hundred years ſince or thereabouts, that the mine of Raolconda has been diſcovered, according to the information I received from the people of that country.

All around the place where the diamonds are found, the earth is ſandy and full of rocks and coppice woods, nearly ſimilar to the environs of Fontainbleau. In theſe rocks are ſeveral veins, ſometimes half an inch in breadth, and ſometimes an entire inch, and the miners have little iron rods bent at the end, which they thruſt in theſe veins to draw out the ſand or earth, which they put into veſſels, and it is amongſt this earth that the diamonds are found. But becauſe theſe veins are not always regular, ſometimes riſing and ſometimes falling, they are obliged to break the rocks in order to follow their track. After they have opened them all, and collected the earth or ſand they contain, they waſh it two or three times, and ſeek for the diamonds. It is from this mine that the diamonds of the fineſt water are procured; but the worſt is, that in order to facilitate the ſeparating the ſand from the rock, they give ſuch forcible ſtrokes with a great iron lever, that ſhocking the diamonds it cauſes them to be flawed; this is the cauſe of ſo many damaged ſtones being found in this mine, for when the miners ſee a ſtone where the crack is a little large, they cleave it, a practice in which they are more ſkilled than we. If the ſtone is clear they only turn it on the wheel, taking no pains to ſhape it for fear of diminiſhing its weight. But if it has ſome little flaw, or any ſmall ſpecks of red or black ſand, they cover the ſtone with facets, in order to conceal its defects, and if it has ſome very ſmall flaw, they cover that alſo by the

the edge of one of the facets. But it muſt be obſerved, that as the merchant likes better to ſee a black ſpot than a red one in a ſtone; when they meet with a ſtone having a red ſpot, they burn it, which cauſes it to appear black. With this artifice I became at length ſo well acquainted, that on ſeeing a quantity of ſtones produced from the mine, ſome of which had facets, and particularly thoſe with ſmall facets, I was well aſſured ſuch ſtones had ſome little ſpeck or flaw.

There are a number of diamond cutters belonging to this mine, each of which has one wheel only, which is of ſteel, and is nearly the ſize of our plates. They place but one ſtone on each wheel, which they keep continually ſupplying with water, till they have found the way of the ſtone. That done, they take oil and are not ſparing of the diamond powder, it being cheap, cauſing the ſtone to run quicker, and they load the ſtone with more of it than is uſual with us. I have ſeen one hundred and fifty pounds of lead put upon one ſtone, it was, it is true, a large ſtone, and weighed one hundred and three carets after it was cut, which was done on a mill after our faſhion, and the great wheel was turned by four negroes. The Indians are not of the ſame opinion with us, and do not believe it is the burden which occaſions the flaws in the ſtones. If theirs take no flaw, it is becauſe they have always a little boy, who, with a ſmall ſpatula of wood held in his hand, continually ſupplies the wheel with oil and diamond powder: to which may be added, their wheel goes not ſo faſt as ours, becauſe the wooden wheel which works that of ſteel is not much more than three feet in diameter.

They have not the art of giving that fine poliſh to the ſtones, as we do in Europe; which I ſuppoſe is owing, to their wheel not running ſo ſmooth as ours. For it being of ſteel, they, when it requires to be rubbed with emery, which is neceſſary every twenty-four hours, are obliged to take it from the tree, and in replacing it are not able to make it run ſo ſmooth as it ſhould do. If as with us they had iron wheels, for which no emery is required but the file is uſed; as there is no occaſion to take the wheel from the tree in order to file it, they might then give a finer poliſh to their ſtones than they are at preſent able to do. I have before obſerved, that it is neceſſary every twenty-four hours to rub the wheel with emery, or to file it, and it would if the workman is not idle be better if it was done every twelve hours. For when the ſtone has run a certain time, that part of the wheel on which it turned becomes ſmooth as glaſs, and if freſh furrows are not made with emery or the file the powder will not ſtay on it; without which ſo much work cannot be done in two hours as in one with it.

Though the diamond is naturally hard, and has in it a ſort of knot ſimilar to that in wood, yet the Indian diamond cutters always cut the ſtone, which Europeans find great difficulty in doing, and frequently will not undertake, chooſing rather to give ſomething to the Indians for ſhaping it.

To return to the order of the mines. Traffic is there carried on liberally and with fidelity. On all that is bought, a duty of two per cent. is paid to the King, who alſo derives a revenue from the merchants for permiſſion to dig the mines. Theſe merchants, after having in company with the miners examined the ſpots where the diamonds are found, ſelect a place of about two hundred feet in extent, where they employ fifty and ſometimes a hundred miners, according to the expedition required. From the time they commence mining, the merchants for fifty men pay daily to the King two pagodas, and four when a hundred are employed.

Theſe poor people gain no more than three pagodas a-year, and muſt be expert at their trade to acquire even that. As their wages are ſo ſmall, they make no ſcruple in ſearching among the ſand to conceal if poſſible a ſtone for their own profit, and being entirely naked with the exception of a ſmall cloth around their middle, they

dexterously endeavour to swallow them. The chief of the merchants one day pointed out to me a miner that had worked for him several years, who had secreted a stone that weighed a mengelin, which is nearly equal to two of our carats. He had hid it in the corner of his eye, from whence it was taken on discovering the theft. To prevent this knavery, over every fifty miners, there are always from twelve to fifteen persons employed by the merchants, to see that they steal nothing. If they by chance find a stone that weighs beyond 7 or 8 mangelins they carry it to the head miner, who rewards them with a *sarpo* which is a piece of linen cloath to make a cap, of the value of from twenty-five to thirty-pence, which is generally accompanied with half a pagoda in silver, and sometimes a pagoda when they don't give them rice, and a dish of sugar

The merchants who resort to the mine to trade, remaining at their homes, every morning about ten or eleven o'clock, the master miners after they have dined (for the Banians never stir from their houses till they have washed their bodies and broken their fast) bring the diamonds for their inspection. If the quantity is large and there be amongst them stones of the value of from two thousand to perhaps fifteen or sixteen thousand crowns, they leave them in trust for seven or eight days or more with the merchant for his consideration. When he has examined the stones, the seller again visits him, and he must then if he wishes to purchase, conclude the bargain immediately; otherwise the owner takes them away tied in the corner of his girdle, or cap, or shirt, and he never sees the same stones again, at least they are mixed with others if he comes to visit you with another collection. When the bargain is concluded, the buyer gives a note for the amount, drawn on the cheraf, who is the person that pays and receives all bills of exchange. If it is agreed to pay in three or four days, and a longer delay is required, he must pay at the rate of one and a half per cent. per month interest. In general when they know the merchant to be safe, they like better to receive a bill of exchange for Agra, Golconda, or Visapour, but more especially for Surat, where as being the greatest Indian port, they go to buy the merchandize exported in foreign vessels, which tells to their advantage.

It is a pleasing sight of a morning to see the young children of the merchants and others, from the age of ten to fifteen or sixteen, all assembled under a great tree, which is in the market-place, each with a quantity of diamonds in a little bag hung on one side, and on the other a purse fastened to his sash, in which some have from five to six hundred pagodas of gold. There they sit waiting till some person comes to offer them diamonds for sale, either from that or any other mine. When any thing is brought, it is put into the hands of the oldest, who is regarded as the chief of the band; he after examining it, puts it into the hands of the next, and so on from one to another till it returns to his own, without any one speaking a word. He then enquires the price of the merchandize, in order to purchase it if possible, and if by chance he buys it too dear it is at his own loss. When evening comes, these children collect together all they have bought in the course of the day, and after examining the different stones, separate them according to their water, weight, and clearness, then affixing on each a price nearly according with what they can sell them for to strangers, they, by comparing it with the price given, see what advantage remains to themselves. Lastly, carrying them to some of those great merchants who have always large assortments on hand, the profit is divided amongst them, only he that is the head or chief receives one quarter per cent. more than the rest. Although so young they are nevertheless such good judges of the value of stones, that if one of them should happen to purchase any thing, on which he is willing to lose half per cent. there is always

always one ready to give him the money; and in offering them a parcel of ſtones conſiſting perhaps of a dozen, they ſeldom fail to ſelect four or five with ſome flaw, or ſpeck or defect in the corners.

In general theſe Indians are much attached to ſtrangers, and eſpecially to thoſe they call Fringuis. As ſoon as I had arrived at the mine I was welcomed by the governor of the place, who was alſo commander of the province for the King of Viſapour. This was a Mahometan, who loaded me with careſſes, aſſured me I was welcome, and obſerved that as no doubt I had brought gold with me, (for at all the mines of Golconda and Viſapour they make uſe of new pagodas only, which is a particular ſpecies of gold), I had only to depoſit it in my chamber where it would be perfectly ſecure, and he himſelf would be anſwerable for the whole of my effects. In addition to the ſervants I had brought with me, he preſented me with four others, commanding them to keep a ſtrict watch over my gold day and night, and do whatever I deſired of them. A little while after I had taken my leave, he deſired me to be brought to him; when entering his preſence, I ſent for you again, ſaid he, to aſſure you once more that you have nothing to fear, eat, drink, and ſleep, and take care of your health. I had alſo forgot to caution you againſt defrauding the King of his duty, to whom you muſt pay two per cent. on all that you buy. Don't you, continued he, do as ſome Mahometans that come to the mine, who leaguing with the merchants and courtiers to cheat the King of his duty, ſay they have bought for ten thouſand pagodas only, when they have very likely purchaſed to the amount of fifty thouſand. Then beginning to buy, I ſaw that there was a very great profit, the market being on the whole twenty per cent. better than at Golconda; added to which they ſometimes diſcover very large ſtones.

One day towards evening a Banian but ill apparelled, having nothing but a ſaſh round his body, and an old handkerchief on his head, civilly accoſted me and ſeated himſelf down by my ſide. In that country they pay but little attention to dreſs, and ſome who have only an old wrapper round their loins, have nevertheleſs a large quantity of diamonds concealed about them. I civilly ſaluted the Banian on my part, who after he had been ſome time ſeated, enquired by my interpreter if I wiſhed to buy ſome rubies? the interpreter replied, that he might ſhew them me, on which he drew from his ſaſh a quantity of ſmall cloths, in which were about twenty ruby rings. After having well examined them, I cauſed him to be told they were too ſmall for me, and that I was in ſearch of large ſtones. Nevertheleſs, recollecting that I had been requeſted by a lady at Iſpahan to buy her a ruby ring of about one hundred crowns value, I bought one of theſe, which coſt me ſomething near four hundred francs. I was very well aware it was not worth more than three hundred, but willingly ventured a hundred franks in the idea that he had not accoſted me on account of theſe rubies only; and judged rightly by his look that he wiſhed to be alone with me and my interpreter, in order that he might ſhew me ſomething better. As the time of prayer with the Mahometans drew near, three of the ſervants that the governor had given me retired, leaving the fourth to wait on me, whom I found means to get rid of, by ſending him to buy us ſome bread, which I knew would take him a conſiderable time. For the people of this country being all idolators are accuſtomed to live on rice and eat no bread, which any one that wants muſt ſend for at a conſiderable diſtance to a fortreſs of the King of Viſapour, which is inhabited by none but Mahometans. The Banian then being left alone with me and my interpreter, after many formalities drew off his turban, and untwiſted his hair which according to their cuſtom was faſtened up to his head. He then drew from his hair a ſmall piece of linen cloth in which was incloſed a diamond weighing 48½ of our

our carats, of fine water, of a pommel shape, three quarters clear, excepting a little flaw on one side, which seemed to be of small depth. The other quarter was damaged with red points,

As I was examining the stone, the Banian observing the attention with which I surveyed it, said to me, don't trouble yourself to examine it now, you shall see it to morrow morning at leisure when you are alone. When a quarter of a day has passed, (it is thus they speak), you will find me at the outside of the town, when if you wish to have the stone you can bring me the money, at the same time telling me what sum he would take for it. For it must be observed by the bye, that after a quarter of the day has passed, these Banians, men as well as women, return to the city or town where they live, having previously quitted it, as well to satisfy the ordinary calls of nature, as to wash their bodies and attend their priests at prayer. The Banian had appointed me to meet him at this time, not being willing that any person should see us together. I did not fail to attend, taking with me the sum he had demanded, except two hundred pagodas which I set apart; but at last after some dispute I was obliged to give him another hundred. At my return to Surat, I sold this stone to a Dutch captain, by which I gained an honest profit.

Three days after I had made this purchase, there came to me a messenger from Golconda on the part of an apothecary named Boest, whom I had left at Golconda to receive and take care of a part of my money, which in case the cheraf paid in rupees he was to get changed for pagodas of gold. The day succeeding that on which he received payment, he was taken with so violent a diarrhœa, that he died in a few days. In the letter which he wrote me, he informed me of his sickness, and of his having received my money, which was all in my chamber concealed in bags, and not expecting to live more than two days, he urged me to hasten my return, as not thinking it perfectly secure in the hands of the servants I had left with him. As soon as I had received his letter, I repaired to the governor in order to take leave of him, at which he was much surprised and asked me if I had expended all my money? I replied, that I had not yet spent half of it, and had still twenty thousand pagodas left. He then said, he would if I was willing employ it for me, at the same time assuring me I should lose nothing by any purchases of his making. He also asked me to let him see what I had bought, although previously very well informed on that head, from the custom of the sellers being obliged to give him an account of what they sell, in order that the king may not lose the two per cent. payable on all that is bought. I then shewed him what I had purchased, at the same time declaring what it had cost me, which was entered in the book of the Banian who receives the King's duty. I likewise paid him the two per cent on the amount, which having received, he said he saw plainly that the Franguis were honest people, of which he was still better persuaded on my producing the stone of 48½ carats, saying, Signor, that is not entered in the book of the Banian, and there is no one in the city knows of my buying it, neither would you yourself have known it, but for my own confession, for I do not wish to defraud the King of his duty; there is what is due according to the price I gave for the stone. The governor seemed much surprised and pleased with the whole proceeding, praised me much, told me I had acted like an honest man, and that no other merchant in the country, either Mahometan or idolater would have behaved in a similar manner on such an occasion. On that he sent for some of the richest merchants in the place, and after relating the circumstance, desired them to bring the finest stones they had got, which they accordingly did, and by that means I disposed of my twenty thousand pagodas in an hour or two. The bargain being concluded, and the money paid, he told the merchants that

having to do with a man of honour, they should present me with something as a remembrance, on which with a good grace they gave me a diamond of near an hundred crowns value, and the governor himself presented me with a turban and sash.

Here I have to remark the singular and curious manner which the Indians, idolaters as well as Mahometans, adopt in disposing of every sort of merchandize. All passes in profound silence, not a word being spoke. The seller and the buyer are seated opposite to each other like two tailors, and one of the two opening his sash, the seller taking the right hand of the buyer covers it with his, under which, in the presence of perhaps several other merchants met together in the same room, the bargain is concluded secretly without any one's knowledge. The buyer and seller making use of neither mouth nor eyes, carry on the traffic with their hands only, which is done in the following manner. When the seller takes the whole of the buyer's hand, that signifies a thousand, and as many times as he presses it, so many thousand pagodas or rupees are required, according to the matter in question. When he takes the five fingers only, it signifies five hundred, and if one finger, only one hundred. When he takes hold of half the finger just by the middle joint, it stands for fifty, while the tip of the finger to the first joint signifies ten. This is all the mystery used by these Indians in their traffic, and it oftentimes happens that at a place where there are several people together, one article is sold seven or eight times without any of the company knowing at either time what it is.

In regard to the weight of the stones, they are never deceived except when they buy them in secret, for at all public sales there is a man expressly employed by the King, without deriving any private advantage, to weigh the diamonds, who declaring the weight, the buyer and seller take it at his word, as having no interest to favour either party.

Having concluded my business at the mine, the governor gave me six horse soldiers to conduct me in safety to the confines of his government, which extends as far as the river that separates the kingdom of Visapour from that of Golconda. The passage of this river is very difficult, it being wide, deep, and rapid, and has neither bridge nor boats, and in order to pass it they employ the same means I have elsewhere spoken of in passing other Indian rivers, as well for men, as for their luggage, carriages, cattle and horses. A circular vessel from ten to twelve feet in diameter, made of osier twigs like our baskets, and covered on the outside with bull hides, serves in the place of a boat, and their manner of transporting passengers over I have before observed. They could easily build good barks or erect a bridge across this river; but the Kings of Golconda and Visapour will not allow it, because it divides the two kingdoms. Every evening the boatmen on both sides the river are obliged to give in to two petty governors, who are stationed on each side about a quarter of a league from the river, an exact account of all passengers, beasts of burden, and merchandize that has passed over in the course of the day.

When I arrived at Golconda, I found the apothecary Boete had been dead three days, and the chamber in which I had left him put under two seals, the one of the Cadi, who acts as chief justice, and the other of the Cha-Bander, who acts as provost of the merchants. An officer of justice attended day and night at the door of the chamber in company with the valets I had left with the defunct. Immediately on my arrival, notice was sent to the Cadi and Cha-Bender, who presently sent to fetch me. After saluting them, the Cadi demanded whether the money found in the chamber of the defunct belonged to me, and how I could prove it? I replied, I had no better way of proving it than by producing the letters of exchange I had brought to the Cheraf, and that since my departure he had by my order paid the money to the defunct; that I had

afterwards

[illegible] Cheraf payed the money in specie, he [illegible] bring them to me. Upon hearing this, [illegible] money, who both agreed as to the truth of [illegible] Cadi ordered his lieutenant to go with me to my chamber [illegible] not been removed from any of the bags. Accordingly [illegible] declared that all was right and nothing wanting. I then [illegible] the same declaration before the Cadi and Cha-Bander, and thank them for the trouble they had taken, as also to sign a paper they had written in the Persian language, by which I declared myself perfectly satisfied. The lieutenant then told me I must pay the charges of Boetes' interment, as also that of the person who had sealed the bags, and the officer who had guarded the door of the chamber: all which amounted to nine roupees only, or four crowns and a half of our money, which is much less than would have been charged in most European countries.

CHAP. II.—An Account of the Author's Journey to the other Mines, with a description of the Manner in which the Diamonds are found.

ABOUT seven days from Golconda, going due east, there is another diamond mine, which by the people of the country is called Gani, and by the Persians Coulour. It is situated near a large town through which passes the river I crossed in coming from the other mine, and at about the distance of a league and a half from the town, are several high mountains in the form of a crescent. The place where the diamonds are found, is in a plain situated between the town and the mountains, and the nearer they approach to the latter, the larger stones they find; but when they ascend too high it produces nothing.

It is not more than a hundred years ago, since this mine was first accidentally discovered by a poor man, who digging a spot of ground in order to sow some millet, found a native stone weighing nearly twenty-five carats, which he being unacquainted with the value of, and seeing it shine bright, carried to Golconda, where fortunately he addressed himself to a person who traded in diamonds. This merchant on hearing from the countryman where he had found the stone, was much surprised at seeing a diamond of that size, as hitherto the largest they were acquainted with weighed no more than from ten to twelve carats. The noise of this discovery soon spread itself throughout the country; and several of the town, who were people of property, began to dig up the earth, where they found and still find large stones in a greater quantity than at any other mine; so much so, that at this present time, they find many weighing from ten to forty carats, or sometimes even larger, and amongst others the great diamond that weighed nine hundred carats before it was cut, which Mirgimolas presented to Aurengzeb, as I have before observed.

But while the Coulour mine is remarkable for the large stones found it, it is to be regretted that in general they are not clear, partaking in their colour the quality of the soil in which they are found. If the ground is marshy and damp, the stone is of a black cast, if it be red, it approaches to red also, while in other places it borders on green, and sometimes on yellow, according to the soil, which is greatly diversified between the town and the mountains. On most of these stones after they are cut, there appears to be a greasy cast, which is occasioned by their continually putting their hand to their handkerchief to wipe it.

 As

As to what relates to the water of the ſtones, it muſt be obſerved, that whereas in Europe we examine the rough ſtones by day, in order to judge of their water and the ſpots which may be found on them; the Indians on the contrary do it by night, and in a hole which they make in a wall of a foot ſquare, they place a lamp with a large wick, by the light of which they judge of the water and clearneſs of the ſtone held between their fingers. The water which they call celeſtial is the worſt of all, and it is impoſſible to know it while the ſtone is unpoliſhed, but as little can be diſcovered on the wheel, the infallible ſecret of judging its water, is to carry it under a thick tree, where by the ſhade of the verdure they eaſily diſcover whether it is blue.

The firſt time I viſited this mine, it employed nearly ſixty thouſand perſons, men as well as women and children in various offices, the men to dig, and the women and children to carry away the earth, for in working this mine they take a method totally different from that uſed at Raolconda.

As ſoon as the miners have pointed out the place for them to work, they ſelect another ſpot of ground of equal extent, or even larger, and after making it perfectly ſmooth, encompaſſed it with a wall of about two feet high, and at the foot of this little wall, they make at every other ſtep openings to carry off the water, which they incloſe till they wiſh to let it out. This place being ſo prepared, thoſe who are appointed to work, aſſemble all together, men, women, and children, with the maſter that employs them, accompanied by a party of his relations and friends. He brings with him a ſtone figure of the god they worſhip, which being fixed in the earth they all adore it, by proſtrating themſelves three times before it, their prieſt in the mean time accompanying them with a prayer. This being finiſhed, he makes a certain mark on all their foreheads with a paſte compoſed of ſaffron and gum, upon which he alſo ſticks ſeven or eight grains of rice. Then after waſhing their bodies with water which each brings in a pot, they all arrange themſelves in order, to partake of the feaſt which the maſter provides them at the commencement of their work to put them in ſpirits, and encourage them to be faithful to him. This feaſt conſiſts of nothing elſe than a plate of rice for each, which is diſtributed to them by the Bramin, becauſe every Idolater is allowed to eat what comes from the hand of their prieſt, although, ſuch is their ſuperſtition, that they will not eat any thing of their wives preparing, chooſing rather to prepare their own victuals. The diſh on which the rice is ſerved to them is nothing more than leaves ſewed together, which ſomewhat reſembles our walnut leaves. To this alſo is added about a quarter of a pound of butter in a ſmall braſs cup, mixed with ſome ſugar.

The repaſt finiſhed, all begin to work, the men digging the earth, and the children carrying it to the place I have before ſpoke of, as previouſly prepared for it. They dig to the depth of ten, twelve, or fourteen feet, but as ſoon as they meet with water there is no hope of ſucceſs. All the earth being carried to this place, men, women, and children taking pitchers of water from the pit they have dug, throw them on it, in order to moiſten it, ſo letting it remain for a day or two according to the hardneſs, till it is perfectly ſoft. That done, they open the holes they have made in the wall to give paſſage to the water, when throwing ſtill more on it, they by that means draw away all the mud, ſo that nothing remains but the ſand. There is ſome earth requires to be waſhed two or three times, when letting the whole dry in the ſun, which by reaſon of its great heat is ſoon done, they take certain baſkets, made ſomewhat like our ſifters, into which putting the earth, they ſift it as we do grain, by which the ſmall duſt is ſeparated from it.

Having

Having in this manner sifted all the earth, they spread it out with a sort of rake, keeping it as smooth as possible. Then with a billet of wood in the shape of a large pestle, of about half a foot broad at the bottom, they all begin to beat the earth, from one end to the other, which they do twice or thrice, when putting it again into the baskets they sift it once more, after that they spread it out as before, and lastly collect it altogether in one spot in order to search for the diamonds, in doing which, they are superintended in the same manner as at Raolconda.

Formerly, instead of billets of wood to beat the earth with, they made use of pebbles, which was the occasion of so many flaws in the stones.

In regard to the King's duty, the sum they pay annually to the miners employed, and the reward they bestow on any one's bringing to the master a larger stone than ordinary, the same custom is observed as at Raolconda. Until latterly they made no difficulty in buying diamonds externally of a green colour, because when cut they appear white, and of a very fine water.

Within this thirty or forty years, they have discovered a mine between Coulour and Raolconda, but the King caused it to be shut up on account of the impositions practised, which I will explain in a few words. At this mine they found stones that externally presented this green crust, large and transparent, and which appeared even finer than the others, but when they came to grind them they broke in pieces. Nevertheless, when they grind them with a diamond of the same nature, produced from the same mine, they do not break, but if placed on the wheel immediately fly in pieces. This is the reason they are careful not to buy any which have been ground, for fear of being deceived, and it is owing to the discovery of this imposition, as I have before observed, that the King has caused the mine to be shut up.

During the time that Messieurs Fremelin and Francis Breton were presidents for the English company at Surat, a Jew, named Edward Ferdinand, a free merchant, that is to say, not belonging to any particular company, entered into a partnership with these two gentlemen for the purchase of a stone, a short time after the mine was discovered. This stone was clear, of a good shape, and weighed forty-two carats. Edward coming to Europe, Messieurs Fremelin and Breton delivered the stone into his hands to sell it to the best advantage he could on their account. On his arrival at Leghorn, he shewed it to some Jews, his friends, who offered him for it near twenty-five thousand piastres, but he not being willing to take less than thirty thousand, and they not agreeing to give it, he carried the stone to Venice in order to get it cut. It had been well ground without receiving any damage, but no sooner was it placed on the wheel than it broke in nine pieces. I was myself once deceived with one of these stones which weighed two carats, and broke in small pieces on the wheel when it was half cut.

CHAP. III.—*Continuation of the Author's Journey to the Diamond Mines.*

I NOW come to the third mine, which is the most ancient of all, and situated in the kingdom of Bengala. This mine may be called Soumelpour, being the name of a large town, near the place where the diamonds are found, or rather Gouel, which is that of the river, in whose sand they are discovered. The land through which this river takes its course, is part of the territory of a Rajah who formerly was tributary to the Great Mogul, having revolted during the wars which took place between Cha-Gehan and Gehan-guire, his father. As soon as Cha-Gehan was raised to the throne, he sent to demand tribute of this Rajah, as well for the present as the past, when, he

 seeing

ſeeing that his revenues would not enable him to pay it, quitted the plain country, and intrenched himſelf with his ſubjects in the mountains. On the news of the Rajah's refuſal, Cha-Gehan, who had no idea of his retiring to the mountains, but thought rather, he would obſtinately defend himſelf, led an army into his country, where he had been taught to believe he would meet with quantities of diamonds. But it happened quite the contrary, for thoſe he ſent into the Rajah's territories found neither diamonds, nor people, nor ſubſiſtence, the Rajah having cauſed all the grain his people were unable to carry away to be burnt, ſo that the greater part of Cha-Gehan's army periſhed with famine. The iſſue of this enterpriſe was, that the Rajah returned to his country on condition of paying annually a ſmall tribute to the Great Mogul.

The following is an account of the road in going from Agra to the mine.

From Agra to Halabas, coſſes - - 130
From Halabas to Banarous, coſſes - - 33
From Banarous to Saſeron, coſſes - - [illegible]

From Agra to Saſeron you keep always to the eaſt; but in going from Saſeron to to the mine, you turn to the ſouth, when you preſently meet with a large town, coſſes 21. This town is in the territories of the Rajah before mentioned, to whom alſo belongs the land through which the river where the diamonds are found takes its courſe.

From this town you come to a fortreſs called Rodas, coſſes - - 4

This is one of the ſtrongeſt places in all Aſia, being built on a mountain, having ſix large baſtions and twenty-ſeven pieces of cannon, with three moats full of water, in which are good fiſh. There is but one way to gain the ſummit of this mountain, on which is a plain nearly half a league in extent, where they ſow corn and rice, and is ſupplied with more than twenty ſprings, which water the earth, and all around the mountain, from the bottom almoſt to the top, there are nothing but precipices for the moſt part covered with wood. The Rajahs generally maintain a force of ſeven or eight hundred men in this fortreſs, but at preſent it belongs to the Great Mogul, who gained it through the addreſs of that great Captain Mirgimola, of whom I have ſo often had occaſion to ſpeak.

The laſt Rajah left three ſons, who betraying each other, the eldeſt was poiſoned, the ſecond fled to the court of the Great Mogul, who gave him the command of four thouſand horſe, and the youngeſt remained in poſſeſſion of the country, on paying the ſame tribute as his father. All the Indian kings, ſucceſſors of Tamerlane, have beſieged this place without being able to take it, and two of theſe Kings died in the town of Saſeron.

From the fortreſs of Rodas to Soumelpour, coſſes - - 30.

Soumelpour is a large town, the houſes of which are made with earth, and covered with branches of the cocoa tree. In travelling theſe laſt 30 coſſes, you paſs through nothing but woods, rendered extremely dangerous on account of robbers, who knowing the merchants never go to the mine without money, ſometimes lay wait to murder them. The Rajah lives about half a coſs from the town; and his dwelling is under tents erected on a charming eminence, at the foot of which runs the Gouel, and it is in this river, which takes its ſource from the high mountains on the ſouth ſide, afterwards loſing itſelf in the Ganges, that the diamonds are found.

The following is the method of ſearching for diamonds in this river. After the rainy ſeaſon has paſſed, which generally laſts till December, they yet wait all the month of January till the river be clear, becauſe then in ſeveral places it is not more than two feet deep, leaving much of the ſand uncovered. About the end of January

or

on beginning [illegible] the town [illegible] Soumelpour [illegible] from another, which is twenty [illegible] some small villages, on the [illegible] there is [illegible] above [illegible] thousand persons of both sexes and all ages capable of labour. Those who are expert, know by the appearance of the sand whether there are any diamonds in it, and when they see amongst it small stones which very much resemble what we call thunder stones, they begin to search the river at the Town of Soumelpour, and always in searching go up as far as the mountains from whence it issues, which are about fifty cosses distant from the town. At those places where they think there are diamonds, they examine the sand in the following manner.

First they surround it with stakes, facines, and earth, as is done in building the arch of a bridge, to drain off the water and leave the place dry; then they draw out the sand, yet not digging more than two feet deep. All this sand is carried and spread in a large place prepared on the bank of the river and encompassed with a small wall of about a foot and a half high, at the foot of which holes are made; and when they have brought as much sand into this place as they think proper, they throw water on it to wash it, after which, the same method is pursued as at the Coulour mine.

From this river all the fine stones are produced, which are called native, but it is seldom that they find a large stone. Several years have elapsed since any of these stones have been seen in Europe, on which account many dealers have thought the mine was exhausted, which is not the case, though for a long time nothing has been drawn from this river on account of the wars.

I have spoken elsewhere of another diamond mine in the province of Carnatica, which Mirgimola, general of the army and prime minister to the King of Golconda, commanded to be shut up, not allowing it to be worked any more, because the stones found in this mine, or rather in the six mines, (for there are six close to one another,) were all black or yellow, neither of them producing a clear stone.

Lastly, in the island of Borneo, which is the largest island in the world, there is a river called Succadan, whose sand produces fine stones, having the same hardness as those of the river Gouel, or the above mines before mentioned. General Vandime one day sent me six from Batavia to Surat, weighing from 3 to 4 carats each, which he thought were not so hard as those found in other mines, and had therefore sent them to me to know the truth, but in this he was mistaken, since there is no difference between them. When I was at Batavia, one of the heads of the company shewed me a native stone weighing 43½ carats, quite perfect, found in this river Succadan, but according to the price he told me it had cost him, he had paid 50 per cent. more than I would have given, although it is true I have always heard these stones mentioned as being very dear. The principal reason which prevented me from going to this river of Borneo, is that the Queen of the island not allowing strangers to export the diamonds, there is great difficulty in getting them away, and the few which they contrive to bring secretly, are sold at Batavia. Here, doubtless, it will be asked why I mention the Queen of Borneo only, and not the King. The cause is, that in this kingdom women alone reign, men not being allowed, by reason that the people are extremely fearful of not having a legitimate heir to the throne, and as the husband cannot be certain that the children his wife brings him are really his, while the wife on the contrary, is always certain as to her own children, they like better to have a woman rule over them, on whom they confer the title of Queen, while her husband being her subject, has no more power than what she chooses to invest him with.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.—*Of the various sorts of Weights used at the Mines for weighing the Diamonds; of the different Gold and Silver Coins there current; of the several Roads leading to the Mines, and of the Rule they have to ascertain the price of Diamonds.*

I NOW come to speak of some particulars observed in the diamond trade, which I doubt not will be acceptable to the reader, no one having before written on this subject.

In the first place, I come to speak of the various sorts of weights in use, as well at the mines as in the other parts of Asia.

At the Raolconda mine they weigh by mangelins, and the mangelin there is 1¾ of a carat, that is to say seven grains.

At the mine of Gani or Coulour they use the same as at Raolconda.

At the mine of Soumelpour in Bengala, they weigh by the ratis, which is ⅞ of a carat, or 3½ grains, and they use the same weights throughout the Great Mogul's empire. In the kingdoms of Golconda and Visapour they likewise make use of the mangelin, but in these places it is only 1⅜ of a carat. The Portuguese also use the same kind of weight in Goa, but there it is only five grains.

I come in the next place to speak of the coins used for buying diamonds in the Indies.

First, at the kingdom of Bengala in the territory of the Rajah before mentioned, being tributary to the Great Mogul, they make their payments in roupees.

At the two mines, which are in the kingdom of Visapour, in the neighbourhood of Raolconda, the payment is made in new pagodas, which the King causes to be coined in his name, as being entirely independent of the Great Mogul. The new pagodas are not always of the same value, sometimes going for three roupees and a half, sometimes for more, and sometimes for less, rising and falling according to the course of trade, and the agreement entered into by the money changers with the princes and governors.

At the Coulour or Gani mine, which belongs to the King of Golconda, the payment is also made in new pagodas, which are of the same value as those of the King of Visapour. Although they are sometimes obliged to buy them at from one to four per cent. more, on account of their being better gold, and their not taking any other at this mine. These pagodas are made by the English and the Dutch, who are privileged by the King, either of his own accord or from necessity, to coin them in their forts. Those of the Dutch cost one or two per cent. more than the English, because they are of a finer standard, and the miners like them much better. But as the merchants in general are prepossessed with the false opinion, that the people at the mine are rude and almost like savages, as also that the roads from Golconda to the mines are very dangerous, they generally remain at Golconda, where those who speculate in mining have their correspondents, who send them the diamonds. They pay there in old pagodas, coined several centuries ago, bearing the impressions of the various princes who reigned in the Indies before the Mahometans had got footing there. These old pagodas pass for four rupees and a half, that is one roupee more than the new ones, although they have no more gold in them, and of course do not weigh more, which might occasion some surprise, did I not explain the cause, which is, that the cherafs or money changers to influence the King in their favour, pay him annually a large sum, they themselves deriving a great profit; for the merchants never receive any of these pagodas, without having one of the money changers to examine them, some being defaced, others of a bad

standard,

standard, and some again short of weight, so much so, that were they to take them without examining, they would be considerable losers, and for the trouble of perfecting them, incur a charge of from one to perhaps five or six cent. added to which they give the changers a quarter per cent. for their trouble. When the miners are paid, they also never receive these pagodas without the changer's presence, who points out the good and the bad, taking as before a quarter per cent. for himself. But to save time, when they are about to make a considerable payment, of perhaps a thousand or two thousand pagodas, the changer on receiving his duty, incloses them in a little sack, on which he fixes his mark, and when they are about to pay the merchant for his diamonds, they bring him with the bag to the changer, who seeing his mark unaltered, assures him that he has examined the contents, and will be answerable for any that are not good.

With regard to the roupees, they take indifferently both those of the Great Mogul and the King of Golconda, because such as are coined by the King bear the Mogul's impression, as they agree.

Besides, the Indians have more wit, and are more refined than people think. The pagoda is a thick little piece of gold, not bigger than the nail of the little finger, and as from their size it is impossible to clip them without its being known, they have the address to bore little holes all round, from whence they get to the value of about three or four pence in gold dust, and they know how to conceal it so cleverly, that no one can perceive they have been touched. Moreover, when they go to buy any thing in a village, or when they pass a river, if a roupee is given to them in change, they directly light a fire and put it in, when if it comes out white they keep it, if on the contrary it is black they return it, for all the money in the Indies is of the first standard, and if any be brought from Europe, it must be carried to the mint. I must also observe, that they are much deceived, who (as a merchant would have persuaded me during my first travels) imagine it is quite enough to carry to the mines, spices, tobacco, looking glasses, and other trifles of that sort, in order to receive diamonds in exchange; but I have had convincing proof to the contrary, and can positively affirm, that the merchants who sell the diamonds at the mine will take nothing but fine gold of the best quality.

With respect to the roads we must pass to arrive at the mines.—In some accounts, which are a little fabulous, we are told, as I have before observed, that they are dangerous and difficult, abounding with lions, tigers, and savages; but I found them quite different to what they had been represented, meeting with no wild beasts, and the people full of kindness and frankness towards strangers. As to Golconda, they can have been but little acquainted with the map of that country, to be ignorant of its situation; but from Golconda to Raolconda, which is the principal mine, the road is less known, and the following is the route I have taken. In this country the roads are measured by the gos, one of which is equal to four French leagues.

From Golconda to Canapour, gos - - - - - -	1
From Canapour to Parquel, gos - - - - - - -	2½
From Parquel to Cakenol, gos - - - - - - -	1
From Cakenol to Canol-Candanor, gos - - -	3
From Canol-Candanor to Setapour, gos - - -	1
From Setapour to the River, gos - - - - - -	2

This river is the frontier of the kingdoms of Golconda and Visapour.

From the River to Alpour, gos - - - - - - -	¾
From Alpour to Canal, gos - - - - - - - -	¾
From Canal to Raolconda, where the mine is, gos	2½

So

So that in all, from Golconda to the mine, it is 17 gos, which is equal to 68 French leagues.

From Golconda to the Colour or Gani Mine, by the same measure, they reckon 13¾ gos, which is equal to 55 of our leagues.

From Golconda to Almaspinde, gos - - - - -	3½
From Almaspinde to Kaper, gos - - - - - - -	2
From Kaper to Montecour, gos - - - - - - -	2½
From Montecour to Naglepar, gos - - - - - -	2
From Naglepar to Eligada, gos - - - - - - -	1½
From Eligada to Sawaron, gos - - - - - - -	1
From Sawaron to Mellaserou, gos - - - - - -	1
From Mellaserou to Ponocour, gos - - - - - -	1¼

From Ponocour you have only the river to pass to arrive at Coulour or Gani.

I come now to an important article, known to but few persons in Europe.

A Rule to ascertain the exact Price or Value of Diamonds of any Weight, from three to One Hundred Carats and upwards.

I shall say nothing of diamonds weighing less than three carats, their value being so well known.

In the first place you must learn how much the diamond weighs, and see if it is perfect, if it is a thick stone, well squared and got all its corners, and also if it is of a fine white lively water, and without spots or flaws. If it is a stone cut facet wise, which is generally called a rose, you must observe that it is of a good round or oval form, if it be of a proper breadth, and not of an aukward form, and lastly, that it has the water and other properties above mentioned.

A diamond of this nature, weighing a carat, would be worth one hundred and fifty livres, or more, and the question is, to show, by an example, how much a stone of the same perfection, weighing twelve carats would be worth? The following method will serve to explain this.

Multiply the twelve again by twelve, which will produce one hundred and forty-four, then multiply the one hundred and forty-four by one hundred and fifty, the value of the stone weighing one carat, and the produce will be, twenty-one thousand six hundred livres.

Example of the foregoing rule.

```
   12
   12
 ----
  144
  150
 ----
 7200
144
 ----
21,600 livres.
```

Which is the value of the diamond weighing twelve carats.

But it is not alone sufficient to know the value of perfect diamonds, since we should also be able to tell the worth of those that are not perfect, which may be learnt by the same method, as for example:

Let

Let us suppose an imperfect diamond is offered you, weighing fifteen carats, which is not of a good water, or of a bad shape, or full of spots or flaws. A stone of this quality weighing a carat, would not be worth more than sixty livres, or from that to eighty or one hundred at most, according to the beauty of the diamond. You must then multiply the weight of the diamond, which is fifteen carats, by fifteen, then again multiply the produce, which will be two hundred and twenty-five, by the value of the stone weighing one carat, which for example is eighty livres, and the produce, which will be eighteen thousand livres, is the value of the diamond weighing fifteen carats.

Example of the foregoing rule;

$$\begin{array}{r} 15 \\ \underline{15} \\ 75 \\ \underline{15} \\ 225 \\ \underline{80} \\ 18{,}000 \text{ livres.} \end{array}$$

By this the great difference between a perfect and an imperfect stone is easily perceived, for if the stone of fifteen carats was perfect, the second multiplication would be by one hundred and fifty, which is the value of a perfect stone weighing one carat; and then the diamond, instead of eighteen thousand livres, would amount to thirty-three thousand seven hundred and fifty; that is, to fifteen thousand seven hundred and fifty livres more, than an imperfect diamond of the same weight.

According to the foregoing rule, the following estimate may be formed of the value of the two largest cut diamonds in the world; the one in Asia belonging to the Great Mogul, and the other in Europe, in the possession of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

That belonging to the Great Mogul, weighs $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats, is of a perfectly fine water, good shape, and has but one small flaw, which is on the edge of the bottom of the stone.

Without this little flaw, the first carat might be valued at 160 livres, but on account of that I have put it at 150 only, at which calculation, according to the rule laid down, it amounts to the sum of 11,723,278 livres, 14 sols, and 3 liards. Had this diamond weighed 279 carats only, it would have amounted but to 11,676,150 livres, these $\frac{9}{16}$ making a difference of 47,128 livres, 14 sols, 3 liards.

The diamond belonging to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, weighs $139\frac{1}{2}$ carats, is clear, of a fine form, and cut on all sides facet-wise, but as it somewhat approaches to a lemon colour, I have estimated the first carat at 135 livres only, according to which calculation it amounts to 2,608,335 livres.

As a conclusion to the remarks contained in this chapter, I have to observe, that according to the language used at the mines the diamond is called Iri; in Turkish, Persian and Arabic, they call it Almas, while in all the European languages, it is known by the name of diamond only.

Thus have I in a few words discovered all the information I have been able to collect on this subject during my several journies to the mines; and if by chance some other person has written on this matter before me, they must necessarily have derived their intelligence from my communication.

CHAP. V.—*Of coloured Stones, and the Parts where they are found.*

THERE are but two places in the Eaſt in which coloured ſtones are found, that is the kingdom of Pegu, and the iſland of Ceylon. The firſt is at a mountain about a dozen days journey from Siren, on the north-eaſt, and is called Capelan. This is the mine which produces the greateſt quantity of rubies and ſpinels, otherwiſe called the mother of rubies, yellow topazes, blue and white ſapphires, jacinths, amethyſts, and other ſtones of different colours. Amongſt theſe of a hard nature they find others of various colours, but very ſoft, which in the language of the country are called Bacan, but they are in little eſtimation.

Siren is the name of the city in which the King of Pegu has his reſidence, and Ava is the port of his kingdom. From Ava to Siren you go up the river in large barks, which are very flat. It is about ſixty days voyage, and cannot be performed on land by reaſon that you have to travel through woods full of lions, tigers, and elephants. This is one of the pooreſt countries in the world, producing nothing but rubies, and thoſe not in ſo great a number as is generally believed, ſeeing that taking one year with another the exportation does not amount to one hundred thouſand crowns. In the number of theſe ſtones you rarely meet with a fine one weighing three or four carats, by reaſon of the great difficulty in conveying them away till the King has ſeen them, who always retains all the fine ones he meets with. Whence it happens, that in all my voyages, I had a very conſiderable profit to derive from European rubies brought to Aſia; and the relation of Vincent le Blanc, who boaſts of having ſeen rubies in the King's palace as big as eggs, is very doubtful.

The following is an account of the price of ſome rubies, that might paſs for fine ones, which I have in my various travels ſeen for ſale by merchants who came from the mine, when I was at Maſlipatan and Golconda. All rubies are ſold by a weight called a ratis, which is three grains and a half, or ſeven eights of a carat, and the payment is made in old pagodas, of which I have ſpoke in the preceding chapter.

	Pagodas
A ruby weighing one ratis has been ſold for	20
A ruby weighing 2 ratis and $\frac{1}{8}$ - - -	85
A ruby weighing 3 ratis and $\frac{1}{4}$ - - -	185
A ruby weighing 4 ratis and $\frac{5}{8}$ - - -	450
A ruby weighing 4 ratis - - - -	525
A ruby weighing 6 ratis and $\frac{1}{2}$ - - -	920

When a ruby weighs more than ſix ratis and is perfect, it will fetch almoſt any price.

In this country they call all coloured ſtone rubies, only diſtinguiſhing them by the colour itſelf. Thus in the language of Pegu, the ſapphire is a blue ruby, the amethyſt a violet ruby, the topaz a yellow ruby, and ſo on with all others.

In trading they are ſo greedy of gain, that they will not ſhew you a parcel of rubies, of however little value, without you promiſe beforehand to make them a ſmall preſent, ſuch as a turban or ſaſh, in caſe you do not buy, but if you behave liberal to them, they will ſhew you the whole of their merchandize, when you may generally buy to advantage.

The other part of the Eaſt, from which rubies and other coloured ſtones are produced, is a river in the iſland of Ceylon. It runs from the high mountains which are

about the middle of the island, and as it is greatly swelled by the rains, three or four months after they have fallen and the water is low, the poor people go and search amongst the sand, where they find rubies, sapphires, and topazes. All the stones found at this river are generally finer and clearer than those of Pegu.

I had forgot to observe, that in the mountains which run from Pegu to the kingdom of Camboya, there are places where rubies are found, though they are more of balays than the others, with many spinels, sapphires, and topazes. In these mountains gold mines are also met with, and it is from this place that the fine rhubarb is produced, which is held in high estimation, because it does not spoil so soon as that which grows in other parts of Asia.

There are also two other places in Europe in which coloured stones are found, that is Bohemia and Hungary. In Bohemia is a mine, containing certain flint stones of various sizes, some as big as eggs, and others as large as the fist, which on breaking are found to enclose rubies as hard and fine as those of Pegu. I remember being one day at Prague with the viceroy of Hungary, to whose suite I belonged, when he, washing with General Wallestein, Duke of Fridland, before sitting down to table, saw on the finger of the general a ruby, of which he greatly praised the beauty: but his admiration was further increased on the general's informing him that the mine which yielded those stones was in Bohemia, and in fact on the viceroy's departure he presented him with about a hundred of these pebbles in a basket. As we were on our return into Hungary, the viceroy ordered them to be broke, but in all the number there was only two that each contained a ruby, the one, a large stone, might weigh near five carats, and the other about one carat.

In Hungary there is also a mine in which alone opals are found, it being the sole place on earth that produces them.

The turquoise is only found in Persia, being produced from two mines, one called the old rock, about three days journey from Meched, approaching to the north-west near a large town called Nichabourg; and the other which they call the new mine, at about five days journey from the same place Those found at the new mine are of a bad blue approaching to white, they are but little valued, and a great number of them may be purchased for a small sum. But for several years past the King of Persia has forbid any one digging in the old rock except for himself, because there being no goldsmiths in that country, but those who work in thread or wire, and who understand nothing of enamelling on gold, as people that have few designs or patterns, he instead of enamel, causes his sabres, poignards, and other articles to be ornamented with these turquoises from the old rock, which they cut and fix in the collets in the shape of various flowers and figures, according to fancy. This strikes the eye as a tedious minute work, but is without any design.

Lastly, with respect to the emerald, it is an ancient mistake of many well-informed persons, that they are found originally in the East, and even to this day the greater part of the jewellers and goldsmiths, as soon as they see an emerald of a high colour approaching to black, are accustomed to call it an oriental emerald, in which they are mistaken. I confess that I have not yet been able to discover those places on our continent, from whence these stones are procured, but I am well assured that they are never brought from the East, nor in the continent of Asia, nor any of its isles, and that having made a diligent enquiry in all my travels, I have never been able to meet with any person that could point out any part of Asia in which they were found. It is true that since the discovery of America, they have often brought by the south seas some unpolished stones from Perou to the Philippine islands,

islands; from whence they have passed into Europe: but that neither authorises us to call them oriental, or to suppose they were produced in the East, seeing that before this discovery and passage they were accustomed to trade in emeralds all over Europe, but now that they have quitted this route, they send them all by the north sea to Spain. In the year 1660, I saw them purchased in India twenty per cent. cheaper than they could have been bought in France.

But with regard to this navigation, and the American trade to the Philippine islands, it must be observed that the Americans export from these islands, as well as from Bengala, Aracan, Pegu, Goa, and other places, all sorts of linen cloth, quantities of precious stones, as diamonds, rubies, &c. with various works in gold and silver, silk stuffs and Persian carpets. Yet it is also necessary to notice, that as they are not permitted to sell any thing directly to the Americans, but only to those who reside at the Manilles, it is of them they purchase these articles on their return; and even if any one should obtain permission to depart from Goa to Spain by the way of the South Sea, he would be obliged to pay from eighty to one hundred per cent. as far as the Philippines, without being allowed to purchase any thing, and the same again from the Philippines to New Spain.

CHAP. VI.—*Of Pearls, and the Places where they are found.*

PEARLS are found both in the eastern and western seas, and as well for the satisfaction of the reader, as also to omit nothing on this subject, although I have never been in America, I shall here take notice of all those places that contain pearl fisheries, beginning with those of the east.

In the first place, there is a pearl fishery round the island of Bahren in the Persian gulf, which belongs to the King of Persia, and there is a good fortress, garrisoned with three hundred men. The water they use in this island, and also on the Persian coast, is salt and of a bad taste, and it is only the natives of the country that can drink it. With respect to strangers, it costs them a considerable sum to get it good, for they have to draw it from the sea at a distance of from half a league to two leagues beyond the island. Those that go to fetch it are commonly five or six in a bark, from which one or two of them dive to the bottom of the sea, having a bottle or two hung at their girdle, which they fill with water, and then cork them tight; for at about two or three feet from the bottom of the sea the water is sweet and of the very best quality. When those who are let down have filled their bottles, they pull a small cord which has one end fastened to some person in the boat, and it serves as a signal for their comrades to draw them up.

While the Portuguese were in possession of Ormus and Mascaté, every terate or bark that went out to fish was obliged to have a passport which cost fifteen abassis, and they continually employed several brigantines to sink those that had not got them. But since the Arabs have retaken Mascaté, and the Portuguese have no strength on the gulf, every man that goes a fishing pays to the King of Persia five abassis only, whether his success be good or bad. The merchant also pays some small trifle to the King on every thousand oysters.

The second pearl fishery is over against that of Bahren, on the coast of Arabia the Happy, near the city of Catifa, which as well as the surrounding country belongs to an Arabian prince. All the pearls that are fished in these places, are generally sold in the Indies, because the Indians are not so difficult as we, and buy indifferently the rough ones

ones as well as the smooth, taking the whole at a fixed price. They alfo carry fome to Balfora, while thofe that are carried to Perfia and Mufcovy, are fold at Bander-Congo, two days journey from Ormus. In all thofe places I have mentioned, as well in other parts of Afia, they like better to fee the water of a yellow caft than white, becaufe they fay that thofe pearls in which the water is a little tinged like gold, always retain their brightnefs, and never alter: while thofe that are white, feldom laft longer than thirty years without changing; when, owing as well to the warmth of the country as the heat of the body, they take a dull yellow colour.

Before taking leave of the gulf of Ormus, I fhall fpeak a little more in addition to what is mentioned in my account of Perfia, of the admirable pearl in the poffeffion of the Arabian prince that took Mefcaté from the Portuguefe, on which occafion he affumed the name of Imenheét prince of Mafcaté, being before called Aceph Ben-Ali, prince of Norenuaé. This, though but a fmall province, is the fineft in all Arabia the Happy, containing every thing neceffary for the life of man, but particularly fine fruits, and above all, moft excellent grapes, from which they can make very good wine. It is this prince that poffeffes the fineft pearl in the whole world, not on account of its fize, for it weighs but 12 carats and $\frac{1}{16}$, nor for its perfect roundnefs, but becaufe it is fo bright and tranfparent, that you can almoft fee the light through it. As the gulf over againft Ormus is little more than twelve leagues from Arabia the Happy, on the Perfian fide, and the Arabs are at peace with the Perfians, the prince Mafcaté came to vifit the Khan of Ormus, by whom he was magnificently treated, at the fame time inviting the Englifh, Dutch, and French, amongft which number I was one. At the clofe of the entertainment, the prince drew out this pearl from a little purfe, which he wore fufpended from his neck, and fhewed it to the Khan and all the company. The Khan would have bought it, to prefent to the King of Perfia, and offered as far as two thoufand tomins, but the prince would not fell it, fince which I croffed the fea in company with a Banian merchant, fent by the Great Mogul to this prince, with an offer of forty thoufand crowns for his pearl, but which he alfo refufed. This ftory fhews us that with refpect to jewels, thofe which are very fine, fhould not always be brought to Europe, but rather, as I have before noticed, carried from Europe to Afia, where they highly value thofe jewels and pearls, which are of extraordinary beauty, with the exception of the Chinefe and Japanefe, who fet no efteem upon them.

Another place in the Eaft remarkable for a pearl fifhery is in the fea which wafhes a large town called Manar in the ifland of Ceylon. Thefe are the fineft with refpect to water and roundnefs of all the other fifheries, but they rarely find any that weigh more than three or four carats.

Alfo on the coaft of Japan there are large pearls, and of fine water, but very rough, however they never fifh for them, becaufe, as I have already obferved, the Japanefe hold jewels in no eftimation.

Notwithftanding the pearls found at Bahren and Catifa approach a little upon the yellow, they are yet, as I have already remarked, in as much efteem as thofe of Manar, and throughout all the Eaft they fay they are ripe, and never change their colour.

I now come to the weftern fifheries, which are all in the great gulf of Mexico, extending along the coaft of New Spain, where there are five, ftretching from eaft to weft.

The firft is along the ifland of Cubagua, which is not more than three leagues in circuit, and about five diftant from Terra-Firma. It is placed at ten degrees and a half in the northern latitude, and is about one hundred and fixty leagues from St. Domingo, in the ifland of Hifpanolia. The land is here quite barren, and deftitute of

every

every thing, particularly of water, which the inhabitants are obliged to fetch from Terra Firma. This island is noted throughout the west for producing the greatest number of pearls, though the largest never exceed five carats.

The second fishery is at the island of Marguerite, that is to say, the island of pearls, and is about a league's distance from Cubagua, which it much surpasses in size. It contains every thing essential for life, except water, in which like Cubagua it is deficient, and they go to fetch it from the river Cumana, near New Cadiz. This fishery, though not the largest of the five found in America, is yet reckoned the principal one, by reason that its pearls surpass the others in perfection, as well for water as in size. One of these pearls I had formerly in my possession, which was finely shaped like a pear, and of clear water, it weighed fifty-five carats, and I sold it to Cha-Est-Kan, the Great Mogul's uncle.

Many persons are much surprised at pearls being carried from Europe to the East, where they are found in great quantities, but it must be considered that the eastern fisheries never produce any so large as the west, to which may be added, that all the kings and great lords in Asia, give a much better price than Europeans, not only for pearls, but all sorts of jewels when they are any ways uncommon, diamonds alone excepted.

The third fishery is at Comogote also near Terra Firma. The fourth is at Rio de la Hacha, along the same coast.

The fifth and last is at Saint Martha, sixty leagues from Rio de la Hacha. All these three fisheries produce pearls of a large size, but they are in general ill shaped and of a lead coloured water.

With regard to the pearls of Scotland, and those found in one of the rivers of Bevaria, although necklaces are made of them to the value of one thousand crowns and upwards, yet they will not bear a comparison with those of the East and West Indies.

I believe no one that has preceded me in writing on pearls, has taken any notice of the fishery that within these few years has been discovered on the coast of Japan, many of which pearls brought from thence by Dutchmen I have seen. They are of a very fine water, and some of them large, but are all rough. The Japanese, as I have observed elsewhere, hold them in no estimation, and it is not unlikely, were they disposed to search, that they might meet with some sand banks containing finer.

Before closing this chapter, I wish to make an important remark respecting pearls and the difference of their water, some being very white, others bordering upon yellow, and some again of a blackish or lead colour. With respect to the latter, they are found only in America, and their colour is owing to the nature of the bottom, which contains more mud than in the East. In a cargo that the late Monsieur du Jardin, the famous jeweller, had in the Spanish galleons, he found six pearls perfectly round, but black as jet, which, taking the one with the other, weighed twelve carats. He gave them to me, in company with other articles to carry to the East and endeavour to sell, but I brought them back to him, not having been able to find any person who was pleased with them. As to those which have a yellow cast, this arises from the pearl fishers selling the oysters to the merchants by heaps, who sometimes keep them as long as fourteen or fifteen days until they open of themselves when they take out the pearls; during which time some of these oysters losing their moisture, spoil and waste, by means of which infection the pearl turns yellow, which is so true, that in all the oysters that has preserved their moisture, the pearls are always white. The reason why they keep them till they open of themselves is, that if opened by force as we do our shell-oysters, they would run the risk of damaging or breaking the pearl. The oysters at Manar

Manar open naturally five or six days sooner than those in the Persian Gulf, because the heat is greater at Manar, which is in the tenth degree of north latitude, than at the island of Bahren, which is about twenty-seven degrees: thus amongst those pearls that come from Manar there are few yellow. In short, all the eastern nations are exactly of our taste with regard to whiteness, and I have always observed that they like the whitest pearls, the whitest diamonds, the whitest bread, and the whitest women.

CHAP. VII. *Shewing in what Manner the Pearls are engendered in Oysters, how they fish for them, and at what Time.*

I AM well aware that, according to the opinion of some ancient authors, not very conversant in these matters, pearls have commonly been thought to be engendered by the dew from heaven, and that never more than one is found in each oyster, all which experience has shewn to be erroneous. With respect to the first, the oysters are found only at the bottom of the sea, where the dew cannot penetrate, they being sometimes, as I shall presently shew, obliged to dive for them as low as twelve fathoms, and in regard to the other, it is certain, that as many as six or seven pearls have been found in one oyster; nay, I myself have had one that contained to the number of ten, regular in a train of formation. They were not it is true all of the same bigness, because they engender in the oysters in the same manner as eggs in the belly of a fowl, where as the largest egg being most advanced towards the orifice, comes out first, leaving the smaller ones behind till further perfected, so likewise in the oysters the largest pearl first presents itself, leaving the smaller ones not yet arrived at perfection under the oyster at the bottom of the shell, until they have attained their natural size. But yet I do not mean from this to infer that it is a general rule, as, on the contrary, many oysters are met with containing no pearls at all.

It must not be imagined that these pearl divers derive any great advantage from their labour, for if the poor people thus occupied had any thing else to employ them, they would willingly quit this trade, which they follow only to keep them from starving. I have, in my account of Persia, before observed, that from Balsora as far as Cape Jalque, on both sides the Persian Gulf, the earth produces nothing. The people are there so poor, and live in a manner so pitiable, that they see neither bread nor rice, living entirely on dates and salt-fish, as they must go twenty leagues up the country before they meet with any herb.

They fish in the oriental seas twice a year, first in March and April, and secondly, in August and September, and the time for selling them is from June till November. But this fishery is not carried on every year, because those who undertake it wishing to learn beforehand, whether or not it will tend to their advantage, send out to the place where they fish six or seven barks, when each of them bringing back about a thousand oysters, they open them, and if in every thousand, pearls are not found to the value of five fanos, which is about equal to half-a-crown of our money, it is a sign that the fishery will not be productive, and these poor people would not be able to make good the expences they are put to, since as well to cloath as support them during the time of the fishery, they borrow money at three and four per cent. per month, so that if the thousand oysters does not produce pearls to the amount of at least five fanos, they fish none that year. The merchants that buy these oysters must do it at a venture, taking their chance as to their contents. Thus, when they find large pearls, turns out fortunate, although it happens but

seldom

seldom, especially at the Manar fishery, where, as I have already observed, none but small ones are found, the most part of them being such as are sold by the ounce. They have several as large as half a grain or a grain, but it is a great thing when they find one to weigh two or three carats. There are some years that a thousand oysters are worth seven fanos, and that the fishery amounts to an hundred thousand piastres or more. When the Portuguese were in possession of Manar, they imposed a duty on every bark, and since the Dutch have taken possession of it, from every diver they receive eight piastres, and sometimes nine, which, in a profitable year, has brought them in as much as seventeen thousand two hundred reals. The reason why the Portuguese took this tribute of these poor people, as likewise why the Dutch continue it, is to defray the expence of defending them against the Malavares their enemies, who, coming in armed barks, endeavour to take them for slaves. All the time the fishery is carried on, the Dutch have two or three armed barks at sea, on the side that the corsairs come from, by which means they are enabled to work in peace. These divers are for the most part idolaters, although there are some Mahometans who have their barks by themselves. They never mix together, and the Dutch receive more from these latter than the former, for besides that the Mahometans pay as much as the idolaters, they also give the produce of one day's fishery, which day is at the choice of the Dutch.

The more it rains in the course of the year, the more productive it is for the fishery, but many persons imagine that the deeper water the oyster is found in, so much is the pearl the whiter, because the water is not so hot, the sun not penetrating to the bottom, but this is an opinion I beg leave to contradict. They fish in from four to twelve fathom water, which fishery is carried on upon the banks, where there are sometimes as many as two hundred and fifty barks, in the greater part of which there is but one diver, some of the largest only having two.

These barks sail from the coast every morning before sun rise, with a constant breeze from the land, which lasts till ten o'clock. After dinner they return with a breeze from the sea, which succeeds that of the land, regularly springing up about eleven or twelve o'clock as soon as the other has ceased. The banks on which they fish, are five or six leagues out in the sea, and when there, the following is the method used to procure the oysters.

Under the arms of those who dive, they fasten a cord, one end of which is held by them that remain in the bark, while to their great toe a stone is tied of eighteen or twenty pounds weight, the cord also being held by those in the bark. Then they have a net made like a sack, the mouth being encircled with a hoop to keep it open, and this net is fastened like the rest. The diver is now let down into the sea, where directly he gets to the bottom, which he very soon does by means of the stone fastened to his toe, he immediately unties it, and those who are in the bark draw it up. He now keeps filling the net with the oysters as long as he can hold his breath, which when he finds beginning to fail him, he pulls the cord fastened under his arms, and that serving as a signal to those in the boat, they draw him up as quick as possible. The divers at Manar are much cleverer at fishing, and remain longer under the water than those of Bahran and Catifa, neither closing up their nostrils with pincers, nor putting cotton in their ears to hinder the water from entering, as they do at the Persian Gulf.

After the diver is drawn into the bark, they drag up the net with the oysters, when he remains about half a quarter of an hour, as well to allow them time to take out the oysters as to give him time to breathe, which done he returns again to the bottom of the sea in the same manner as before, repeatedly continuing so to do for the space of ten or twelve hours, when they make for land. Some that are in want of money sell

what

what they have immediately, whilst those that have wherewith to live, keep them till the fishing season is over. They leave the oysters to open of themselves, which they do as soon as they begin to spoil. Some of the shells are four times as large as those we have at Rouen, but as the oysters are of an insipid, unpleasant taste, they always throw them away.

As a conclusion to this discourse on pearls, it must be observed, that throughout all Europe, they sell them by the carat, which is four grains, the same as in diamonds, whereas in Asia, they have various weights. In Persia they weigh their pearls by the Abas, which is one eighth less than our carat, while in the Indies, and throughout all the Great Mogul's territories, as also in the kingdoms of Golconda and Visapour, they weigh them by the ratis, which is likewise one eighth less than the carat.

Goa was formerly the greatest mart in Asia for diamonds, rubies, sapphires, topazes, and other stones. Here all the miners and merchants resorted to sell the finest productions of the mines, because they were at free liberty to dispose of them as they pleased, whereas in their own country, upon shewing any thing particular to any of the kings or princes they were obliged to accept just what he chose to give them. Goa was also famous for the great trade there carried on in pearls, as well those brought from the island of Bahren in the Persian Gulf, as from Manar on the coast of Ceylon, and also those from America. It must be observed, that at Goa and all other Portugueze possessions in the Indies, they weigh their pearls with a particular weight, not used at any other place either in Europe, Asia, or America. I make no mention of Africa, because this trade is not known there, the women in that part of the world contenting themselves, in the place of jewels, with some grains of false coral or yellow amber, of which they make collars and bracelets to ornament their legs and arms.

Notwithstanding the Portugueze in all their Indian possessions, sell the pearls by a weight called chegos, they nevertheless buy them of the merchants according to the custom of their various countries, either by the carat, abas, or ratis.

A NEW ACCOUNT OF THE EAST INDIES,

BEING

The Observations and Remarks of Capt ALEXANDER HAMILTON,

Who spent his Time there from the Year 1688 to 1723; trading and Travelling, by Sea and Land, to most of the Countries and Islands of Commerce and Navigation, between the Cape of Good Hope, and the Island of Japon.*

To his Grace, James, Duke of Hamilton, Chatelerault and Brandon, Marquis of Clydesdale, Earl of Arran, Lanerk and Cambridge, Lord Avon, Polmount, Machanshyre, and Innerdale, and Baron of Dutton, Knight of the most noble Order of the Thistle.

MY LORD,

I HAVE known some scribblers, or authors, dedicate their works to great men, who they hardly knew any more of than their illustrious names; but my ambition or presumption has a juster plea in claiming your Grace's patronage, since you have been pleased to honour me with several instances of your favour; therefore, I humbly presume to lay these cursory observations that I made in my travels to the East Indies, at your Grace's feet; and if they find acceptance, I shall not much mind the censure of criticks, or satirists: for I am persuaded, that the very name of so illustrious a patron will be sufficient to protect and defend me.

If I had thought, while I was in India, of making my observations or remarks public, and to have had the honour of presenting them to so noble a patron, I had certainly been more careful and curious in my collections, and of keeping memorandums to have made this work more complete: but it must now appear, to some disadvantage, (for want of those ornaments) in its native simple dress, as it came posting through a weak and treacherous memory with little elegancy.

I have seen the elaborate works of several ingenious pens, who had travelled through many countries, in many that I have travelled to by sea and land; they may have many advantages to recommend their works that I want; yet, few (if any) ever had the living acquaintances that I have had, to inform or instruct them in many particulars relating to the ancient, or present state of their countries, whose vernacular languages can best illustrate their histories, some of which I understood.

All that have travelled in those countries before me, have omitted some things worthy of observation, and have remarked some things impertinent enough; and, as I take the liberty to censure them, I expect the same treatment from those that may travel after me, and for the very same fault.

Those five or six and thirty years that I spent in the East Indies, strolling from place to place, gave me opportunities to know some topographical, historical, and theogonal parts of this work, from the natives, of their respective countries, who may be presumed to be better acquainted with their own traditions and customs, than strangers, who are often at a loss for want of language.

* Edin. 1727, 2 vols. 8vo.

I will



helps could not be had." Indeed, as to their laws, their kings or princes being all arbitrary, the law is lodged in their breasts, who make and repeal when they please; but, for the ease of the populace, they have national customs and courts to manage distributive justice, and that runs in a pretty even channel, when it is not interrupted by the Prince's order, or stopt by bribes, to those governors or judges who have the distribution of them; and this is not more in use among the black Indians than among the white.

Their religions are a complex of mysteries, church-policy, and superstition, and they are all safely locked up in their temples, as being too holy to be exposed to the vulgar, and they seldom appear abroad, but in a language generally unknown to the populace; and the priests are both authors and interpreters of the sacred dreams, and, in most parts, the priests have the keeping of the keys of their histories too, and when they come abroad, it may easily be observed, that a Levite had been trimming or tampering with them, for they are generally grossly debaubed with hyperboles and fables, and a little God often brought in to father their inventions, affirmations, or notions.

So that what knowledge I have acquired or gathered, is from the much converse I had with the natives of the respective countries I travelled in, or from those that were familiarly acquainted with the religions, laws, and customs of their neighbours.

One great misfortune that attends us European travellers in India, is, the want of knowledge of their languages, and they being so numerous, that one intire century would be too short a time to learn all. I could not find one in ten thousand that could speak intelligible English, tho', along the sea-coasts, the Portugueze have left a vestige of their language, though much corrupted, yet it is the language that most Europeans learn first, to qualify them for a general converse with one another, as well as with the different inhabitants of India.

And we Britons, who either go voluntarily, or are sent to Neptune's schools in our youth, to learn politeness and eloquence, very rarely meet with Apollo's bright sons or disciples to instruct us in the knowledge of languages, or of the state of all nations, but of that one we are born in, and that but imperfectly too. That may be one reason, among many, why we appear so simple and aukward in dressing up the observations we make of foreign countries, that we travel in, but I dare say, nobody will, or can be so ill-natured as to be offended, when he sees a plowman take out his mistress to dance a minuet a-la-mode, because his performances are not exactly squared with a dancing-master's rules and figures, which reflection makes me hope, that this my virgin essay will be civilly treated by the unprejudiced lovers of travels.

And now, to animadvert a little on the subject of my travels. The geographical, cosmographical or topographical parts of my observations have most of their places been settled by others, though I think some of them are a little out of their true positions, and some I have corrected in the annexed maps, according to my own observations; and those maps will shew the places and their names in a much easier and clearer light than if I had marked them down in margins, and, since most of the continents and islands lie pretty near the equator, the errors in longitude are not very great, if at all material.

The theogonal and moral parts may, without doubt, deserve some serious thoughts or attention, because every body is, or ought to be concerned in those speculations, since they shew some parts of their religions and customs, and, comparing them with the inestimable blessings that we enjoy by revealed religion and national laws, may afford us no small satisfaction, when rightly considered, and that their wild notions of a Deity, overclouded with superstition and folly, deserve our pity and charity, and that our duty towards God and our neighbour is, by the Holy Scriptures, set before us in the

the brightest light, while theirs is to be groped out by the dark glimmerings of very fallible reason; yet, for all these disadvantages, I have known many of them practise very much goodness in their lives by the help of morality, so that some animadversion on our advantages, compared with their disadvantages, may be, in some measure, both useful and delightful to all thinking men, except the atheist, whose numbers, I hope, are very few among us, and I never met with one in India.

What relates to navigation, in describing the seas, and dangers lying in them, and the coasts, with the dangers and harbours on them, is purely calculated for the use of my fraternity, who may have occasion to navigate in those seas, or on those coasts, but to others, who have no call that way, they are almost useless.

The commerce on the continent and the islands, with the account of their productions, fertility or sterility, are merely designed for the assistance of strangers, merchants or seamen, who may hereafter attempt a trade with the inhabitants of them: and I am persuaded, that there are several places, both on the continent and among the islands, that lie now neglected by Europeans, that might produce a good advantageous trade, if factories were settled, and commerce cultivated with the inhabitants, and would yield much better profits than many of the old factories do at present, some of which, I know, carry on but a very faint trade for their respective companies, that can hardly defray their little charges: but indolent people are generally wedded to their old customs, or their crazy habitations, without considering what changes time makes, in bodies politic as well as natural, which distemper is a lethargy in trade, and in all other of industry, which I can point out in particulars, if need were.

Now, as our dear friends and allies have engrossed all the Moluccos or spice islands, I can give but a superficial historical account of them, and, as they were acquired by bloody and barbarous industry, they keep and govern them with arbitrary violence. A poor Briton dares not approach them, lest they meet with the fate that some of our countrymen met with there formerly: and even an English seamen cannot be employed in that company's service, for fear of making observations in navigation, and remarks on trade, that may (some time or other, but God knows when) prove detrimental to their commerce. What I could learn of those islands were some cursory accounts from some of my fraternity, when a bottle or two had opened their breasts.

Yet I could have enlarged these observations, and made my book look much bigger than it is, but, as I hate prolixity myself, I treat my reader with what brevity I can, in every part, except it be where the subject cannot bear too narrow a contraction in its illustration.

But, before I end this preface or prologue, I will tell my reader, who perhaps is unacquainted with me, who I am, and who I am not. First then, I am one who went very young to travel, not for want, for there ever was, and is enough of that in my own country; but having a rambling mind, and a fortune too narrow to allow me to travel like a gentleman, I applied myself to the study of nautical affairs at Neptune's school; and, in process of time, I came to be a master of arts in that university. My younger days I spent in visiting most of the maritime kingdoms of Europe, and some parts of Barbary. Then my curiosity led me to Jamaica, and then to the East Indies, where I spent between five and six and thirty years, still learning my trade, and how to get money, and, meeting with some encouragement, I set up for myself, and took some apprentices, and, according to my abilities, I taught them, and gave them encouragement. Now, one would think, that in so long a time in India, I might have made a great deal of money as well as observations and remarks; but Fortunatus will not



not lodge in every houſe there with honeſt and induſtrious men more than in Europe; yet, after many ſtrugglings with adverſe fortune, and heavy oppreſſions, I have brought back a charm that can keep out the meagre devil (poverty) from entering into my houſe, and ſo I have got holy Agur's wiſh in Prov. xxx. 8. and I have learned a pretty good leſſon from St. Paul in his epiſtle to the Philippians, chap. iv. ver. 11. which I am reſolved to follow as long as I live.

And now I'll tell you who I am not. I aſſure you I am no mercenary ſcribbler, for, although I was profferred a good round ſum for a copy of theſe following obſervations, I refuſed it, and have made a preſent of them to a particular friend, and, if he thinks them worth the printing, he may print them for his own benefit and advantage; and, if he has good luck in putting them off, perhaps I may make ſome additions, appendixes or ſupplements to thoſe obſervations already made.

Moreover, I left England before King William came into it as King, which I look on as a ſingular providence, conſidering the revolutions and wars that ſoon followed King James's abdication, for being then young and thoughtleſs, and having but little experience of the affairs of the politick world, a fair tale plauſibly told, with a little ſmooth perſuaſion, might have drawn me into a wrong way of thinking, or might have led me away (by taking part with a wrong faction) to an untimely end, or, at leaſt, have given me time enough to make obſervations on the miſeries of a penurious life, as I ſee many now in Holland do at this time, who are plentifully fed with the bread of affliction, and their heat quenched with the waters of ſorrow, and the tears of repentance.

Now, as theſe obſervations have been moſtly from the ſtore-houſe of my memory, and are the amuſement or lucubrations of the nights of two long winters, I have even let my thoughts take their places, as they came out of my little magazine, without ſtudying to put them in rank and file, according to nice rules and forms. So in the ſame order I leave them to my reader, with the old proverb to accompany them, 'that the proof of the pudding is in eating it;' ſo, according to your taſte or appetite, you may either condemn or commend.

A NEW ACCOUNT OF THE EAST INDIES.

CHAP. I.—*Giveth a traditional Account of the firſt ſettling of Europeans at the Cape of Good Hope, with ſome hiſtorical Remarks on the maritime Countries between the ſaid Cape and Cape Guardafoy, with the inhabited Iſlands of that Coaſt.*

THE firſt Europeans that ſettled at Cabo de bona Eſperanza, or, in Engliſh, the Cape of Good Hope, were the Engliſh, in Queen Elizabeth's time; but the natives were ſo unſociable and indocile, that they thought fit to leave it. A few years after they had left it, the Engliſh Eaſt India company conſidering what importance a port would be of to their ſhipping, both in their outward and homeward bound paſſages to and from India, were reſolved to make another trial for a ſettlement there, and, in order to accompliſh their deſign, obtained a reprieve for three condemned malefactors, to be carried thither in order to learn the language, to ſerve for interpreters, and to inſpect, as far as they could, into the manners and cuſtoms of the native Hottentots, and of the product and commerce of the country.

After

After they had been there three years without being able to learn any of their language, or to teach any of the natives a word of Engliſh, a ſhip was ordered, in her paſſage from India, to call there, to know what was become of theſe three perſons, and arriving there, found them all alive, but very tired with their manner of living, inſomuch that they fell on their knees, and, with tears in their eyes, beſeeched the captain of the ſhip to carry them back to England, to receive the puniſhment due to their crimes, rather than be left among the very dregs of human nature, who had neither religion nor laws, except what every maſter of a family preſcribed, and allowed thoſe under his authority to obſerve and obey.

Some years after the experiment was made on the aforeſaid criminals, an Engliſh ſhip coming there for water and proviſions, in their way homeward to England, the captain had the curioſity to detain a youth that came to board his ſhip, and, being ready to ſail, carried him to England, where he ſtaid ſome years, clothed well after the Engliſh faſhion, and kept at ſchool to learn to ſpeak and read Engliſh, and, when the Eaſt India company thought him well enough qualified to ſerve for an interpreter, they ſent him back to his own country, very well clothed. As ſoon as he appeared aſhore among his friends and relations, he pulled off his Engliſh apparel, and put on his country habit, which is a ſheep's ſkin about his ſhoulders. The ſheep's guts ſerve both ſexes for bracelets, and the tallow mixed with ſoot is their pomatum, with which they bedaub their woolly heads, faces, and the reſt of their bodies. And when they come on board of our ſhipping to traffic their fowl, roots, and herbs, with our needles, ſciſſars, knives, toys, &c., they go firſt to the cook-room, and look out for ſome greaſe to anoint their naſty carcaſes, and ſcrape the bottoms of the kettles for ſoot, to beautify their ſkins.

Notwithſtanding that they are ſo brutal and indocile, they know the value of liberty, and will by no means be ſlaves, at leaſt to any European nations, and, in their diſpoſitions, are not cruel, through revengeful. They are not ſuperſtitious, for what adoration they pay, is to the ſun, and that but ſeldom. The country is mountainous. The hills are ſtored with deer and ſheep, black cattle, lions, tigers, and other voracious animals. The vallies produce good wheat and legumen, grapes in abundance, and many other excellent fruits, oſtriches, and good fowl both wild and tame; and the ſea and rivers good ſtore of fiſhes, beſides the manatee, or ſea-cow.

The Engliſh, deſpairing of ſettling a colony there, left it, and ſettled at St Helena, a very high mountainous iſland, lying between the coaſt of Guinea and America, about 620 leagues north-weſt half weſt from the Cape of Good Hope, and the Dutch Eaſt India Company ſettled a colony at Cape Bona Eſperanza, by the aſſiſtance of ſome French refugees, who have penetrated near 300 Engliſh miles into the land, and manure the ground to very good purpoſe, it yielding them wines and wheat in abundance. The Dutch company has a ſtrong fort, and a town on the ſouth ſide of a bay, that ſerves for a good road for ſhipping in all winds, except thoſe that blow between the north and weſt. The Engliſh called generally there, in their way to and from India, in former times, for refreſhments; but of late the white Hottentots will not permit the poor Britons to carry on board their ſhips any cattle, ſheep, or fowls with life in them, for the ſupport or relief of their dear friends and allies, notwithſtanding the conſcientious prices we would willingly beſtow for their edibles. The black Hottentots would ſhew the Engliſh much more humanity, if the white did not reſtrain them, and ſo I leave them, and proceed to the eaſtward.

From Cape Bona Eſperanza to Natal, is a dangerous ſea-coaſt, and little frequented, whether by the unſociableneſs of the Hottentots, the inhabitants, or that the country produces

produces nothing worth the merchants adventuring thither for, I know not; but to Natal I have known some English vessels go from India, for elephants teeth, and did make pretty good voyages, but they were two years and a half in performing a voyage. The country is fertile, but unwholsome. The woods are thick set with several sorts of trees, and stored with elephants, lions, leopards, bears, wolves, deer and foxes; the rivers with fish, manatees and crocodiles. Here lived, in anno 1718, a penitent pirate, who sequestered himself from his abominable community, and retired out of harm's way.

There is no commerce on the coast between Natal and Delagoa, I believe, for the same reason that I gave for the unfrequentedness of the coast between the Cape of Good-Hope and Natal, and I believe, the first communicative commerce, either to Natal or Delagoa, with the English, came by accident, for about the year 1683, an English ship, called the Johanna, was lost somewhere about Delagoa. The natives, who were reputed great barbarians, shewed the shipwrecked men much more civility and humanity than some nations that I know, who pretend much religion and politeness, for they accommodated their guests with whatever they wanted of the product of their country, at very easy rates, and assisted what they could, to save part of the damaged cargo, receiving very moderate rewards for their labour and pains. Their language was by signs, and for a few glass-beads, knives, scissars, needles, thread, and small looking-glasses, which they are very fond of, they hired themselves to carry many portable things (that were saved from the shipwreck) to a neighbouring country, and procured others, who also served them for guides towards the Cape of Good-Hope, and provided eatables for their masters, all the while they were under their conduct; and having carried them about 200 miles on their way, by land, they provided new guides and porters for them, for some of the aforesaid trifles, who conducted them, and provided for them, as the others had done, for 7 or 800 miles farther, which they travelled in 40 days, and so delivered their charge to others, who conducted and provided for them, till they arrived at the Cape; and some of the English falling sick on the way, they carried the sick in hammocks, till they either recovered or died, and out of 80 men there were but 3 or 4 died, but how long they journeyed before they arrived at the Cape, I have forgotten. This account I had from one of the travellers. He told me that the natural fertility of those countries he travelled through, made the inhabitants lazy, indolent, indocile and simple. Their rivers are abundantly stored with good fish and water-fowl, besides manatees or sea-cows, and crocodiles; their woods with large trees, wild cattle and deer, elephants, rhinoceroses, lions, tigers, wolves and foxes for game, also many sorts of winged fowl and birds, besides ostriches. They have some notions of a Deity, whom they worship with dancing and feasting, for they are generally very much inclined to mirth, an instance whereof I will venture to relate, on the account I had from a master of a ship, who went thither to trade in anno 1718, viz when they had got their ship secured in a river, the natives assembled in good numbers to traffick, near the place where the ship lay: an arch Indian youth, who was a very good drummer, carried his drum ashore, and in a thicket pretty near the assembly, beat his drum very briskly, on which the young of both sexes fell a skipping, and a little after the adult and old followed their example, so that none stood idle spectators, but the old beginning to tire, some went to the drummer, and presented him with eggs, fowl and fruits, and intreated him to leave off, which as soon as he did, they all sat down again on the ground, well heated.

I saw several rhinoceroses horns brought thence to Bombay, much longer than ever I saw in India or China, and one was three horns growing from one root; the

longeſt was about 18 inches, the ſecond about 12, and the third about 8, but ſmaller in proportion than what is in India, and much ſharper about the point. The maſter of the forenamed ſhip brought alſo a black fowl, as big in the body as a large duck. It had a long, ſtraight, thick, but pointed bill, and hollow eyes, its legs about 12 or 14 inches long, but thick and ſtrong, it was very voracious after fleſh or fiſh, and was an excellent frog and rat-catcher As ſoon as he caught any living game, he toſſed it up about two yards high, and caught it on the point of his bill, and ſo repeated his toſſings till the animal died, and then greedily devoured it.

Between Delagoa and Moſambique is a dangerous ſea-coaſt; it formerly was known by the names of Suffola and Cuama, but now by the Portugueze, who know that country beſt, it is called Sena. It finds dominions for many different princes, for they are contented with ſmall territories. The inhabitants are all negroes, and almoſt all barbarians, except a few that the Portugueze have converted to Popery, and they, by their converſion, are generally leſs humane to European ſtrangers than the Barbarians.

Sena abounds in elephants teeth and low gold, of 18 or 19 carects fineneſs, but the people having plenty of all things convenient for them, are very ſupine. They have large ſtrong bodies and limbs, and are very bold in war. They will have commerce with none but the Portugueze, who keep a few prieſts along the ſea-coaſts, that overawe the ſilly natives, and get their teeth and gold for trifles, and ſend what they get to Moſambique.

I have heard a Portugueze ſay, who went from Moſambique thither, that, carrying ſome ſmall glaſs-beads of divers colours for traffick, the natives made a hole in ſome clay ground, which would hold as many beads as they wanted, and taking the beads out of the hole, filled it up with gold-duſt. He alſo told me, that for ſome coarſe chequered cloth, called Cambaya Lungies, made of cotton-yarn, the natives would bring elephants teeth, and meaſure the length of a tooth by the cloth, and bartered the tooth for ſo much cloth as it meaſured: but the Portugueze relations are hardly to be credited, for if gold and teeth were ſo eaſily purchaſed, how can they be ſo miſerably poor as they are, every where in their colonies, all over India?

I rather believe, that this was the Ophir or *Tarſhiſh* of the Jews, whither Solomon ſent his ſhips out of the Red Sea, than Sumatra, where they could not poſſibly go and return in three years along the ſea-coaſts, which might eaſily be effected to Sena.

Moſambique is an iſland belonging to the crown of Portugal, it is well fortified both by art and nature, but is very unwholſome, in ſo much, than when any Reynol, or European Portugueze in the King of Portugal's ſervice in India commits any capital crime, inſtead of puniſhing him according to their national or martial laws, they are baniſhed to Moſambique, for as many years as the viceroy of Goa and his council ſhall order, and very few ever return from their exile, for 5 or 6 years is a long life there. It alſo ſerves for a refreſhing place for the Portugueze ſhips, that are bound from Europe to India, where they generally ſtay about 30 days to recruit their ſoldiers and ſeamen, (not with freſh numbers, but freſh victuals and whores), who, by their inactivity and lazineſs at ſea, contract the ſcurvy and dropſy, which the acid fruits and nouriſhing roots ſoon diſpel. Their ſhips are generally at ſea the whole month of Auguſt, between Moſambique and Goa.

The inhabitants of Moſambique, as well as thoſe on the continent, are all Negroes, of a large ſize, handſome, and very well limbed, and make good ſlaves. The King's ſhips, as well as private traders, bring good ſtore of them to India, both ſexes being in high eſteem with the Indian Portugueze, both having ſervices proper to their ſex allotted

fotted them. As foon as the boys can fpeak a little Portugueze, they are baptized, and fo become very zealous Catholics, fit to execute any bafe defigns their ghoftly fathers fhall think fit to put them on; and after baptifm, they have a little crucifix, or a faint of brafs or ivory, hung about their necks, which they are as fond of as a monkey is of a young kitten to play with.

And fome that have the good fortune to be young and docile, and fall into the hands of a zealous fuperftitious mafter, are brought up to letters, and in the end come to be priefts. I have known many coal-black priefts about Goa.

The country of Quiloa lies between Mofambique and Mombafs; its fea-coaft is dangerous, which admits of no trade but in boats. The diftance between Mofambique and Mombafs is about 225 leagues.

Mombafs is alfo an ifland that lies near the continent, flightly fortified by art, but very well by nature, it belonged to the Portugueze for near 200 years, but in anno 1698, the Mufkat Arabs took it with very little trouble, and put about 20 Portugueze to the fword, that were there to defend it, and the conquerors found a booty of about 200 tuns of teeth, which was worth in India, about 125,000l. fterling. The elephants of this country are very large, and fo are the men, who are all barbarians, except thofe who were near neighbours to the Portugueze, who, for conveniency, were baptized, and became good Catholicks, and fince the Arabians are become their neighbours, they are turned very zealous muffulmen, which religion pleafes their ftupidity better, being better adapted to their humours, and dear cuftom of polygamy and concubinage.

Patta is now in the hands of the Mufkat Arabs, and affords good ftore of teeth and flaves for Mufkat. Formerly the Englifh, Portugueze, and Moors from India, had a fmall, but advantageous trade thither, which the Arabs envied them of, and fent a colony about the year 1692, and fettled there, prohibiting commerce with all other nations. The inland countries are inhabitated by barbarians, but on the fea-coafts of Magadoxa, Zeyla and Yeman, to Cape Guardafoy, which ftretches about 330 leagues north eaftward. The religion, by law eftablifhed, is Mahometan, yet every country retains fome fragments of their ancient cuftoms and ceremonies, with the traditions of their fathers The Arabians from Mocha, and other parts of Arabia the Happy, who reckon themfelves Mahomet's beft difciples, and who have travelled much to teach and confirm them in their religion and philology, declare them to be the greateft fchifmaticks and obdurate hereticks that profefs the Mahometan religion.

Magadoxa, or, as the Portugueze call it, Magadocia, is a pretty large city, about 2 or 3 miles from the fea, from whence it has a very fine afpect, being adorned with many high fteeples and mofques. There are feveral reafons why merchants do not frequent it on account of traffick; one is, that a reef of rocks lies all along the fhore, about a mile more or lefs from the fandy ftrand, between which and the rocks it is pretty fmooth, and two or three fathoms water; but there is no river to fecure veffels when a ftrong fea wind bloweth. The fecond impediment is, that violence and robberies are fo much practifed and countenanced, that common faith is not to be relied on, and I will give a very tragical inftance of their barbarity, viz. In anno 1700, the Englifh new Eaft India company fent out a fhip called the Albemarle, commanded by Captain William Beawes. Being bound for Surat, he had the misfortune to meet the eafterly monfoons or trade-winds, fooner than he expected. In the channel between Madagafcar and the coaft of Ethiopia, thofe eafterly monfoons always bring ftrong currents with them from the eaftward, which checked him over to the coaft of Magadoxa, but that being a dangerous fhore, he ftood over to the ifland of Johanna, and

was

was forced to harbour his ship on the south-west side of that island, till the easterly monsoons were blown over, and in the month of March he ventured to put to sea, which was too soon, because the currents still ran strong to the westward, and he standing over to the Ethiopian coast, fell in again with Magadoxa, which, by the handsome figure it made from the sea, made him believe it to be some place of commerce, and being curious to know if it was so or no, sent his yawl ashore, with his purser and four seamen, to bring information, and gave them strict orders to be on their guard, and only one person to go ashore at a time. When the boat got over the rocks, they anchored close to the beech, and the natives came from the town, driving store of cattle and sheep before them for sale. The purser, being young and inexperienced, forgot his orders, and went ashore himself with three of his crew, leaving one only to stay in the boat, and those that went ashore, were so silly, as to leave their fire-arms in the boat, and by the feigned civilities that the natives shewed them, they heedlessly mingled themselves with the natives, who, finding so unexpected an opportunity, hurled them away to the town; and the boat keeper, neither hearing nor seeing what was done to his comrades, suffered some natives to come into the boat, who seized him also, and hauled the boat a good way up on the land.

Those on board the ship saw, by their prospectives, what was acted ashore, and sent their other boats, well manned, to try if they could ransom the captives, but in four days fruitless endeavours, they could never bring the natives to a parley, and so the ship was obliged to leave them to repent of their folly, but it never came to our knowledge in India, what became of them, or what their fate was.

Yet on the coasts of Zeyla and Yeman, which both terminate at Cape Guardafoy, the natives will bring off sheep, goats, hens, fish and fruits, to sell to shipping that sometimes lay becalmed on their sea, near the shore. The people are tall, meagre, and large boned, very swarthy, but not quite black in their complexions, they are treacherous, cruel, and avaricious in their temper, their habit is a pair of breeches to their ancles, or a piece of coarse cloth about their loins, and a gown open before, and without sleeves, called a camlin, it is made of camel's hair, or of their sheep's wool, that is fully as hard and coarse, as hog's hair. On their heads they wear a turban of coarse calico, and then they are equipped. Their sheep are white, with jet black heads, and small ears, their bodies large, and their flesh delicate, their tails as broad as their buttocks, and about 6 or 8 inches long, so they are in the shape of a pillow wanting corners, and from the lower end of that bundle, comes a small tail about 6 inches long, almost like a pig's.

And now having travelled along the shore of the continent, from the Cape of Good-Hope to Cape Guardafoy, I'll survey the islands that lie in the Ethiopian sea, but as they afford nothing for commerce, but slaves and provisions, they are little minded by merchants: so beginning with the westmost, I'll bring them in order to the eastward.

CHAP. II.—*Giving a short Description of the Islands in the Ethiopian Seas, with some remarkable Passages historical and accidental.*

MADAGASCAR, or, as the Portugueze christened it, St. Laurence, is one of the largest islands in the known world, and affords most part of the requisites of human life: it produces very large cattle, whose flesh is excellent, especially their large humps that grow between their neck and shoulders. They have also goats and deer plenty enough, and when the Portugueze first sailed along the coasts of this island, they left a brood

brood of hogs, that has greatly increaſed. They alſo chriſtened many rivers and capelands that are not now frequented, but only known by their names, and ſerve for neſts to pirates. The French made a ſettlement on the eaſt ſide of it, and called it Port Dauphin; but finding that the commerce there would not bear the expence of the colony, they left it again.

The Engliſh formerly drove a trade for ſlaves on the weſt ſide of the iſland, particularly at St. Auguſtine's bay, and at new and old Meſſalige, but now they are afraid of the pirates, though ſome venture their necks in going to trade with them. There have been ſeveral ſquadrons of Britiſh men of war ſent to cruize on the pirates, but have had very ill ſucceſs in finding them out, but one Scots ſhip commanded by one Millar, did the public more ſervice in deſtroying them, than all the chargeable ſquadrons that have been ſent in queſt of them, for, with a cargo of ſtrong ale and brandy, which he carried to ſell them, in anno 1704, he killed above 500 of them by carouſing, though they took his ſhip and cargo as a preſent from him, and his men entered, moſt of them, into the ſociety of the pirates.

It was reported in India, that Commodore Littleton had ſome of that gang on board the Angleſey at Madagaſcar, but, for ſome valuable reaſons, he let them go again; and becauſe they found a difficulty in cleaning the bottoms of their large ſhips, he generouſly aſſiſted them with large blocks and tackle-falls for careening them. Whether thoſe reports were true or falſe, I will not undertake to determine, but I ſaw a pirate at Bengal, in the French company's ſervice, that affirmed it.

Madagaſcar is environed with iſlands and dangerous ſhoals, both of rocks and ſand. St Mary's, on the eaſt ſide, is the place where the pirates firſt choſe for their aſylum, having a good harbour to ſecure them from the weather, though in going in there are ſome difficulties, but hearing that ſquadrons of Engliſh ſhips were come in queſt of them, they removed to the main iſland for more ſecurity, and there they have made themſelves free denizens by marriage, and I am of opinion, that it will be no eaſy matter to diſpoſſeſs them. In anno 1722, Mr. Matthews went in queſt of them, but found they had deſerted the iſland of St Mary's, leaving behind them ſome marks of their robberies, for in ſome places they found pepper a foot thick, lying on the ground in the open air The Commodore aforeſaid went with his ſquadron over to the main iſland, but the pirates had carried their ſhips into rivers or creeks, out of danger of the men of war, and to offer to burn them with their boats, would have been impracticable, ſince they could have eaſily diſtreſſed the boat's crews out of the woods The Commodore had diſcourſe with ſome of them, but they ſtood on their guard, ready to defend themſelves, if any violence had been offered them.

I have heard it reported by ſome who had frequented Madagaſcar for trade, that the natives that live far from the ſea, are of a tawny complexion, and have long hair on their heads, whereas thoſe that are born near the ſea, are very black, and their hair like lambs-wool. What religion they profeſs, I know not, and the pirates are but ſcurvy ſchool maſters to teach them morals

There are many iſlands and ſhoals lying to the eaſtward of Madagaſcar. St. Apollonia is uninhabited, Domaſcarenhas is inhabited by the French, but formerly by the Engliſh, and was called by them, the Engliſh Foreſt. Mauritius was formerly inhabited by the Dutch, but in anno 1703, they had orders to leave it, and repair to Batavia, and the Dutch Company ſent ſhipping for their tranſportation. Diego Rais, which is the next iſland to Mauritius, was made a French ſettlement, but finding it barren, they left it in 3 years, all the reſt were always uninhabited, as well to the eaſtward as the northward,

ward, and but 3 or 4 to the westward, who lie in the channel between Quiloa and Madagascar.

Comora is the westmost of the inhabited islands, and affords nothing but a scanty maintenance for a parcel of poor miserable creatures. Johanna is within sight of Comora, and is a plentiful island in cattle, goats, fowls and fish, with good lemons and oranges, so that most part of the English shipping bound to Mocha, Persia, and Surat, usually called there for refreshments, till the pirates began to frequent it. There are two memorable accidents fell out at that island, to the English East India Company's shipping. One was in the year 1690 or 91, to Captain Burton in the Herbert, a ship of 800 tons, mounting 56 guns. He was attacked by three French ships, each gunned and manned as well as he. On their approach, he cut his cables and put to sea; about two in the afternoon began an hot engagement, which lasted till eight at night; the Herbert blew up, and lost all her men, but six or seven that were in the pinnace, some whereof I saw afterwards at Muskat. The other was lately, in anno 1720, when two of our East India ships were watering there, with an Ostend ship in their company; they agreed to stand by one another in case of assault, or engaging with the common enemy, but when two pirates drew near, the Greenwich and Ostender weighed, and stood to sea, and left the Cassandra to shift for herself, who was obliged to engage the smallest pirate (being a ship of 24 guns, Dutch built) in the bay, and soon after they began, the Cassandra went aground on some rocks and the pirate striving to board her, was also taken up by some rocks, not above twenty yards from the Cassandra. The pirate's head lay towards the Cassandra's broadside, and they pelted one another furiously, many falling on both sides, but the pirates finding too hot work on their decks, were forced to quit them, and run down into the hold for shelter. Captain Mackraw, who commanded the Cassandra, seeing the other pirate approach near him, and manning all his boats to reinforce his comrade, thought it a good time for him, and who else could get ashore, to embrace the opportunity, and accordingly they got into their boats, and saved their lives. The inhabitants shewed much humanity to the distressed, and carried them above a dozen of miles up in the country, for fear the pirates in their mad fury should have murdered the poor men that escaped from their ship. The pirates, soon after they had possession of the Cassandra, got her afloat again, she having received little or no damage, they also got their own ship off, but she was very much shattered, and disabled in her masts.

Captain Mackraw, being a gentleman that was well versed in conversation with men of any temper, ventured on board the pirates, and they were so much taken with his address, that they made him a present of that ship which he had so bravely battered, to carry him and his crew to India; in the mean while, the Greenwich came to Bombay in September, who brought the account of the loss of the Cassandra, and in November, Captain Mackraw arrived himself with his new ship, and his ship's company all in rags, but were soon equipped by the benevolence and generosity of the Governor, Mr. Boone, who was a gentleman of as much honour and good sense as any that ever sat in that chair.

Mohilla is but a little distance from Johanna, pretty well inhabited, but the people not so well civilized as Johanna, and the Kings of these neighbouring Islands have continual war. The Johanna men, by the assistance of Commodore Littleton, landed on Mohilla, and made great slaughter and devastation; but what his policy was in breaking the neutrality that the English held among those islanders, I know not. Mayotta lies about 35 leagues from Johanna, and is the largest of the inhabited islands, but

 being

being surrounded with dangerous rocks under water, it is not much frequented, and so the manners of the inhabitants not so well known. The religion of those islands is Mahometan, but there are very few zealots among them; and so I leave them, and return to Cape Guardafoy, and travel up the Red Sea.

The navigation of the Ethiopian seas is very dangerous, and their maps are very deficient; for I saw a Dutch skipper at Mocha, who had orders to sail from Batavia towards Mocha, in the month of January, and to navigate to the north end of Madagascar, and from thence to the Red Sea; he affirmed to me, that he saw several large islands, and many rocks and sands in those seas that were not placed in his maps, for which reason he was obliged to anchor in the night, when he could have anchor ground; and that the currents run very strong to the southward, among those banks and rocks.

CHAP. III.—*Gives a Description of Zeyla's Sea-coast, and of a Part of Ethiopia, Zuakin, and Upper Egypt.*

BUT to return again to Cape Guardafoy, from thence up to Zeyla is about 120 leagues. The coast is inhospitable as well as the people. There are only two places in all that tract that afford fresh water, one is a little to the eastward of Mount Felix, but in Arabic it is called Baba-fileck, or the mountain of camels, where there is a small fresh water river, the other is called Khagi, 10 leagues more westerly; it may be easily known by the side of a hill close to the sea, whose north aspect is of white sand, that shews at a distance like a sail, but may be seen in that figure 10 leagues off. Several ships from India, that have been necessitated to call at those places for water, have been cut off, and one poor man they surprised with his own boat that he sent for water. The boat's crew were surprised whilst filling water, them they killed, except two boys whom they saved, they then came off in the night, and those in the ship not examining them in time, they boarded the ship, and took them all unarmed, and killed every man, and carrying the ship close to the shore, they unladed her, and then sunk her. The two youths who gave the account of that tragical accident, were brought to Aden, which lies opposite to that place, and were sold for slaves. A Surat ship being there, bought the youths, and brought them to Surat.

There is no anchoring on that coast above a mile off shore, the sea is so deep, and above Zeyla, in a deep bay, opposite to Babelmandel, which makes the entry into the Red Sea, there is a large river that disembogues into the sea, but though the mouth be large, yet it is so deep, and full of banks and rocks, with such whirlpools, that no ship dare go near it. At that river begins the Ethiopian shore, shewing many high mountains, which are easily seen from the Arabian shore; and all the coast from this river, as far north as Zuakin, which is near 200 leagues, is called the Ethiopian coast.

And though I never was on that south-west coast of the Red Sea, and know but few that traffick there, except Romish priests, yet I will venture to relate what I learned from them. There are two or three small ports between Zeyla and Mossava, but an inconsiderable trade, being most in slaves of both sexes, which the Ethiopians bring to Mocha for a market, where I have seen a drove of those unfortunate creatures carried like a flock of sheep, most part of them insensible of their own misery, and the highest bidder carries the bargain. They also bring some elephants teeth, the best that ever I saw, and some ostriches feathers.

Moſſava is ſituated on the north-weſt end of a large iſland, and affords a very good harbour for ſhipping of any ſize, it has a garriſon of about 250 Turks in a caſtle built formerly by the Portugueze, who, according to their impolite cuſtom, oppreſs ſtrangers as well as natives, that come there to trade.

The country produceth low gold, elephants teeth, ſlaves, and ſome coffee, but of a larger grain than what grows on the land oppoſite to it in Arabia, at Betleſackee. The current ſmall money of Ethiopia is ſalt, which is dug out of the mountains as we do ſtones from our quarries, which they break in pieces of ſeveral ſizes, the largeſt weighing about 80 pounds, the others in 40, 20, 10, or 5 pounds, and are ſo expert in dividing it, that they err not above 5 per cent. more or leſs in their calculation of weight; 20 pounds is in value about one ſhilling ſterling, and thoſe pieces of ſalt is the current money in their markets for proviſions, and likewiſe for cloth, when they buy a yard or two at a time; and when a merchant has got any conſiderable quantity by him, there are bankers to give gold for it.

The religion on the ſea-coaſt is Mahometan, but within land Cophties, who are circumciſed Chriſtians. The males they circumciſe ſometimes at eight days old, but that ceremony is often delayed till forty days, and ſometimes not till the ſeventh or eighth year of their age. They circumciſe females as well as males. The circumciſion, they think, is neceſſary in memory of Jeſus Chriſt, and on a certain day yearly, they immerſe themſelves in rivers or lakes, in remembrance of Chriſt's immerſion or baptiſm. They forbear eating ſome beaſts fleſh, according to the Moſaical law. They hold from Saturday's noon to Sunday's noon their ſabbath. They receive the ſacrament ſtanding, and only in the church, and the wine only from the deacon's hand in a ſpoon. Their prieſts eat no idle bread, but maintain themſelves by labour. They have many biſhops, but one they call Abunah above the reſt, he is held in great veneration, and when he goes abroad, he has great attendance, and rides on a mule, with a croſs in his right hand.

They enter their churches bare-footed, becauſe God commanded Moſes to put off his ſhoes, for the ground he ſtood on was holy. They allow but one wife, but as many concubines as they pleaſe. They allow of repudiation, but neither party can marry again, till the term of three years be expired, and if the parties are not reconciled in that term, they think the breach too great ever to be cloſed up again.

They have all the canonical books of our ſcriptures, and ſeveral more. They reckon the prophet Iddo one of the greater prophets, and put him in the claſs with Iſaiah, Ezekiel, Eliſha, Elijah, and Daniel, and that he wrote 14,000 prophecies, many of which they have at this day, that his prophecies of Jeſus Chriſt were clearer, or more diſtinct than any the other prophets left behind them, but the ſubſtance of their practical religion conſiſts in their faſts and feaſts, for they do not much trouble themſelves about the doctrine of faith, repentance, and good works, which makes them very diſſolute in their lives.

We Europeans generally call the King of Ethiopia, Preſter John, but his ſubjects know no ſuch appellation, 'tis true, he is ſupreme in eccleſiaſtical as well as civil affairs. His dominions are very large, and he has many tributaries, who ſtile themſelves kings, and act deſpotically. The royal family are all kept at Amara, which is a pleaſant round hill, ſituated in 12 degrees north from the equator, though I ſaw an old Portugueze geographical deſcription of Ethiopia, place it under the equinoctial. The hill is walled round with a high wall, at leaſt 12 leagues in circumference, which cuts off all communication with ſtrangers or mal-contents. Within the walls are palaces, gardens, orchards, woods for wild game, rivulets and ponds for fiſh, and all that the

clime

clime can afford to make it pleasant, there the youths of the royal family study what arts and sciences are proper to their quality, or according to the knowledge of their teachers.

Their empire is hereditary, but not in a direct line, the succession being kept in the ancient family, which they reckon up as high as Solomon, but on the demise of one emperor, they make choice of a royal youth out of the paradise of Amara, so he that behaves best in that state of probation, or has the best friends to recommend him, succeeds without contention, which political custom makes their youths very tractable and studious. There are none reckoned princes of the blood after second cousin-germans, and it seems they have something like the Salic law in force against them, for their histories mention no female reign since Candace's time, if Ethiopia, as it now is, was her country.

They are very nasty in their apparel and diet, for though their country is well stored with fire-wood, yet they do not take pains to dress their meat by fire, but having killed their animal food, before it be well cold, they mince it, and mix salt and a sharp hot bark of a tree well powdered, and make the morsel up in small balls about the bigness of a walnut, and greedily eat it but the princes eat in state, for they being seated on a mat spread on the ground, his favourite female slave or concubine makes up those balls of flesh or fish seasoned with the aforesaid sauce of salt and bark, and squeezes them into fashionable morsels, his highness gapes like a young crow, and she throws it cleverly in, which he presently devours. The commons eat of the same sort of viands with the grandees, but many of both sexes die by excoriations of the guts and the right intestine, but whether their diet be the cause of their distemper, I leave to physicians to determine, who are generally the best judges. They have a good pleasant liquor made of honey and potatoes, which they carouse in plentifully, and often get drunk by it, and then they are rather mad than inebriated, which renders them very quarrelsome and furious, their honey, as it is very plentiful in their country; so it is the whitest, hardest, and best tasted that ever I met with.

I had the above relation of Abasina from four Romish priests, who had their mission there for eight years together, but made but few proselytes. they had been meddling in state affairs, and, for fear of losing their heads, they fled, and left two of their brethren being old, and not fit for travel, what became of them they knew not, but those four transgressed their superior's orders, and left their stations, and travelled three or four hundred miles to the sea-coast, and got a passage over the Red Sea to Mocha, where I entertained them about four months: they also told me, that seven tributary kings had lost their heads in six months time, for mal-administration or treason, and if my guests had not removed their quarters when they did, they had been honoured with the name of Roman martyrs, in anno 1714. The country abounds plentifully in wheat, rice, barley, legumens or pulse of several sorts, notwithstanding they eat their raw meat without bread. Their woods abound in elephants (reckoned the largest in the world), also some lions and tigers, and innumerable troops of wolves, monkeys, and ostriches, all much larger than in other countries. The aforesaid priests also told me, that the head of Nilus, which the ancients so much sought for, is in this country, about the latitude of 6 degrees north, and about 400 miles from the lower end of the Red Sea. How far the Ethiopian coast stretches to the northward I know not, but it has no sea-ports to the northward of Mossava, and the next country to it is the barbarous Zuakin, whose inhabitants are very different both in complexion and customs from the Abasines, whose colour is only as black as soot, but the Zuakins are as black as jet, and their skins as soft as velvet.

Their

Their religion is still Paganism, though they do not worship images. They shew outward civility to Europeans, but kill them, and feast on their flesh, when any are unfortunately shipwrecked on their coast. At first they shew a seeming humanity, allowing them a convenient place to lodge in, with plenty of animal food to eat, and sometimes entertain them with their music, and then destroy the fattest as they have occasion to feast on them, an instance whereof I had from a missionary at Mocha, in Anno 1712, viz.

A Turkish galley bound from Mossava to Judda in Arabia Felix, had on board about twenty European Turks, and one Italian priest, as passenger; that galley was drove ashore on the coast of Zuakin by a storm, the galley was lost, but all the men got safe ashore and found the abovementioned entertainment. They had not been long ashore, till some people of distinction visited them, and seemed to condole their misfortune, but withal, told them in Arabic, that the king had a great desire to see some of them, and they chose the youngest and plumpest of the Turks to shew to the King, who very willingly went away with them, but none came back to bring news how they were entertained at court; and every fourth or fifth day, another of the best favoured and best fleshed were carried from their comrades, on the same, or such like errand, till near one half were carried away, those that remained had no suspicion, but were lulled asleep by the good words and good treatment they received daily: but one day, an Abasine, who had fled his country for some misdemeanour, came to visit them, and in discourse they told him how courteously they had been entertained by the hospitable natives, and how many of their company had gone to the King, but that none returned. The Abasine told them, that they were treated after the common custom of that country, that when any white men were shipwrecked on their coast, they found such treatment as they had, to make them fat, and then to kill and eat them, by cutting such morsels of the body as they had present occasion for, and kept life as long in the poor victim as they could; and that very morning a Janissary had been carried on the aforesaid errand, and had one leg cut off, and the half of a thigh, and he saw them roasting and broiling the flesh as he happened to pass in his way to visit them, and told the disconsolate Turks that remained, that if one or two would accompany him a little way in the evening, he would convince them of the truth of that he told them, but they must immediately after return to their lodging. The priest was one that went to behold the sad spectacle, whom they found not quite dead, though speechless, on which the Abasine went speedily away, as the others did to acquaint their fellows what they had seen. As soon as they made their report, they were under the greatest consternation, and unanimously resolved to flee to the woods that very same night, and trust the wild inhabitants rather than the crueller beasts, the Zuakins. And the woods are plentifully inhabited with lions, tigers, large monkeys, but above all with wolves. The priest took his way in the dark along the sea-shore to the northward, but knew nothing of his fellows, which way they took, or how they fared. In the day-time he sculked in caverns and hollows of rocks, which that sea-coast abounds in, and is not so much frequented by the brutal cannibals, as the inland parts; sometimes he sallied out to get shell fish, or what else he could get to eat, and in the night he travelled, so that after seventeen nights and days hard fatigue, he arrived at a village in Upper Egypt, inhabite[illegible] [illegible]ahometans and Cophties, who re- [illegible] him, and sent him to Grand Cairo, [illegible]nce he wrote to a missionary at Portu[illegible], in Anno 1714, who resided with [illegible]ave him the above account, with [illegible]ion of a very strange paradox, viz [illegible]imself being then about twenty-[illegible] of age (when he fell on the [illegible] Zuakin), his hair was of a dark brown,

brown, for when he arrived in Cairo, his hair was turned to a very light grey, and continued so till the time he wrote to his friend at Mocha of that tragical adventure.

There are no sea-ports from Zeals [illegible] on the south-west side of the Red Sea, till we come to Seues, which lies near the head of the bay of that sea, which sends his opposite shores down to the south-eastward, as far as Babelmandel.

Sues, or Seues seems to be the Ezion-geber, or Eloth, from whence Solomon sent his ships to Ophir, for I have conversed with several pilots of that navigation, who assured me, there is no clean bottom for anchoring, but Seues, on that part of the coast, for most part of the Red Sea is incumbered with coral rocks under water, and pestered with banks, which make the navigation very dangerous. At present, Seues is the only sea-port for Grand Cairo, from whence it is three days journey by land, with a caffilla or caravan, but on horse-back but two short days. In Cairo the English and French keep their consuls, for the support of the trade of their respective countries.

In Anno 1714, Mr. Farrington was consul for the English, he had a very fair character from all people, as well merchants as the religious that came from Cairo to Mocha, which made me presume to trouble him with a letter, giving him the best account I could of the state of merchandize in India, and to have his advice, whether it might be practicable to cultivate a trade from India to Seues, which letter he very civilly answered, and next year it came to my hand, but he dissuaded me from any attempt that way; because of the intolerable avarice and insults of the Turkish bashaws, and other officers of note, with the contempt they have for merchants, especially christians, he assured me, that it is impossible to be a gainer by such commerce.

Chap. IV.—*Gives a little Description of the Coast of Arabia the Happy, from Mount Sinai to Mocha, with some Observations on the Religion, Customs and Laws, as they are now established.*

OVER against Seues, on the Arabian shore, stands Mount Sinai, about 5 or 6 leagues from the sea; and on its south-west side, near the bottom, is the monastery of St. Katharina. The mount is much revered by the Jews, and the monastery by the Christians; it is very ancient, and held in some veneration by the Mahometans, whose pilgrims to Mecca, from Egypt, Turkey, and Palestine, pass close by, both in their going and returning, as do likewise the Caffillas, and other passengers that go on traffic to Judda, a city four days journey from Mecca, where Mahomet lies interred: and the great concourse of pilgrims (from all parts where his religion is spread) brings a great trade thither.

There is a tradition, that, as Mahomet was going on an expedition to Palestine, he called at that monastery for refreshments, and the monks generously assisted him; and in acknowledgement of their civility, he gave them a charter, which they still keep, wherein he gave them many immunities, and laid his heavy curse on all, who should after that time dare to molest that monastery.

The building is strong and high, and no gate or door to enter into it but one, which stands about ten yards high (in the wall) from the ground. It has a large inclosure adjoining to it, with a high wall, to keep the wild Arabs for robbing them of their animal provisions; for they are such vile thieves, that they had rather venture to lie under the anathema of their prophet, than to keep their hands from robbery.

Its present possessors are Nestorian and Jacobin monks, who are maintained by the charity of passengers, and a little revenue that belongs to the monastery. The christians,

tians, in that part of Arabia, are Nestorians and Jacobins, whose priests may marry, and they allow of no images but the cross, and many other things repugnant to the Romish tenets.

Judda is the next place of note below St. Katharina. It is a small, but well fortified city, belonging to the Turk. It stands close to the sea, and is governed by a bashaw, who keeps a garrison in it, with four or five gallies to cruize on the Red Sea, to hinder the passing of all ships or vessels up the sea, without first calling at Judda.

The inland country about it, belongs to a sheek, who pretends to be a descendant of Mahomet. He has the title of Xeriff given him, to distinguish his eminency from other sheeks. And, although he be so near a-kin to the prophet, yet he squeezes above 100,000 pounds sterling yearly out of the pilgrims, who go to worship at his ancestor's tomb. And so much gain he can make of their folly.

It is between this country and Sinai, that the famous balm of Gilead grows. It is reported to proceed from a shrub, the bark of which is slit, and vessels set under the wound to receive it, as it drains from that wound. The wild Arabs about Sinai, have a tradition, that Abraham was their countryman, and are not a little proud of that honour, but if it was so, that he was their sheek, as they alledge, they neither follow him in morals or religion.

The sea-coasts of Arabia Felix, from Judda to the southward, as far as the latitude of 15 degrees, are governed by several sheeks, who are so avaricious, that no pilgrims can pass through their dominions, but beggars, for if strangers carry any thing of value about them, or if they have good clothes, they are stript of all, and about a yard of coarse cloth given them to cover their nakedness; and lectures of humility and devotion are preached to them, that whoever goes on so solemn an errand, ought to shew, by their outward appearance, that the inward man is humble, and that those who love riches, ought to sequester themselves from the world, before they approach that holy place, where, after the Mufti (or his deputy, the sackee) had bestowed a benediction on them, if they had any grace, they would never covet riches again.

The Immaum of Mocha's dominions reach along the sea-coast from the latitude of 15 degrees, to the southward, as far as Babelmandel, very barren and inhospitable, affording neither fresh water, nor wood for shipping, either for drink or fuel. Only on the island of Commera, which lies about 5 or 6 leagues from Betlesackee, there is both a good harbour, and plenty of provisions for strangers, as well as for the inhabitants, whose temperance makes them easily satisfied, both with their coarse diet and apparel.

Betlesackee is the first town of note (near the sea-coast) of the Immaum's dominions. It stands about 25 English miles from the sea, and it is the greatest market for coffee in the world. It supplies India, Persia, Turkey in Asia, Africa and Europe, besides England, France, and Holland, with coffee beans. Other goods and merchandize may be bought and sold on credit, for a certain time; but coffee is always bought for ready money. The Europe shipping lades yearly at Mocha, (from whence Betlesackee is about 160 English miles) about 2000 tuns, rather more than less, and the other nations above 20,000 tuns more. The whole province of Betlesackee is planted with coffee trees, which are never suffered to grow above 4 or 5 yards high; and the bean or berry grows on the branches and twigs, first green, then red, at last a dark brown colour. The berries cling to the branches like so many insects, and when they are ripe, they shake off.

Zibet is the next town, and serves for a sea-port for Betlesackee. It was large, and famous in ancient times for trade, but in the fourteenth century, the Turks

over-ran

over-ran all the coafts of the Red Sea, and made them tributaries to them. They ruined all the trade from India to Zibet, and fettled their emporium at Aden, about 35 leagues without Babelmandel, to the eaftward: and the Immaum holds his kingdom in feoff from the Turk at this time; and when the Turks come to Betlefackee, none dare break the price of the market, nor buy before they are firft ferved.

The Immaum or King keeps his court generally at a town called Mohaib, about 200 Englifh miles to the eaft, north-eaftward of Mocha. He has little fplendour about it, and he that reigned in anno 1714, was about 80 years of age. His government has been of a long time very ill-managed. His luft having the afcendant over his reafon, he had feldom lefs than three hundred wives married to him, of the moft beautiful young women in his dominions. He often marries one, at one new moon, and, on the next new-moon, remarries her to one of his minions, and beftows a good patrimony on her to help her off, fo that with his own frequent marriages, and thofe of his minions, he exhaufts all his revenues, and is always neceffitous, which forces him on many unjuft and mean ways to exact money from his miferable fubjects. And, in anno 1720, their heavy burdens made them rebel, and involved the whole country in a civil war. One part was for depofing him, and another for keeping him on the throne, but what the event was I never heard

The Turks being baffled in feveral projects and expeditions from Aden, and that they could not well maintain their ground in that part of Arabia (being fo very far diftant from their own dominions) without much charge and trouble, they, in the latter end of the fixteenth century, withdrew their garrifon from Aden, and left it, with all its fortifications and buildings, to the Immaum, who finding Aden to be inconvenient for the trade of the Red Sea, becaufe of the frefh winds ufually blowing at its mouth, in both eafterly and wefterly monfoons, made him remove the trade about 15 leagues within its mouth, in a bay not very commodious for fhipping, to a fifhing town called Mocha.

CHAP. V.—*Gives a Defcription of the Immaum of Mocha's Country, particularly of Mocha, its Situation, Laws, Cuftoms and Commerce, with fome hiftorical Obfervations.*

MOCHA, upon the foregoing account, was built for an emporium or mart for the trade of India to the Red Sea, and was mightily forwarded by the perfuafion of a fheek, who bore the character of a faint amongft his countrymen His name was Sheek Seddley, and he pretended to prophecy, that Mocha fhould be a place of great trade to the country, and confequently of great profit to the Immaum. They had fuch a veneration for him, that the greateft mofque in the town, and the greateft gate, bear his name, and did, even in his own lifetime, fee the town walled, though but very weakly. It is fituated clofe to the fea, in a large, dry, fandy plain, that affords no good water within 20 miles, all the wells nearer the city being brackifh, fo that nothing of fruits grows near it, but a few dates and water melons. The water for drinking comes from Mola, about 20 miles off, as I faid before, and by that time we get it to the town, it cofts us as dear as fmall beer is fold for in England. Thofe who are obliged to drink of the wells near the town, are in danger of having a long fmall worm breed in their legs or feet, that inflames the place where it breeds, which is accompanied with extreme burning pains. In 5 or 6 days it appears between the cutany and outward fkin, and then puts its head through, which when the patient obferves, he takes hold of it with

with a pair of tweezers, and pulls it very gently out, about an inch or two at a time, in 24 hours, and rolls it round an hen's quill, or some other thing of that thickness. It is no thicker than the treble string of a violin; and I have seen of them, after they have been pulled out, about two foot and an half long. While it is in the leg, it is daily covered with a plaister, and if it chance to break in the operation, the patient will be troubled with intolerable pains for a long time; and sometimes they are crippled by it. But the Mosa water coming from springs amongst the mountains is very sweet and wholesome.

Mocha is a place of good trade, notwithstanding its bad situation; for, besides the commerce with Sues and Judda, the English and Dutch companies have their factories there, besides a trade from India, carried on by English free merchants, Portugueze, Banyans and Moors, and by vessels from Bossorah, Persia and Muskat in Arabia Petrea. The country, of itself, affords or produces very few valuable commodities, besides coffee, and some drugs, such as myrrh, olibanum or frankincense from Cassin, and, aloes soccatrina from Soccotra, liquid storax, white and yellow arsenick, some gum Arabick and mummy; with some balm of Gilead, that comes down the Red Sea. The coffee trade brings in a continual supply of silver and gold from Europe, Spanish money, German crowns, and other European coins of silver; also zequins, German and Hungarian ducats of European gold; and from Turkey, ebramies and mograbies, gold of low matt.

The pirates, for many years, infested the mouth of the Red Sea, committing frequent robberies and barbarities. Captain Evory was the first that led the way, in anno 1695, and the pirates finding great booties, purchased with small danger, from the traders into the Red Sea, had a project to be masters of the key of that door, so they found the island Prim, which lies within gun-shot of Babelmandel, to have a good commodious bay for the security of their shipping; upon which consideration, they began to build regular fortifications, and dig for fresh water, and with much labour, they dug through an hard rock, 15 fathoms deep, but found none, but brackish water; wherefore they desisted, and removed to St. Mary's island, on the east side of Madagascar, as I observed before, and are since removed, for more security, over to the main island, and there they fortify themselves by marriages into the noble families of that great island, from whence they come into India, and cruize in those Seas. In anno 1696, they met with a ship from Bombay, commanded by one Sawbridge, who was carrying Arabian horses for Surat. After they took the ship, Sawbridge began to expostulate with them about their way of life. They ordered him to hold his tongue, but he continuing his discourse, they took a sail-needle and twine, sewed his lips together, and so kept him several hours, with his hands tied behind him. At length they unloosed both his hands and lips, and carried him on board their ship, and after they had plundered Sawbridge's ship, they set her on fire, and burned her and the horses together. Sawbridge and his people were set ashore near Aden, where he died presently after.

Captain Evory was not so inhumane; for the year before, he took a large ship belonging to the Mogul, and got a booty of 2,600,000 rupees, which amount to, in sterling money, about 325,000l. He freed the ship, and let her go, without torturing the people; but carried a young Mogul lady with him, and some of her female servants, who had been at Mecca to perform a vow, laid on her by her mother on her death-bed.

But, to return again to Mocha, from my long digression: the town is large, but meanly fortified; and, from the sea, it has a fine aspect. The buildings are lofty, and make a much better appearance without than within. The steeples of five or six

mosques

mosques raise their heads pretty high above the rest of the buildings. Their markets are well stored with animal provisions, such as beef, mutton of sheep and goats, lamb and kid, camels and antelope's flesh, dung-hill fowls, Guinea hens, partridge and pigeon. The sea affords variety of fish, but not savoury. I believe their unsavouriness proceeds from the extreme saltness of the sea-water, and the nature of their aliment. The town is well furnished, all the year round, with good fruits, such as grapes, peach, apricocks and quinces, of which they make store of marmelade, both for their present use and exportation, though near the town, there is not a tree or shrub to be seen, but a few date trees. And they seldom have more than two or three showers of rain in a year, and often no rain in two or three years; but amongst the mountains, about 20 miles off, seldom a morning passes without a moderate shower, which makes the vallies very prolific in fruit and corn, such as the soil will bear; but they have no rice, though plenty of barley and wheat.

The governor of Mocha, and the officers of the town, are merchants, when they think to get good bargains, and are very ready to break their contracts, both in payment of their debts, and in the time of payment, some instances whereof I saw. And in anno 1716, I had an experimental one; for the deputy-governor having bought a part of my cargo, agreed to pay me the first day of June, according to our æra and computation. At the appointed time I demanded my money, but he told me, that notwithstanding he had agreed at that time to pay me, yet the custom was not to pay before the middle of July, and custom must be observed before contract, besides, the King having much need of money, sent pressing demands on the town for money, as fast as it came in by customs and other subsidies; therefore he could not, nor would not pay me before the customary time, nor would he clear my account customs (which is a part of his office) before that time. I often solicited him to clear my account, and pay the balance; but to no purpose. I then fell on a project to frighten him into compliance. I went very calmly to him, and told him that I had some goods left, which would be proper for the inland markets, and that I would let him have a pennyworth of them. He knew the goods were proper enough, as I had told him, and so came to my house, which was four stories high. I carried him up to the highest, and having seated him in a small balcony, I shewed him the musters of my goods, and asked prices which he thought too high; and because we could not agree, he was for going abruptly away, and so got on his feet: but I being much too strong for him, took him by the shoulders and forced him to sit down again, and ordered my linguist to tell him, that before we parted, he must clear my account customs, and give me bills on the King's banker, for the balance, otherwise I would teach him to fly from the balcony to the ground, be the consequence what it would. He had never been so treated before, and fear seized him so, that he could not speak for a little time, but recovering a little, ordered his clerk, who was in the room with us, to make up my account and draw bills immediately, who readily obeyed orders; and in half an hour we became good friends again. The noise of this action run like a squib through the town, and before I came to the banker with the bill, (which was for about 1200l. sterling) he was apprised how I had served the deputy governor, and upon presenting it, accepted it to be paid in seven days; but withal desired, that I would constantly keep two European seamen at his door with arms, and as money came in, they were to receive one bag, and the King's people another, till the sum should be completed: and accordingly in seven days I got every penny, and sent the governor word that I wanted to wait on him, in order to take my leave. He returned me answer, that I should be very welcome; and accordingly I went, and he received me very

civilly;

civilly; and all the while I staid, he passed jokes on his deputy about the fright I had put him into.

The King's customs are very easy, being but 3 per cent. from Europeans, and 5 on Gentiles; and the custom-house as easy, for they only desire to see the musters of goods, and the quantity of goods in each parcel or bale, and so cause some, that they choose, to be opened; and if they find the quantity and quality agree with the invoice given in, the remainder of the cargo is carried directly from the landing place to the warehouses without more trouble, and after sale, they receive an account from the seller, and rate the customs accordingly.

They are very ignorant in history and natural philosophy; for they tell, that Alexander the Great was Mahomet's general, though they lived about 900 years distant from one another; and that, having a mind to transport his army over the mouth of the Red Sea, from Babelmandel to Zeyla, in order to conquer Ethiopia, he went about building a bridge there; and, there being seven islands in these streights, called the Seven Stones, he placed them there for a foundation to build on: and they are of opinion, that the world is supported on the horns of a great bull, who sometimes shakes his head, which they assign to be the cause of earthquakes, which frequently are felt there.

There are abundance of beggars in Mocha, and in most other towns in Arabia, who brag of the sanctity and verity of their religion; and, for proof, when they pass in the streets, they are always bawling out, there is but one God, and Mahomet his prophet and best beloved servant; and carrying a piece of iron like the tooth of an harrow in their right hand, they strike it with great force into the cavity of the eye, and yet the eye is not blemished, nor the eye-lids, or skin about the eye, seem to be hurt; and they often let the iron hang down, as if the point was fastened to the corner of the eye next the nose. As for mad people of either sex, they venerate them, believing them to be inspired, or actuated by a prophetick spirit.

Their religion is Mahometism, and are superstitiously rigid in their way, but abominable hypocrites; for in their promises, which they seldom keep, with lifted up eyes they call on God to be witness to their sincerity: but in no part of the world is justice bought and sold more publickly than here, and the judge, who generally is the governor of the place, whilst he is passing unjust sentences, looks as grave as an old cat, declaiming against partiality.

In anno 1716, I saw justice executed on a notorious criminal, guilty of no less than robbery and murder. A poor peasant had raised a stock of 500 dollars amongst his friends and neighbours, and was on his way to Mocha, to lay it out in merchandize proper for the parts he lived in. A villain, who knew of his journey, and the stock he carried with him, way-laid him, and cut his throat from ear to ear, and then stabbed him in the breast with his dagger, and so possest the money and went off with it. Some passengers coming that way soon after, found the mangled corps not quite cold, went and informed the neighbourhood of the tragedy. On information, they went and viewed the carcase, and knew it. They gave the account to the murdered person's relations, who lived but a little way off, and they buried the corps.

Some months after, one of the relations being at Mocha, chanced to see his dead kinsman's ring on the murderer's finger, and challenged it; for it is the custom of all the eastern countries, both Mahometans and Gentiles, to wear rings. They wear no gold rings, but silver among the Mahometans, and the Gentiles commonly wear gold. The person who knew the ring, informed the Cadjee or Judge what had past, and the Cadjee ordered the murderer to be apprehended, and brought before him; and ordering him

to be searched, to see if farther proof could be found about him; the purse that the money was in, was found in his bosom. However, the murderer denied all, but was sent to prison and fettered, and other persons were sent for that were particularly well acquainted with the defunct. Five or six evidences who were sent for appeared, and the ring and purse being produced, they swore that they knew them to be with the unfortunate defunct when he set out on his journey for Mocha; and he at length confessed it himself. The judge, and the rest of his court, desired him to return the money, and they would solicit the murdered person's relations to spare his life, it being in their power to take away or save his life; but he absolutely denied the returning back any part of it, and impudently asked the judge, how he thought his wife and children should be supported, if he should return the money.

Three months had passed in unfruitful persuasions, but finding him obstinate, they bid him prepare to die next day about noon. And accordingly, with a guard of about 500 horse and foot soldiers, he was carried without the city, with his hands tied behind him; and about 200 yards from Sheek Sedley's gate, he was delivered to the defunct's relations, who first gave him a deep stab under the left pap, and one of the relations standing behind, pulled back his head, while another cut his throat from ear to ear, and so left him with all speed. For as soon as the mob saw him killed, they assaulted the executioners with stones and brick-bats so furiously, that the guards had much ado to save them from being murdered; for there is a passage in the Alcoran, importing, that whoever spilt a believer's blood, is accursed, and ought to be stoned to death.

The soldiery of Mocha are very insolent and licentious; for in the months of May, June, and July, the air being fired with heat, and the greatest concourse of strangers come to town, either about traffick, or getting passage by sea to foreign countries, and about that time cash is plentiest in town, then those undisciplined cowards seldom fail to set fire to some huts that the labouring people live in, and they being built of a few spars, covered with the branches and leaves of date trees, which are very combustible materials, the flame soon grows fierce and violent, and very often penetrates through the doors and windows of merchant's houses, though built of brick. And, in the consternation, when people are intent on saving what they can, by removing their goods from their burning houses to the streets, those varlets plunder publickly there with impunity; and although those villains are detected in setting fire to houses and plundering, and complaints made of them to the governor, those grievances are so far from being redressed, that I have known a complainer well bastonaded for detecting the rogues. When I traded there, I always kept a part of my ship's company ashore for a guard, and I acquainted the governor, that if any person came through our street in the night with fire in their hands, as they often did through several other streets where merchants kept their ware-houses, I would order my men to fire on such fire-carriers, which kept me pretty secure from them.

The largest city in the Immaum of Arabia Felix's dominions, is Sounan. It is 15 days journey north-east from Mocha. It drives a great inland trade, and is the mart for many of the India goods that are brought to Mocha. The mechanicks of different trades have each their peculiar different street; so that whatever commodities strangers may want, they readily know where to find them. And in all the streets there are brokers for wives, so that a stranger, who has not the conveniency of an house in the city to lodge in, may marry, and be made a free burgher for a small sum. When the man sees his spouse, and likes her, they agree on the price and term of weeks, months or years, and then appear before the Cadjee or Judge of the place, and enter their names

names and terms in his book, which costs but a shilling, or thereabouts; and joining hands before him, the marriage is valid, for better for worse, till the expiration of the term agreed on. And if they have a mind to part, or renew the contract, they are at liberty to choose for themselves what they judge most proper; but if either want to be separated during the term limited, there must be a commutation of money paid by the separating party to the other, according as they can agree; and so they become free to make a new marriage elsewhere.

CHAP. IV.—*Contains a Description of Aden, with some historical Remarks about the Turkish Expedition from thence into India; also an Account of the Sea-coast of Arabia Petrea, as far as Muskat and Bassora; with a particular Account of an English Ship lost on the Island of Maceira.*

THE eastmost town of note in the Immaum of Mocha's dominions on the sea-coast, is Aden, built by the Turks in the fourteenth century, as has been hinted before. It is built on the east-side of a barren island, and has no fresh water but what the rains afford them, which they keep in cisterns. The Turks had great designs when they built it, for they thought of driving the Portugueze out of their settlements in India, and to have possessed them themselves. Accordingly about the middle of the sixteenth century, they made an expedition into India, against the Portugueze, but were unsuccessful, and so have never attempted since to settle in India. It continued many years after the staple port for the Red Sea commerce, but the charges of keeping it, so far from the Turkish dominions, made them leave it to the Immaum, as was already observed, and he removed the trade to Mocha.

It has a good road for shipping in the westerly monsoons, and a pretty good mould, or bason, for the easterly, close to the town, and the road is not half gun-shot from it. It has been well fortified, being naturally strong in its situation, but the Badows, or wild Arabs, who inhabit about the sea-coast of Arabia Petrea, have several times taken and plundered it, since it fell into the Immaum's hands. The country adjacent produces barley, wheat, and legumen, and store of fruits and roots, camels, asses, mules, and horses, all very finely shaped and mettlesome, but money being pretty plenty in that part of the country, their horses are very dear, for 50 or 60l. sterling is reckoned but a small price for one. They have also plenty of sheep, with large broad tails, that reach almost to the ground, and their goats are the finest, both for beauty and taste, that ever I saw. And they have poultry and Guinea-hens in abundance. And the sea affords variety of good fish. The Immaum's dominions reach about 20 leagues to the eastward of Aden, along the sea-coast; but there are no places of trade till we come to

Cassin, that lies almost under the meridian of Cape Guardafoy, and under the prodigious high mountains of Megiddo, on the coast of Arabia. I have seen those mountains, in a clear day, above 40 leagues off.

The religion of Cassin is Mahometan, and the civil government democracy. Death is capital, and is punished with death, but not by the civil magistrate; for the tribe or clan of the defunct pursues the murderer or homicide, and when they have found him, he is immediately beheaded, and his head put upon the point of a lance, and brought to his relations in triumph, with musick and dancing. And the tragi-comedy ends in feasting.

The

The product of the country (beſides the common roots, and fruits and animals) is myrrh and olibanum or frankincenſe, which they barter for coarſe calicoes from India; but they have no great commerce with ſtrangers. Nor has Doffar any better trade, but is more noted for barbarity to thoſe they can circumvene. I knew an Engliſh ſhip in anno 1705, that called there for freſh water, and the natives came flocking on board with animal proviſions to ſell or barter. They found the Engliſh ſupinely negligent, and being but ſix or ſeven in number, they mixed with them, and ſuddenly ſtabbed them all; but did no harm to the Indian ſeamen and merchants, who were about 40 in number. They took every thing out of the ſhip, and then burnt her.

Curia Muria is another port on that ſhore, but of ſmall account. It is in the middle of ſeven iſlands, each having a very high mountain, which makes them conſpicuous from the ſea. There are none that frequent it but Trankies, that navigate from the Gulf of Perſia to the Red Sea, who call there for freſh water and recruits of proviſion. The inhabitants, along all that coaſt, are Badows, who wear no clothes above the navel. Their hair grows long, which they plat, and wreathe about their heads. The next remarkable place is Maceira, a barren uninhabited iſland, lying about 5 leagues from the continent, and within 20 leagues of Cape Raſſelgat. It has dangerous ſhoals lying on its weſt end, which reach above 30 leagues along the ſhore to the weſtward, and ſo far in the ſea, that the land (though pretty high) cannot be ſeen, before the unſkilful or unwary pilot feels the rocks with his ſhip's keel. The inhabitants on the main continent, ſeem to be ſorcerers, for about the year 1684, a ſhip from London, called the Merchant's Delight, Captain Edward Say ſupercargo, this ſhip unfortunately run aſhore on in the iſland in the night, being very dark, notwithſtanding they kept their deep ſea lead going every half hour, yet they were ſo lucky as to run her faſt a-ground between two rocks very cloſe to the ſhore. In a few minutes the ſhip was full of water, but being dry on the upper decks, the people kept on them till day-light, and then they diſcovered about 4 or 500 wild Arabs, with ſome tents pitched at a little diſtance from them.

The Arabs, by ſigns, ſhewed themſelves ready to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed Engliſh, and being excellent ſwimmers, ſwam to the ſhip, and brought the end of a rope aſhore. There was one on board, whom I was afterwards well acquainted with, who, before that, had ſailed ſome years in India, and had learned the Indoſtan language, and ſome Arabick; he ſerved for an interpreter. They bid the Engliſh hoiſt their boats out, and come aſhore without fear, which they accordingly did, with their arms. They told the Engliſh that they were not come there to rob them, but to aſſiſt them for reaſonable rewards, and that they would take no advantage of the ill circumſtances they were in, but would make a fair contract with them, and perform their part, as ſhould be ſtipulated in their agreement. The Engliſh, though very diffident of the treacherous Arabs, were obliged to covenant and agree, that whatever was ſaved of the treaſure, cargo, or the ſhip's furniture, ſhould be equally divided, and the Engliſh to have the choice which part they might have a mind to, and that the Arabs ſhould tranſport the Engliſh's part to Muſkat, about 60 leagues off, freight free.

As ſoon as the contract was made, the Arabs went couragiouſly to work, and in a week or ten days, got every thing aſhore that was portable, and they, according to agreement, divided the whole into two equal parts, and gave the Engliſh their choice, and then got trankies, (or barks without decks) and ſhipped what belonged to the Engliſh for Muſkat. All the while they were getting the goods aſhore, they treated the Engliſh with excellent mutton, both of ſheep and goat, and laid in proviſion for their paſſage to Muſkat, free of charge to the ſupercargo.

After the interpreter Mr. [illegible] was grown familiar with those Arabs, that were so kind and benevolent, he asked them why so many of them had attended on that barren island. They answered, that about eight days before the ship was lost, a Fakee, who is an ecclesiastical leader in their church, prophesied that near such a time, a ship would be lost there, and pressed them to go to the assistance of the shipwrecked people, who would be glad to come under contract with them, to have one half of what was gotten out of the wreck; and conjured his auditory to perform their part faithfully, which accordingly they did; though at other times the Badows are perfidious, treacherous, and cruel.

Cape Rasselgat lies about 16 leagues to the eastward of Mapeira, and the sea-shore is clear of danger; and just within the Cape, to the northward, is a village called Tywey, which stands on the side of a small river near the sea; but it is best known by a little mountain (close by it) shaped like an high-crowned hat. And about 16 leagues farther to the northwestward, is Curiat, a large village in a valley close to the sea. To the northward of it is a very large high mountain, whose foot is washed by the sea, and there are 20 fathoms within 200 paces of it. It may be seen above 20 leagues from the sea. There are neither trees nor grass to be seen along the sea-coast, but at Curiat; and yet the country has plenty of cattle, great and small, with variety of fruits and roots from the vallies, and fish from the sea. Their wells are dug in the vallies very deep before they come to springs, but the water is very good.

CHAP. VII.—*Treats of the Kingdom and City of Muskat, and of their religious and civil Customs; with some historical Account of their Wars and Oeconomy. And a little Account of the Sea-coast of Arabia Deserta, as far as Bassora.*

MUSKAT lies about 22 leagues to the north-westward of Curiat, and is the mart town of Arabia Petrea. It is built on the bottom of a small bay, that almost has the shape of an horse-shoe. It was built and fortified by the Portugueze, in the fifteenth century, but taken from them about the year 1650. The King of that province (for though there be many kings in Arabia, yet none assumes the title of King of Arabia) having war at that time with the Persians, had raised an army of 40,000 men to insult the sea-coast of Persia; and had provided a sufficient number of small vessels, called trankies, for their transports. His army lay at a little distance from Muskat, and his fleet at Muttera, a small bay about a mile from the entrance of Muskat harbour. The King sent a civil message to the Portugueze governor, desiring the liberty of his markets to buy provisions.

The insolent governor, thinking himself safe within a walled town, with many small forts to annoy any enemy that could come to attack the walls of the town, instead of returning a civil answer to the King's request, sent a piece of pork wrapped up in paper, as a present to the King, and bid the messenger tell him, that if he wanted such provisions, he could furnish him. The messenger, not knowing what was in the paper, carried it to his master, with the rude answer. Now pork being forbidden the Mahometans as well as Jews, they hold it in abomination, and consequently it aggravated the designed affront. The King was much surprised at the governor's ill manners, but dissembled his resentment, in expectation to find a proper time at his return from his Persian expedition, to correct the governor's insolence, or revenge the affront put on him: but the whole army being enraged at the affront, breathed nothing but present revenge. And the queen, who was of the Said extraction, who are a tribe or

family

[illegible] for not relieving [illegible] would never [illegible] all the [illegible] were not [illegible] the King finding that no [illegible] the day was [illegible] rendered them to be led on [illegible] on the mountains, with plenty of great and small shot; but the Arabs never looked back, nor minded the great numbers of their dead companions, but mounted the walls over the carcases of their slain. About sun-set they drove the Portuguese from two of the city gates, and pursued their enemy so hard, that not one escaped, though they fled in great haste towards the great fort, where the governor [illegible]. That fort is built on a rock almost surrounded by the sea, and has no way to get up to it, but by a staircase hewn out of the rock, above 100 yards high, and not above two or three persons can ascend abreast. The Arabs thought it impracticable to attack it, so made a blockade of it. In the attack of the town, the Arabs lost between 4 and 5000 of the best of their forces; and the Portugueze, in their forts, were reduced to 60 or 70. Those in the small forts were obliged soon to surrender for want of ammunition and provisions; and all were put to the sword, except those, who, to save their lives, promised to be circumcised, and abjure the Christian religion. Those in the great fort held out about six months, under great want and fatigues; and all hopes of relief being cut off, they resolved on a surrender, on which motion, the imprudent governor, who was the sole cause of their calamity, leaped down a precipice in to the sea, where the water being very shallow, he was dashed to pieces on the rocks.

The little garrison would fain have come to a capitulation, but the *Arabs* would grant them no terms, but that they must yield, or be starved; and though the terms were hard, yet they thought best to surrender, and all were put to the sword, except a few who embraced Mahometism, which in all were eighteen persons. And this relation I had from a very old renegado, who was at the tragedy, being then a soldier, who reckoned himself about 100 years old, and by his aspect, could not be much less.

The city of Muskat is very strong, both by nature and art; but the buildings very mean, as most fabricks are under the œconomy of a people who abominate luxury and pride, as the Muskat Arabs do. The cathedral built by the Portugueze still retains some marks of its ancient grandeur, and is now converted into a palace for the King, when he resides there, which is generally a month or two yearly. The wall of the town that faces the harbour, has a battery of large cannon, about 60 in number, and there are 8 or 10 small forts built on the adjacent rocks or mountains, which guard all the avenues to the town, both by sea and land; and there are none permitted to come in or go out of the harbour between sun-set and rising.

The pirates that infested the Indian seas at the latter end of the sixteenth century, made a breach between the English and them. The pirates having made prize of one of their ships, they retaliated on the English private shipping; they seized Captain Morrice's little ship, and [illegible] him and all his crew [illegible], and would never ransom them. In anno 1705, they took Captain Mitchel in a rich ship from Bengal, bound to Persia; but that might be attributed to pusillanimity, in not offering to make a defence.

They put their slaves to all manner of labour, and allow them a soldier's pay for subsistence; and what they can earn otherwise by industry, is wholly their own.

There

There are neither trees, ſhrubs nor graſs to be ſeen on the ſea-coaſt from Curiat to Muſkat, and but a few date trees in a valley at the back of the town, and yet there is not the leaſt want of them felt in the city, and it has as good markets for wheat, barley and legumen, and for excellent fruits, roots and herbage, and good cattle, both great and ſmall, as any where in India, where the ſoil is moſt luxurious. And the ſea furniſhes them with plenty and variety of excellent fiſh. Their cattle look to be very lean, but when killed, they are very fat and good, affording a great deal of tallow. They are not well ſtocked with fowl, but thoſe they have, are very good.

From May to September the heats are exceſſive in the town, ſo that none appear on the ſtreets, from 10 in the morning till 3 or 4 afternoon. Their bazaars or markets are all covered with date tree leaves, ſpread on beams of the ſame tree, that reach from houſe to houſe-top; and the houſes being all flat on their tops, terraſſed with clay and ſtraw mixed: in the aforeſaid months every body lodges on them in the night, for below ſtairs they cannot ſleep for heat, and the nights afford plentiful dews, that ſometimes wet them through their thick cotton quilts; and theſe dews are reckoned very ſalubrious.

The reaſon of ſo intenſe heats proceeds from the nearneſs of the ſun in thoſe months, who ſends his beams almoſt perpendicularly down on the ſides of the mountains, which being all naked, and nothing but an hard black rock appearing, the ſun heats them to ſuch a degree, that between 10 and 11 in the forenoon, I have ſeen the ſlaves roaſt fiſh on them. And the horſes and cattle, who are accuſtomed to that food, come daily, of their own accord, to be ſerved their allowance, and when they have breakfaſted, retire again to ſhades built for them, and yet their beef and mutton, that are partly nouriſhed by that ſort of food, have not the leaſt ſavour of fiſh. And the reaſon why fiſhes are ſo plentiful and cheap in the markets, is by the eaſy and odd way they have in catching them, or rather conjuring of them; for I have ſeen a man and two boys catch a ton weight in an hour or two The man ſtands on a rock, where the ſea is pretty deep near it, and calls *tall*, *tall*, for a minute or two, and the fiſh come ſwarming about the rock. The two boys, in a little boat, ſhut them in with a net about 20 or 30 yards long, and 3 or 4 deep, and, drawing the net near the rock, keep all in; and, when people come for fiſh, he aſkes them what ſorts they want, and puts an hoop-net, fixed to the end of a pole, into the water, and ſerves every body with what kind they aſk for, and when he has done, he hauls out his net, and gives the reſt their liberty.

Their eſtabliſhed religion is Mahometan, of the ſect of Alli. They hinder nobody of what perſuaſion ſoever, to go into their moſques, even in time of divine ſervice. And their molahs or prieſts often preach themſelves into violent paſſions, eſpecially if the ſubject of their ſermon be about the verity of their religion; and then they will challenge the prieſts of any other religion whatever, to confirm theirs with as good evidences as they can; for, being well verſed in legerdemain tricks, (which all we chriſtians, except one ſet of our prieſts, are ignorant of) they will take live coals out of the fire, and ſeem to eat them, with as good an appetite as a ſchool-boy can eat a bergamy pear, which trick the poor deluded auditory takes for a miracle, to confirm the ſanctity of their religion.

The King keeps his court generally at Nazawa or Reyſtock, two towns four or five days journey from Muſkat within land. He has no ſplendid equipage, and his garb very plain, and no finer than an ordinary ſoldier's is. He has about 100 of his own ſlaves armed with matchlocks and ſhort broad ſwords, for his guard, who always attend on him. He nor his ſubjects uſe no tables, but plain mats ſpread on the ground ſerve

serve for table and chairs. Their viands are a dish of rice, either plain, or made in pillaw, and a dish or two more of stewed or fried flesh, fish or fowl, placed near the dish of rice; and he, with his table companions, sit on the same mat, with their buttocks on their heels, and, in that posture, they feed very plentifully. Their right hand serves them for spoon, knife and fork, except when they eat broth or milk; and then they have large wooden spoons. Ther usual drink is water, or sour milk, and in hot weather sherbets.

They make no great difference about table guests; for the king and a common soldier, the master and slave, sit promiscuously, and dip in the same dish: but women never eat in company with men. The men's apparel is a pair of breeches down to their ancles, with a loose vest on their backs, with very large sleeves, and the body of the vest girded about their bodies with a sash, and a large turban carelessly wreathed about their heads, and a poniard, or a short broad sword stuck into their girdle perpendicularly; their shoes clumsily made, and very low and stiff at the quarter-heels; and thus a gentleman is equipped, but in cold weather they use camelins, a sort of loose coat, without sleeves, made of camel's wool. Their women wear breeches to their heels, of finer stuffs, and better colours than the men. The body of the vest made for their use, is straight, but short waisted, and gathered above the navel in plaits, which makes the lower part look like a petticoat. Their shoes are shaped like the men's, flat and broad.

The reason why their shoes are made so, is for their easier slipping off or on, when they enter, or come out of a room, that they may not dirty the carpets or mats wherewith the rooms are spread, which serve them for beds in cold weather. And, except some large round pillows of broad cloth or velvet, stuffed with cotton, for the ease of those who sit on the carpets or mats, to lean upon as they sit cross-legged, there is no other furniture in a room.

Over all the three Arabias, their custom in treating strangers or friends, is the same; for as soon as every one is seated, a servant brings a pot of coffee, and serves it about in small cups, that contain not a quarter of a gill, but as soon as one cup is out, they fill again, and perhaps a third time: then a pipe of tobacco is presented, their pipes differing much from ours in Europe, in shape and magnitude, which service lasts till near the time of breaking up company, when comes in a little pot of hot burning coals, on which they throw some chips of Agala wood, or some powder of benjoin, myrrh, or frankincense, which produces a thick smoke, that incenses or perfumes the whole room. And, as I observed before, it is the custom of wearing very great sleeves to their garments. They open their sleeves as wide as they can, and hold them over the smoke, which perfumes their arms, shoulders, neck and beard. And the last course is some rose-water to besprinkle the company, which is the signal to be gone every one about their business, so, without any forms of ceremony, every one walks off.

The products of Arabia Petrea for exportation, are but few, as horses, dates, fine brimstone, some coffee, but not so good as at Mocha, some runoss, which is the root of a small shrub, that dies crimson, and some pearl. Their manufacture is some coarse cotton, linen, and camelins, which they consume most in their own country; but the Badows need none, since they wear none. The Arabs wear no pearl or gold, but the women of distinction wear pearl of a small price, though I saw one there as big as a large hazel-nut, exactly round, and of a fine water. It was valued at 1000 tomans, which is above 3000l. sterling. I have sometimes gone in a boat to see them dive for pearl and have bought some pearl oysters of them; but the divers are cheats, putting the oysters in the sun, which makes them gape, and then the rogues rummage them, and

ment, added cruelties to oppression, and murdered many who would not or could not pay what they were sessed at, which unheard of barbarities made above 50,000 of the city and country betake themselves to arms, and march out, with the mufti or high priest at their head; and he had a green flag, which is Mahomet's banner, before him, carried by a priest; and he and his army encamped near the bashaw of the gallies his house, which stands about two miles below the city, by the river side, and the bashaw of the gallies joined them with 1000 janissaries. The mufti, according to custom, plied his spiritual artillery, and excommunicated the bashaw of the city, and all that adhered to him This mutiny continued some days; but I heard of no bloodshed, and only opprobrious language past. But the town began to feel want, for the peasants would bring no eatables to the city; but the Mufti's host were plentifully supplied All shops being shut up, and all the markets unprovided, made the bashaw of the city begin to think what the end would be, if the mutiny continued any longer, so he got some country gentlemen, who were of neither faction, to go to the mufti and the bashaw of the gallies, as mediators, and accordingly they went, and were handsomely received, and, in their oration on the present posture of affairs, made the mufti and his party incline to peace, providing that about a dozen of incendiaries might be delivered to them, to receive condign punishment for their faults. All the proscribed, but one, by the intercession of friends, were pardoned, but they would hear of no peace till the other was made a sacrifice to their just resentment, for this villain would accost a merchant in the street, and, after common compliments were ended, he would ask them what became of the diamonds, or other jewels, that they had shewn him such a time. The innocent merchant, who perhaps never had any jewels, being surprised at his question, would deny that ever they had any such as he spake of. Then the impudent fellow would tell them plain, that without they would bribe him with a round sum, he would inform the bashaw, that he had seen such quantities of rough diamonds, or other valuable stones in their possession, and if they could not be found entered in his custom-house books, they must expect to suffer what punishment the bashaw would please to inflict for defrauding the King of his customs. Some out of fear would comply, and give a sum, others, again, stood on their innocence and would not give him money, and they were sure to be informed against, and brought before the bashaw, and, upon that villain's evidence, were generally fined about double of what he asked of them, so that besides the great sums that came into the bashaw's coffers by that rascal's ingenuity, he had accumulated twenty-five bags to himself, each bag containing 500 crowns, and all this in the space of three years that he had been in Bassora, for he came from Constantinople one of the bashaw's retinue, hardly worth an asper, and at his death so much ready cash was found in his house, which fell into his master the bashaw's hands. for after this villain was culled out to be sacrificed to the just resentment of the people, and found that they would not be appeased without having his life, he fell at his master's feet for protection. The cunning, covetous bashaw bid him convey what money he had to his house, and he would take care of it for the use of his wife and children, and would send him secretly out of the town, and get him safely conducted to Comera. He swallowed that bait, and delivered his ill-gotten money to his master, who protected him but one single day, and then told him, that the people's clamours were so great, that he could protect him no longer, and accordingly he was delivered to the enraged mob, who forthwith strangled him, and threw his body on a dung-hill by the side of an high-way, where I saw it two days after And the mufti and bashaw made matters up for the ease and satisfaction of the people, who grew quite tired of their divisions.

Baſſora was many years in the hands of the Perſians, who gave great encouragement to trade, which drew many merchants from foreign parts to ſettle there, and particularly from Surat in India. But in anno 1691, a peſtilence raged ſo violently, that above 80,000 people were carried off by it, and thoſe that remained fled from it, ſo that for three years following it was a deſert, inhabited only by wild beaſts, who were at laſt driven out of the town by the circumjacent wild Arabs, who poſſeſſed it about 12 months, and were in their turn driven out by the Turks, who keeps it till this day; but its trade is very inconſiderable to what it was in the times that the Perſians had it, and the reaſon is, that the Turks are very inſolent to ſtranger merchants. In anno 1721, I had an inſtance of their arbitrary inſolence, for I ſold a conſiderable quantity of pepper, which ſome ſtranger merchants bargained to take at 28 mamoodies* a maund attarie, without deductions. The baſhaw being made acquainted with the contract, ſent orders, that the pepper muſt be delivered to two minions of his at 24 mamoodies, and allow them turk† and burk, which is a piece of ſtone or brick between a pound and an half or two pounds weight, into the ſcale with the ſtandard weights, beſides the tare of the bags. I at firſt refuſed to comply with the unjuſt order, and ſtood out three or four days, but at laſt was adviſed by ſome Surat merchants (who were there, and had met with as great oppreſſions) to obey, leſt I ſhould run the riſk of being plundered by the ſoldiery.

There are many Jews in Baſſora who live by brokerage and exchanging money; but the Turks keep that ſet of people very low, for reaſons of ſtate. There are alſo about 200 chriſtians of the Greek church, but no prieſts of that communion, wherefore ſome Roman miſſionaries officiate there. The Greek clergy are very indifferent about gaining proſelytes, and, to nouriſh their flocks, will not run the riſk of martyrdom, ſo they keep none of their prieſthood at Baſſora. but when I was there, three Romiſh prieſts of the Carmelite order had the ſuperintendency of that church. Theſe ſanctified raſcals were a ſcandal to chriſtianity, by making a tavern of their church, for having more indulgence from the government than the Mahometans, in moral matters, they abuſe it to the vileſt uſes, in ſelling arrack, which they diſtil from dates, and procuring birds of paradiſe for the uſe of their cuſtomers. The Mahometans again are forbidden ſtrictly the drinking of wine or diſtilled liquors, both by their eccleſiaſtical and civil laws, for the heat of the ſun, and the dry ſandy ſoil create much a duſt choler in their brains, that when they are heated by drinking ſtrong liquors, they became furious and miſchievous to one another, and, in thoſe mad fits, wound and kill their fellows. Thoſe ſcandalous prieſts had been often reprimanded by the government, for abuſing the indulgence they had, but to little purpoſe, for their trade was very gainful; but, upon a drunken quarrel between two ſeamen of mine, wherein one was dangerouſly wounded with a knife, and the other for fear of puniſhment, turned Mahometan, being before a Portugueze chriſtian, the baſhaw ſent an officer and ſoldiers to enter the church, and all the houſes appertaining to it, with orders to break their ſtills and jars, with the reſt of the diſtilling utenſils, and to pour out all the arrack they found, on the ground, which was accordingly done, and in the ſearch, the ſoldiers met with a fine ſilver watch, and about 400 Spaniſh dollars, which they carried off with them. The prieſts petitioned the baſhaw to have the watch and money reſtored, but were anſwered, that they preached much on the contempt of worldly riches, and if his ſoldiers had made them practiſe what they preached, they ought to be thankful, and to let the deſpicable money continue in hands that profeſſed their love of it, and

* Twenty-eight Mamoodies are 17s. 6d A maund attarie is 28 lib

† Turk and burk is a cuſtomary donation, ſuch as tret in Britain.

knew

knew much better how to use it than priests, and so dismissed them, with threats of harder penalties on their next transgression: but the sweets of worldly gains soon made them forget the admonition given them by the bashaw, as well as their heavenly promises and oaths made at their admission into their holy order; and, like a dog to his vomit, returned back to their old trade of debauching Christians, Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans with liquors, and set up stills for that purpose once more.

Notwithstanding that the Turkish government is so well established by severity, and even cruelty when their laws are transgressed, yet the Arabs, who are the natural lords of their own country, are not to be rigorously dealt with, for they are a people very bold, revengeful and cunning. While I was at Bassora, a parcel of Janisaries were sent to the island of Gabon, which lies between the city and the mouth of the river Euphrates. The west end is washed by a branch of the river, which runs into the sea, and the north side by the main river for 25 leagues, till it disembogues into the sea by the channel for shipping. It being pretty well inhabited, and the bashaw imposing exorbitant taxes on those poor islanders, which they either would not, or could not pay, sent the aforementioned Janisaries to dragoon them into compliance. They first built a sconce, and fortified it, both to secure themselves from sudden attacks or surprize, as well as to hold what they might destrain from the poor peasants. Many of those poor wretches having experimented the Turkish wholesome chastisements of plundering and bastonading those who scrupled to obey, or were not able to pay what they were taxed, making their complaints to one another, and bewailing the misery that they underwent by the inexorable Janisaries, took counsel to ferret them off their island at the hazard of their lives, rather than continue under the unsupportable yoke they were in; wherefore about three hundred of them prepared for an attack on the Janisaries little fort, with no other weapons than lances and swords. There were about forty Janisaries in the fort, well armed with guns; but the Arabs defeated the design of powder and ball, by making up great bundles of straw, that covered them intirely from head to foot whilst their faces were towards their enemy. They waited a convenient time when the wind was pretty high, and marching towards the windwardmost part of the fort, set fire to their straw, whose blaze and smoke kept the Janisaries clear from molesting them to windward. There were some shades within the fort, built of date tree leaves, for lodging the garison, but they took fire also; and five or six barrels of powder blowing up, destroyed most of the Janisaries, and some few who leapt down the outside of the wall, were killed with the sword; so that between fire and sword, not one escaped. I saw some of the slaughtered and half-burnt carcases brought up to the city the next day after the tragedy was acted; but the commotions that had happened before in the city, made the bashaw bridle his resentment, since it was his own avarice that begat both mutinies.

The horses in this part of Arabia are very well shaped, and mettlesome, and the men the most dexterous in managing them that ever I saw. They shoot with bow and arrow, and throw their lance at full speed, and very seldom miss the mark. They will stoop at full speed, and take up an hare as she runs, with their hands, or throw a lance in the air, and catch it before it comes to the ground: and indeed the most of their exercise, whilst young, is in managing their horses.

They have many boats on the river, of several shapes and dimensions; some are made of wood, with high broad boughs, and very long, others are very short: their rudders are in breadth a quarter part of their keel's length, but not intire of one piece as ours are, and they daub them over outside and inside with bitumen, without caulking them; others are baskets made of reeds, perfectly round, with two sticks laid

athwart

athwart, crofs-ways their bottoms to keep them open. They are alfo daubed on the outfide and bottom with bitumen. And this fort they make ufe of to transport goods from place to place. Bitumen is a thick fulphurous and unctious matter, generated in the earth there, and boils up of its own accord to the furface; and fometimes it is fo hot, that it fcalds the hands or feet of them that go to gather it. And there are fome hot pits in the ground, that putting a pot over them, they'll boil meat. There is alfo oil of Peter in thofe grounds, which is very good in healing rheumatick pains.

CHAP. IX.—*Gives a Defcription of the Sea-coaft of Perfia, from Euphrates to Gombroon, with the Places of Commerce on the Perfian Side of the Gulf.*

THEY have a tradition, that between Baffora and Conera was Job's habitation, if he had any; but that is out of my fphere, and fo I'll travel down the Euphrates again towards Perfia.

For above 20 leagues to the eaftward of the channel for fhipping, or from Margan point, the land is very low and marifh, and is overgrown with reeds and fhrubs, which, in the month of Auguft, are very dry by the extreme heats of June and July; and the winds blowing frefh, put them in fo great agitation, that by friction they take fire; fo that before we fee any land, we fee great fmokes by day, and great fires by night, of 4 or 5 leagues long. But at Durea, which I take to be the eaftermoft branch of the river, the land is pretty high, and fome date trees to be feen from the fea. And the firft mountains that appear in Perfia, are thofe of Bander-dillon, which is a large town on the fea-coaft. It has large plains near it, that produce plenty of wheat and barley, and have good pafturage for horfes and cattle. As alfo does Bander-rick, another fea-port town, and may be feen plainly from the fea, but the bay is fhallow fo far off, that a fhip cannot come within three leagues of it; however it has pretty good inland trade, by reafon of its vicinity to Shyrafh, the fecond town in Perfia for magnitude, from whence it is but fix days journey for beafts of carriage.

Bowchier is alfo a maritime town, about 12 leagues to the fouthward of Banderrick. It ftands on an ifland, and has a pretty good trade, both by fea and land.

The iflands of Carrack ly, about weft north-weft, 12 leagues from Bowchier. One of them has no inhabitants but deer and antelopes. The fouthermoft has between 200 and 300 poor fifhers on it, who ferve fhipping with pilots for Baffora. It affords good mutton and fifh, potatoes and onions, with good water. The anchoring-place is at the north end of the inhabited ifland, in 12 fathoms water. Their language is Arabick, and religion Mahometan.

About 7 leagues to the fouthward of Bowchier, on the fea-coaft is Curchoir, where are the ruins of a large caftle and pier that jets a pretty way into the fea. They were built by the Portugueze, who kept a garrifon there, and had gallies continually cruizing about in the bottom of the gulf, to compel all fhips that traded there, or to Baffora, to pay 10 per cent. toll or cuftoms to them. There is nothing elfe to invite obfervation for travellers, from Courchoir to Congoun, which is about 30 leagues, but high, dry, barren mountains, and hideous precipices.

Congoun ftands on the fouth fide of a large river, and makes a pretty good figure in trade, for moft of the pearls that are caught at Bareen, on the Arabian fide, are brought hither for a market, and many fine horfes are fent thence to India, where they generally fell well. And four days journey within land, is the city of Laar, which, according to their fabulous tradition, is the burying-place of Lot, and they pretend to fhew

ſhew his tomb ſtill; but they do not know a word about the poor woman his wife. That there are many mountains of rock ſalt there, is very certain.

The next maritime town, down the gulf, is Cong, where the Portugueze had lately a factory, but of no great figure in trade, though the town has a ſmall trade with Banyans and Moors from India. The many inſults the Muſkat Arabs give it with their fleet, frighten merchants of conſiderable ſtocks from frequenting it. After the Portugueze loſt Ormus, and a peace made with Shaw Abaſs the king of Perſia, they were permitted to ſettle at Cong. But that King built the city of

Gombroon, or, as the natives call it, Bander Abaſſi, or the ſea-port of Abaſſi. This city ſtands on a bay, about 4 leagues to the northward of the eaſt end of the iſland of Kiſmiſh, and 3 leagues from the famous Ormuze, which the Engliſh had ſo great an hand in reducing to the obedience of Shaw Abaſs. What time the Portugueze ſettled on Ormuze I know not, nor could I ever learn from the Perſians that I converſed with, when they did ſettle, but finding it a convenient place to tyrannize over the traders into the Gulf of Perſia, they built a large fort on the eaſt end of it, almoſt environed by the ſea that waſhes the fort walls. This Gombroon was formerly a fiſhing town, and when Shaw Abaſs began to build it, had its appellation from the Portugueze in deriſion, becauſe it was a good place for catching prawns or ſhrimps, which they call Camerong. The Engliſh and Dutch have their factories here, which bring a good commerce to it; and the French formerly had their factory too. It is ill ſeated, and wants almoſt every thing that contributes to the ſupport of human life, except fiſh and mutton, yet, for many years, it has been well peopled by reaſon of its trade, which has filled the pockets of many merchants, who, at firſt ſettling there, were very empty They have no drinkable water within three miles of the town, except a few ciſterns, which are dry above one half of the year. and the hills near it are barren, and the very rocks taſte of ſalt And when rain falls, which is but ſeldom, the rivulets (which are filled by waters running down the hills into low grounds) bear a cruſt of fine white ſalt on their ſides, but is bitteriſh, by reaſon of too much nitre and ſulphur in its compoſition. People of diſtinction and fortune keep a camel or two daily employed in bringing them freſh wholeſome water from Aſſeen, about 15 miles from the city, becauſe the water of Naban, which is three miles off, is not accounted ſalubrious. There is an high mountain that lies north from Gombroon, about 8 leagues, whoſe reflection of heat on the lower ground, in the ſummer months, almoſt fires the air, which creates much uneaſineſs and unhealthfulneſs to the inhabitants of Gombroon, wherefore moſt of them retire into the country, to paſs the heats of June, July, and Auguſt, whoſe heats affect the ſea, in ſo much, that in Auguſt there comes a ſtink from it, that is as deteſtable as the ſmell of dead animals on the land, and vaſt quantities of ſmall ſhell fiſh are thrown on the ſhore by the ſurges of the ſea, from them I judge the intolerable ſtink proceeds. It tarniſhes gold and ſilver, as bad as the bilge water of a tight ſhip.

About 10 miles from Aſſeen, at the foot of the aforeſaid mountain, is a place called Minoa, where are natural cold and hot baths, which cure itches, poxes, leproſy, and rheumatick pains, only by bathing. for they are not drinkable, and ſome that try to drink them, and get a few ſpoonfuls down, find them powerful ementicks. There are two or three little choultries or ſhades built for patients to reſt in; but there are no people that inhabit near it, ſo that whoever goes there, muſt carry all neceſſaries or conveniencies along with them.

At Aſſeen there are many gardens, where the inhabitants of Gombroon retire to in the hot months; but the Engliſh Eaſt India Company's is the beſt cultivated. It produces plenty of Seville oranges, whoſe trees are always verdant, and bear ripe and green

green fruit, with bloſſoms, all at once. In the hot ſeaſon it is well watered from its wells, ſo that roots and herbage are plentiful, and good in their ſeaſons, which ſupply the factory at Gombroon: and there is pretty good fowling and hunting in that plain; but the road to the town is only paſſable for men, and aſſes or camels, but not for horſes: nor are there any houſes on the road, but one fackire's or beggar's lodge. But Naban is a village pretty well peopled, and has one tree, or rather a wood ſprung from the root of a tree, whoſe branches ſpread wide, and from them other branches deſcend to the ground, and take root, and the branches of them ſpread as the firſt did, that it became near three hundred yards from one end to another, and could ſhelter 10,000 men from the heat of the ſun. The leaves are large and thick, and it bears a red berry, only uſeful for crows and parrots, who alſo build neſts on the tree.

Gombroon is very unhealthy for Europeans, occaſioned by the ſcorching heat of ſummer, and piercing cold of winter; for as thoſe that ſtay there in ſummer have wind-chimnies to cool and fan them, ſo they are obliged, in winter, to wear cloth coats, lined with fur, to keep them warm. The Europeans often haſten death ſooner than he would come of his own accord, by intemperance and debauchery of ſeveral kinds, and they have a burial-place pretty near the town, well ſtored with tombs, but never a Chriſtian church in this town, though the Portugueze have one at Cong, where generally reſide a prieſt or two, who ſubſiſt on alms and perquiſites. When an Engliſh or Dutch heretick marry, or bring the fruits of their labour to light unmarried, then the prieſt is ſent for to make the infant a Chriſtian, but we officiate in burials ourſelves.

The animal proviſions of cattle, ſheep, goat, fowl, and fiſh, are all in their kind good, and pretty cheap, but they kill no cows publickly, becauſe the Banyans from India, who make a good figure in the town, and are pretty numerous, give the Shahbhen or Governor, a yearly preſent of value, to prohibit cow-killing, for they being all Pythagoreans in the belief of tranſmigration, worſhip that beaſt in as great a degree of veneration as a Papiſt does the image of a ſaint given him for a protector. The devotees of both differ not much in point of adoration, for ſetting aſide the divinity of cattle, who till the ground, and nouriſh them by their milk, which, they ſay, is more than a dead image can do, they have greater antiquity, and as great authority as Chriſtian idolaters can pretend to. Their books are as numerous, and their traditions and legends as full in relating prophecies uttered by the cow, as well as miracles performed by her, as the others can boaſt of done by their images, ſo they laugh at a Papiſt that calls them idolaters.

The grapes, melons, and mangoes that ſupply the market of Gombroon, come from the high mountain beforementioned, or from the vallies on the north ſide of it. In November and December, the ſnow falls ſo plentifully on that mountain, as well as on others to the ſouthward of it, that it clothes them in white generally till the month of March.

In Auguſt the poorer ſort of people go up the country to their date harveſt; and for a month's time that the harveſt laſts, we can hardly find boatmen and porters enough to lade or unlade our ſhipping, which often proves very inconvenient for thoſe whoſe voyage depends on quick diſpatch. And the winds blowing then hard at the ſouth-weſt from the Arabian ſhore, bring along with them ſuch clouds of ſcorching ſands, that the ſun is obſcured by them.

A memorable accident happened about the year 1712, to two French gentlemen, who contrary to the advice of their friends at Gombroon, would needs travel in the month of July, for Iſpahan, the metropolis of Perſia, which lies 700 Engliſh miles from Gombroon. The chief of the Engliſh factory, who was a gentleman of much candour

and probity, and had travelled that road feveral times, told them of the danger of fuffocating heats that they muft pafs through the firft three ftages of their journey; for there are fome deep caverns in the fides of fome mountains, commonly called by the inhabitants, hell's mouths, which fometimes fend forth fuch hot dry winds, that kill man and beaft, if they do not fhun them, which is done by falling flat on the ground, and placing their cattle's rumps to the wind, whilft they lie on their bellies. Thofe blafts may be feen fome minutes before they come near enough to men or beafts to hurt them, and in a minute or two, they blow over, being confined to a fmall fpace of ground to blow on. The general rule for travellers, is to fet out between three and four in the morning, and travel to nine, which rule thofe French gentlemen obferved, and being fatigued by their morning's journey, as foon as they came to a caravanferay, (which are lodgings built at every ftage's end, a ftage being about 15 miles), they were difpofed to reft, and ordered their fervants to make their beds ready, (for even thofe neceffary furniture, travellers are obliged to carry with them on carriage-beafts), and ordered their fervants to call them when dinner was ready, and withal ordered a fheet for each of them to be dipped in water, to lay over them, in order to cool them. One of thofe hot blafts unfortunately came whilft the gentlemen flept, and had left the windows of the room open, and the wind blowing in at the windows, fcorched them both to death on their beds, where the fervants found them when dinner was ready, and pulling off the fheets, the fkin and fome flefh came off with them.

I obferved before, that Ifpahan is diftant from Gombroon about 700 miles, and yet I have known a foot-poft bring letters in 11 days from thence, though the ways are fo bad, that horfes cannot travel it in that time.

Shyrafh is a large city on the road, about 550 miles from Gombroon, in a fine, pleafant, fertile country, that produces fruits of all forts, excellent in their kinds, particularly apples, pears, plumbs, figs, walnuts, chefnuts, hazel-nuts, piftachio-nuts, and grapes which afford good wines, and raifins, and is fo well ftored with rofes, that they can yearly export 2000 chefts of rofe-water, befides ten times as much fpent in Perfia, Arabia and Induftan. A cheft contains about 12 Englifh gallons, carefully put up in thin flafks or bottles. The Mahometans are forbid to meddle with wine, therefore the Armenian chriftians (who are very numerous in Perfia) have the privilege of making wines, moft excellent in their kind, and it is a queftion whether the world affords better, for they are excellent ftomachics, and being ftrong, they'll bear four times the quantity of water to mix with them, without being flat; and the mixture has a very fine flavour. They make alfo brandy and vinegar, but though much ftronger, not fo palatable as what France produces; fo that this country, which formerly was a kingdom of itfelf, not only produces what is convenient for itfelf, but exports large quantities of wines, brandy, vinegar, rofe-water, raifins and figs, with the aforementioned nuts, which greatly increafe the wealth of the country, which alfo abounds in good wheat, peafe and barley, for its own confumption; and their beef, mutton and fowl are exceeded by none in Europe.

About five leagues off the road of Ifpahan, are the ruins of the famous Perfepolis, that mad Alexander of Macedon burnt at the requeft of a ftrumpet: and, as I have been informed by feveral that had the curiofity to fee thofe ruins, in their way to and from Ifpahan, it has been a large ftately city. The fabric has been noble, by what may be yet feen in fome parts yet ftanding, and fome paintings on ftone, that ftill look frefh, in fpite of time's iron teeth, who defaces and deftroys moft fublunary things, or alters their figures fo much, that they can be known no other way than by tradition.

CHAP. X.

CHAP. X.—*Continuation of Observations on the Empire of Persia, giving an Account of its Magnitude; the Reduction of Ormuze to the Obedience of Persia by the Assistance of the English: also of the late Revolution by Meriweys.*

THE empire of Persia is of a large extent, being limited by Euphrates and the Persian gulf to westward, the Indian ocean, from Cape Guaddel, to the southward, on the east side by the river Indus, that runs 1200 miles to the northward from its mouths, and on the north by Usbeck, Tartaria, Colchis, Mangrelia, the Caspian Sea and Georgia. Erivan in Armenia, is a province in the north-west of it, as Cabul and Candaha are on the north-east side. Towards Turkey they sometimes lose and get whole provinces in a year. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, Shaw Abass was king of Persia, a king worthy of empire, and made himself famous by his valour and his justice; but having no fleet at sea, the Portugueze insulted his sea-coasts, and settled themselves on the Island of Ormuze, and built a good strong fort, as is already observed, with a pretty large town, and magnificent churches. Some porches and broken pillars I have seen, that speak their ancient grandeur; and the castle is still good, and well kept. The Portugueze, with their light frigates and gallies, insulted the sea-coasts of Persia, and all the shipping that had commerce in the gulf, for above a whole century. Shaw Abass being tired with the complaints of his subjects, and others that had been robbed and insulted by the imperious Portugueze, made him very uneasy, and found no remedy but by encouraging the English, who then had a small factory on the sea-shore, about 7 leagues from the mouth of the gulf, to the eastward, called Jasques, but were continually disturbed in their commerce by the domineering Portugueze from Ormuze.

Sir Thomas Row being then ambassador at the court of Persia for King James the first of England, to cultivate a correspondence between the two kingdoms, Shaw Abass broke his mind to Sir Thomas, and proffered any reasonable indulgence to the English that traded into Persia, providing they would join his land forces with theirs at sea, in India, to drive the troublesome Portugueze out of the Persian gulf. Sir Thomas agreed, that, if Shaw Abass would defray the charge of the ships that should come to his assistance, give the English a free trade all over the Persian dominions, custom free, and grant them one moiety of the customs raised by merchandize in the Gulf, they would not only help to drive the Portugueze out of Ormuze, but keep two ships in the Gulf, to protect trade. All which was agreed to by both parties, and sealed and signed by the King of Persia.

The English forces consisted of five ships, about 40 guns one with another, and were well manned. The King of Persia sent an army of 40 or 50,000, with trankies for transports, to land them on Ormuze. The English soon destroyed the Portugueze armado of light frigates and gallies, which were hauled dry on the land near the castle. The castle firing briskly on them, sunk one of the English ships, whose artillery was carried ashore, and put in batteries to annoy the castle, which the shipping and batteries did so effectually, that in less than two months, the Portugueze capitulated to leave Ormuze, with all the fortifications intire, and to carry nothing away but their noble selves. The plunder, which was very great, was equally divided between the English and Persians, and tradition reports, that there was so much ready bullion found in the castle, that it was measured by long-boats-full; and one boat being pretty deep, and an officer still throwing in more, put the boatswain of the ship, who was in the

the boat, into a paſſion, and made him ſwear, that for every ſhovel full that they threw more in, he would throw two out into the ſea; for he could not tell what would ſatisfy them, if a long-boat load of money would not. On the reduction of the iſland and fort of Ormuze, the Portugueze withdrew their men from the forts of Laracka, another iſland 4 or 5 leagues from Ormuze, and from Kiſmiſh fort, that lies on the eaſt end of that iſland, and retired to Muſkat. Shaw Abaſs was punctual in obſerving the agreement with the Engliſh; and it was punctually kept by the ſucceeding kings, till about the year 1680, the Engliſh Company failed on their part of keeping the gulf clear of inſults; and the Perſians, finding that the Engliſh Company's forces were now too ſmall for the increaſing power of the Arabs their neighbours, took away the half cuſtoms, and allowed them 1100 tomaans, which is about 3300l. ſterling a year; but I am afraid that that is alſo loſt by the late revolution in Perſia.

When Shaw Abaſs demiſed, his ſon Shaw Tomas ſucceeded him, who was a ſon worthy of ſuch a father. He died about the year 1630. He was a very valiant and fortunate prince in his wars with Turk and Mogul, and a great lover of juſtice, for whoever broke the eſtabliſhed laws, were ſure to ſuffer the penalty annexed to them. One inſtance of that he ſhewed to a baker; for being once detected in making his bread lighter than the ſtandard, he was ſeverely fined; but on his being detected and convicted a ſecond time, he was condemned to be baked in his own oven, for a terror to others, who might flatter themſelves with breaking the laws with impunity.

After Shaw Tomas, the ſucceeding kings have been debauched with ignorance of their own affairs, voluptuouſneſs and indolence, leaving the reins of government in the hands of paraſites, or eunuchs and concubines, who never fail to bring their maſter into contempt, and the people into murmurings and rebellions. A very flagrant inſtance is to be ſeen in Meriweys' Revolution.

The whole reign of the laſt Sophi, or King, was managed by ſuch vermin, that the Ballowches and Mackrans, who inhabit the ſea-coaſt from Cape Jaſques to Indus, obſerving the weakneſs of the government, threw off the yoke of obedience firſt, and, in full bodies, fell in upon their neighbours in Carmania, who were thriftier and richer than the maritime freebooters, and plundered their fellow ſubjects of what they had got by their painful induſtry. There was no want of remonſtrances and petitions put into the court to put a ſtop to thoſe enormities, but no redreſs could be had. The Uſbecks came alſo on their neighbouring province of Muſchet, and commited many depredations, and when letters came from the Governor of that province, to acquaint the king of the Uſbecks incurſions, he happened then to be at play with a young cat, that hunted a feather that he kept in motion with a thread. One of the pages acquainted him, that a meſſenger was come in great haſte from Muſchet, with letters to the vizier, who was at the chamber door, to know what his Majeſty would pleaſe to order in that juncture. He anſwered, that as ſoon as he had done playing with his cat, he would ſend for the vizier, and conſult of that matter, but he never thought more of it. This indolence made many thefts, robberies, and murders to be committed throughout the country: nay, his own guards went out in troops, and way-laid merchants going or coming to or from Iſpahan, robbed them, and often murdered them; and when complaints were made, and proof offered, yet no redreſs could be had, which made moſt people believe, that ſome court favourites were encouragers of the publick calamities. In anno 1716, I carried ſome Armenian merchants from Perſia to Surat, who aſſured me, that there was a deſign to depoſe the King, and ſet up his ſon, or invite the Muſcovite into the province of Caſbin, whoſe ſhores are on the Caſpian ſea, and where a foreign army may eaſily be brought into their ports by ſea: and certainly there was ſuch a deſign; for

in

in anno 1719, the plot of depoſing the King was found out, and the Attamadoulet or vizier was deeply concerned in it. He was Meriweys', or Meir Mahoumud Shaw's father, the ſon being then Chawn, or prince of Candahaar. The King was ſolacing himſelf in a garden near the city of Iſpahan, when he was appriſed of the plot, which was to be executed the ſame night it was diſcovered. He immediately ſent for the Attamadoulet, pretending buſineſs of importance about ſome frontier provinces; and the old gentleman not dreaming of the diſcovery made, came to the King, who taxing him with the plot, made no difficulty to confeſs that it was of his own contrivance, to ſave the country from ruin, which was inevitable, if he continued in ſupineneſs, which had affected him near 40 years, and there was no ſign of amendment, notwithſtanding his remonſtrances and admonitions all that while, and now that he was detected, he knew the worſt that could befall him, was to be ſacrificed for the good of his country, which he took to be rather glorious than diſhonourable. The King ordered ſome bars of iron to be heated, and his eyes kept open till the irons were gently moved near the eyes to dry up the moiſture, which is the royal puniſhment in Perſia, for diſobedient or rebellious princes, ſo the old man being made blind, his treaſure was ſeiſed, but his palace and gardens allowed him, and an allowance ſuitable to his dignity He had in gold and diamonds, to the value of 800,000 tomaans or 2,400,000l. ſterling; and ſome ſaid he had more in his ſon's cuſtody · but how true theſe reports are, I am no proper judge, either to believe or reject, but ſome bars of his gold I ſaw at Gombroon.

Before this conſpiracy of the Attamadoulet happened, the Muſkat Arabs came with a fleet, and landed 5 or 6000 men on Ormuze, and beſieged the caſtle, but could not take it in three months, and being tired with fatigue, they left it. But in anno 1720, Meriweys hearing how the King had uſed his father, made the whole province of Candahaar rebel, and wrote letters to the Chawn of Samachie to come into alliance with him and his confederates the Ballowches and Uſbecks, who readily embraced his propoſition in hope of plunder. In 1721, Meriweys began his march towards Iſpahan, with an army of 45,000, and paid honeſtly for what his army had occaſion for in his march, declaring, that he did not take arms for their hurt or deſtruction, but to free Perſia from the folly and tyranny of a doating fool, who was incorrigible by fair means. The Uſbecks entered the provinces of Muſchet and Yeſd, with 40,000, and acted like robbers. Another army of 40,000 went out of Samachie, and ravaged Erivan, and the Ballowches entered the province of Carmania, and plundered the country, and at laſt took the city. Then they marched towards Laar, and took the town, but not the fort: and there twelve Hollanders, who were ſent from Gombroon to convey down ſome treaſure belonging to their company, behaved themſelves to admiration. They were lodged in a Caravanſeray, where the Ballowches came with about 300 to attack them, but they had a brave warm reception, and left about four ſcore of their number dead on the ſpot, without the loſs of one Dutchman · but not thinking themſelves and their treaſure ſafe where they were, they deſired admittance into the fort, which was readily granted, and there they alſo behaved themſelves ſo well, that the Ballowches marched away without the booty they came ſo far for. The Dutch ſtaid there above a month, and in that time came a detachment of 4000 horſe to plunder Gombroon. We heard of their deſign about ten days before they came, and ſo we and the Dutch fortified our factories as well as poſſibly we could, planting little falconets on the top of our walls in ſwivels, and beating out ports in our walls, to ply great guns, to ſcour the avenues to our factories. Mean while the Perſian governor fired guns every night, to let the enemy know he was a brave fellow: however they had a mind to ſee, and, on the 15th of December they appeared near the town, on a ſwift march to-

wards it, which ſcared the governor ſo much, that though there was an high mud wall between him and them, he got on horſeback, and fled to a fort on the ſea-ſhore, leaving a few guns, loaded as they were, to the enemy.

The Ballowches came firſt to the weſt quarter of the town, where our factory ſtands, and ſoon made paſſages through the mud walls. They hewed down all that came in their way, particularly old people and children, and came in a confuſed haſte to attack our factory, down ſome lanes; but we gave them a warm welcome with our great guns and ſmall ſhot. They ſoon found their miſtake, and retired in as great haſte as they came. Some of their muſketeers got into ſome ruined houſes, and fired on us; but we being barricadoed, they did us little damage, and had our men obſerved their orders better, we had come off with leſs. Our firing laſted about three hours, in which time we loſt three or four, killed by their own raſhneſs in ſtanding open to the enemy, when they might have done better ſervice under cover of our barricadoes. We had alſo ſeven wounded, but none mortally, but one who was a factor, who received a ſhot in his right hand, which threw him into a fever, of which he died in ſeven or eight days. The agent being gone to Iſpahan ſome weeks before we had any advice of the Ballowches coming, had carried twenty ſoldiers along with him for a guard, and left but ſix in the factory, beſides cooks, and a few ſervants. I ſaw the factory in danger if they ſhould be attacked, ſo I reinforced it with thirty-ſix of my beſt men, and another ſmall Engliſh ſhip from Bombay, aſſiſted with eight or nine of his, ſo that when the enemy came, we were about fifty ſtrong. The ſeaſon being very cold, made our duty hard, for we lay in our arms every night, for 10 or 12 nights that the enemy lay in the town. They had a conſultation next day after their repulſe, how they might make another attack; but none would undertake to lead their men on, and ſo the day after conſultation, they went to attack the Dutch, who were three times ſtronger than we, and they met with the ſame kind reception we gave them, but they had a ware-houſe within piſtol-ſhot of their factory, with goods to the value of 20,000l. ſterling in it, which the Ballowches broke into, and plundered. The Dutch loſt twelve men, and had eight or ten wounded: ſo finding our factories were not to be taken without the danger of much blood-ſhed, they went plundering the town for eight or nine days, and carried away, in money and goods, above 200,000l. beſides 14,000 captives, and as many beaſts of carriage, and ſo went off about five or ſix miles from the town, which they laid in aſhes before they left it. They continued in our neighbourhood, with their plunder, about a month, I ſuppoſe till they received new orders how to diſpoſe of themſelves.

Notwithſtanding ſuch numerous rebellious armies were on foot, threatening deſtruction to the ſtate, the indolent King being lulled aſleep in ſecurity, did not offer to raiſe any forces for the defence of himſelf and country, but ſaid to his cabinet counſellers, that he was ſure his enemies would leave him Iſpahan, and that one city would be enough to maintain him and them his counſellors: but when Meriweys came within three days journey of the city, he raiſed about 50,000 of the citizens, and ſent to the Engliſh and Dutch agents, to join their little forces to his, to manage the artillery, and to lend him ſome money to ſupport and pay his new raiſed army. The latter deſired to be excuſed in both; but the Engliſh complied, and were very active in defending the city, when Meriweys came to beſiege it: and when he approached within a mile or two of the city, the King ſent his raw army out to fight Meriweys, but in their march, Meriweys' men having made a long trench a pretty way from their front, and hid a large quantity of gun-powder in it, and then filled it up again, which ambuſcade the King's army fell into, and after a good number of them had paſſed it, fire was ſet to it, and blew

blew up and ſcorched many of the King's men, which ſo frightened the reſt, that they turned tail, and fled without ſtriking one ſtroke, ſo Meriweys made an eaſy conqueſt of the city, and found the King weeping, and deſerted by his baſe and treacherous courtiers. But Meriweys ſoon put an end to his melancholy, by ordering his head to be ſtruck off, which was forthwith executed, and put on the point of a lance, and carried through the city three days ſucceſſively, as a ſpectacle. The prince royal, or the young Sophi ſeeing his father's affairs in ſo wretched a condition, had left the city, and went to Taurus or Teverize before Meriweys came. Meriweys carried himſelf mighty civilly to the citizens, but made the Engliſh priſoners, and ſeized what money and goods could be found of theirs, and alſo the Dutch company's effects, but not their ſervants perſons. It was reported, that the Engliſh loſt about 60,000l. and the Dutch 210,000. But the truth of theſe reports are beſt known to themſelves.

When the old King had a mind to honour the Engliſh factory with a viſit, as I ſaw in a letter from Mr. Bruce, the company's agent, that he ſometimes did, and one particularly in his agency, he magnifies the honour done to his maſters, above what the Dutch could ever obtain. He relates how he and all the factory, great and ſmall, were ordered to leave their houſe, and chamber doors and ware-houſes all open, for his Majeſty and his ſeraglio companions to ramble through, and take ſuch things as beſt pleaſed him and his minions, and there was a table left in the dining-room, ſpread and furniſhed with the richeſt ſweet-meats and fruits.

I believe the company was not very ambitious of having many ſuch honours conferred on them, ſince they were obliged to pay for them. And when the King has a mind for ſome new concubines, he iſſues out orders for all men and youths to depart out from their houſes in the ſtreet, that he is pleaſed to viſit, and to leave all the ladies in poſſeſſion till his Majeſty ſurveys them; and the penalty of diſobedience is death. He generally makes his progreſs through the Armenian quarters, becauſe the faireſt and moſt beautiful are amongſt their children.

The religion, by law eſtabliſhed for near eleven ages, is Mahometan, of the ſect of Alli, but the ancient religion was Parſi, or worſhippers of the ſun and fire. The founder of it was Zoroaſter, whom they ſtill venerate. About the ninth century of the Chriſtian æra, the Mahometan zealots, according to the laudable way of ſome Chriſtians, raiſed a perſecution againſt the Parſis, whoſe wholeſome ſeverities made many proſelytes, but ſome obſtinate rogues, who would not change for a worſe, were lawfully murdered, or obliged to run their country, ſo that at preſent there are but few left in Perſia, and thoſe that are left, are protected by their poverty and habitations, which are in deſerts or hills little frequented.

There are vaſt numbers of Armenian Chriſtians in Perſia, whoſe religion is tolerated. Their former country of Armenia is now the province of Erivan. There are many ſubſtantial merchants of Armenians, who inhabit Julfar, a town near Iſpahan, and they ſend factors all over India to carry on trade; and ſome come to Europe on that ſame account.

The Mahometans in Perſia, to encourage proſelytes to their religion, have a law, that if a ſon of an Armenian turns Mahometan, all the father's eſtate becomes his, and all who continue Chriſtians are excluded, which ſometimes makes great diviſions and alterations in a family.

In baptiſm they immerſe, but do not ſprinkle. The prieſt muſt officiate in his ſacerdotal garb, with a crown on his head, and muſt have two aſſiſtants in holy veſtments alſo, but without crowns. Their titulary ſaint is St. Gregory, of whom they tell many

ſtrange ſtories; but whether true or falſe I know not: but I am ſure he has plagued them with faſt-days, for they faſt one half of the year at leaſt.

Having made what obſervations I could of the empire of Perſia, I'll travel along the ſea-coaſt towards Induſtan, or the Great Mogul's empire. All that ſhore, from Jaſques to Sindy, is inhabited by uncivilized people, who admit of no commerce with ſtrangers, though Guaddel and Diul, two ſea-ports, did, about a century ago, afford a good trade.

CHAP. XI.—*Treats of the Mogul's Dominions on the River Indus, particularly of the ancient Kingdom of Sindy, its Product and Commerce, Religion and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants, with a Deſcription of the River Indus.*

SINDY is the weſtmoſt province of the Mogul's dominions, on the ſea coaſt, and has Larribundar to its ſea mart, which ſtands about 5 or 6 leagues from the ſea, on a branch of the river Indus, capable to receive ſhips of 200 tons. It is but a village of about 100 houſes, built of crooked ſticks and mud; but it has a large ſtone fort, with four or five great guns mounted in it, to protect the merchandize brought thither from the robberies of the Ballowches and Mackrans that lie near them, to the weſtward, and the Jams to the eaſtward, who being borderers, are much given to thieving, and they rob all whom they are able to maſter. The former are revolted ſubjects of Perſia, and the other are ſubjects of the Mogul, but being ſecured from the awe of an army's coming to chaſtiſe their inſolency, by the marſhy grounds they live in, and the rapid tides of Indus, they make but little account of their Sovereign's power or orders, and ſo they commit depredations on the Caffillas that paſs to and fro between Tatta and Larribundar, notwithſtanding a guard of 100 or 200 horſe are ſent along with them, by the nabob or viceroy of Tatta, for protection, but often thoſe protectors ſuffer the Caffillas to be robbed, pretending the robbers are too numerous to be reſtrained by their ſmall forces, and afterwards come in ſharers with the robbers.

Tatta is the emporium of the province, a very large and rich city. It is about three miles long, and one and an half broad, and is about 40 miles diſtance from Larribundar, and has a large citadel on its weſt end, capable to lodge 5000 men and horſe, and has barracks and ſtables convenient for them, with a palace built in it for the nabob. All goods and merchandize imported or exported between Tatta and Larribundar, are tranſported on carriage beaſts, ſuch as camels, oxen, and horſes. The country is almoſt level, and overgrown with ſhrubs and buſhes, very fit to cover an ambuſcade, which the aforeſaid robbers often make uſe of, and ſuddenly ruſh out on a Caffilla, and whilſt the guards and carriers are fighting in one place, either of front, flank, or rear, the robbers drive away the beaſts with their packs. In anno 1699, a pretty rich Caffilla was robbed by a band of four and five thouſand villains: the guard conſiſting of 250 horſe were intirely cut off, and above 500 of the merchants and carriers, which ſtruck a terror on all that had commerce at Tatta.

It was my fortune, about four months after, to come to Larribundar, with a cargo from Malabar, worth above 10,000l. I could find no Tatta merchants that would meddle with my cargo before it was carried to Tatta; but agreed on the prices of moſt of the ſpecies of my goods: and finding no other remedy but travelling by land, in a Caffilla of 1500 beaſts, and as many, or more men and women, beſides 200 horſe for our guard, about the middle of January we ſet out; and after we had marched about 16 miles,

miles, our ſcouts brought in news of the Ballowches and Mackrans being juſt before us in great numbers. I had thirteen of my beſt firemen with me in front, where my beaſts were. We being all mounted on little horſes, alighted, and ſet our beaſts on our flanks and front, to ſerve us for a barricadoe, to defend us from ſword and target-men, which were the principal ſtrength of the robbers, and we, at the ſame time, had room enough to fire over our barricadoe. We were not long in that poſture, till the enemy ſent an herald on horſeback, with his ſword brandiſhing, and when he came within call of us, he threatened, that if we did not inſtantly ſurrender at diſcretion, we ſhould have no quarter. I had two of my ſeamen that ſhot as well with a fuzee as any ever I ſaw, for I have ſeen them at ſea, for diverſion, knock down a ſingle ſea-fowl with a ſingle bullet, as they were flying near our ſhip. I ordered one to knock down the herald, which he inſtantly did, by a bullet through his head. Another came preſently after, with the ſame threatenings, and met with the ſame treatment. The next that came, I ordered his horſe to be ſhot in the head, to try if we could take his rider, that we might learn ſomewhat of the enemy's ſtrength. The horſe was killed as ſoon as he appeared, and ſome of our horſe got the rider, and hewed him down, inſtead of bringing him to us. Our guard of horſe continually kept in the rear, but ſeeing what we had done in the front, took courage, and getting in amongſt the buſhes, met with ſome that had a deſign to attack our flank, and ſoon defeated them, which put the robbers in ſuch fear, that they betook themſelves to flight, and our horſe purſuing, put many to the ſword, ſo when they returned from the purſuit, we went on in our journey, and travelling four miles, came to a mud-wall fort, called Dungham, a proper Engliſh name for ſuch a fortification. It is built mid-way between Tatta and Larribundar, to ſecure the caffilla from being ſet upon in the night, who all lodge within it, men and beaſts promiſcuouſly, which makes it ſo naſty, that the Engliſh appellation is rightly beſtowed on it. There are about twenty little cottages built cloſe to it, who breed fowls, goats, and ſheep, to ſell to paſſengers. And theſe are all the houſes to be ſeen in the way between Tatta and Larribundar.

The news of a victory that I had over three Sanganian pirates at ſea, on my voyage from Malabar to Larribundar, had reached Tatta, before the ſecond ſkirmiſh by land, ſo that when I came to Tatta, we were received with acclamations from the populace, and the better ſort viſited us with preſents of ſweet-meats and fruits, aſcribing the ſafe arrival of the caffilla wholly to our courage and conduct.

We were lodged in a large convenient houſe of 15 rooms, and had good ware-houſes. The ſtairs from the ſtreet were intire porphyry, of 10 foot long, of a bright yellow colour, and as ſmooth as glaſs. They were about ten in number, and led up to a ſquare of 15 yards long, and about 10 broad. Next day we had a compliment from the nabob, of an ox, five ſheep, as many goats, twenty fowls, and fifty pigeons, with ſweet-meats and fruit in abundance. He, at that time, lay encamped about ſix miles from the town, with an army of 8 or 10,000 men, with a deſign to puniſh the Ballowches and Mackrans for robbing the caffilla and killing his men, as is before mentioned. He deſired me to let him know when we deſigned to drink a diſh of coffee with him, and he would ſend horſes to bring us to the camp. I returned thanks for his civility, and ſent him word, that I deſigned to kiſs his hand the very next day; and he accordingly ſent twenty fine Perſian horſes, well equipped, for my uſe, ten of which I accepted for myſelf and guard to mount, and the other ten were mounted with ſome of the moſt conſiderable merchants in Tatta, who went to accompany me out of reſpect; and to make our cavalcade appear with the greater grace, as ſoon as we came to the camp gate, we would have alighted, but an officer on horſeback told

us, that it was the nabob's pleaſure, that we ſhould be brought to his tent on horſeback, and he riding before us, conducted us to the tent door, and as ſoon as we got from our horſes, I was conducted into his own pavilion chamber, where he was ſitting alone. The reſt that came with me, were not admitted for an hour after. It would take a great deal of time and room to relate the compliments and other diſcourſes that paſt, but I knew the cuſtom, not to appear before great men with an empty hand. I deſired leave to lay a little preſent at his feet, which he permitted. It conſiſted of a looking-glaſs, of about 5l. in value, a gun, and a pair of piſtols well gilded, a ſabre blade and dagger blade gilded, and a glaſs pipe for his tobacco, and an embroidered ſtandiſh for it to ſtand in. He then ſent for all who had accompanied me into the room, and ſhewed the preſent I had made him, magnifying every piece of it; and after ſome encomiums on my valour and generoſity, told me, that I was a free deniſon of Tatta, with the addition of an indulgence of being free of all cuſtom and tax on all goods that I had brought or ſhould export, and that whoever bought any part of my cargo, and did not pay according to the agreement made for payment, I ſhould not be liable to ſeek for juſtice at the Cadjee's court, but to impriſon my debtors, and if that would not perſuade them to give ſatisfaction, he would ſell their wives, children, or neareſt relation to make good their debt. This privilege did me ſingular ſervice when the term of payments came, and was obliged to try the experiment of impriſoning. After three hours converſation, we took leave to go, and he diſmiſſed us with much civility, and told me, that when he returned from that expedition, he would repay my viſit at my lodgings; but in three months that I ſtaid, he did not return, but often ſent to enquire after my welfare, and how my affairs ſtood.

In travelling from Dungham towards Tatta, about four miles ſhort of the city, on ſmooth riſing ground, there are forty-two fine large tombs, which, from the plain, appeared to be a ſmall town. They are the burying places of ſome of the kings of Sindy, when that country was governed by its own kings. I went into the largeſt, which is built in the form of a cupola, and in the middle of it, ſtood a coffin-tomb, about three foot high, and ſeven foot long, with ſome others of a leſſer ſize. The materials of the cupola were yellow, green, and red porphyry, finely poliſhed, and the ſtones ſet in regular order, chequer ways, which variegation ſtrikes the eye with wonderful pleaſure. The tomb is about ten yards high, and ſeven in diameter. I was told, that it was the burying place of the laſt King of that country, who was robbed of his ſovereignty by Jehan Guire, grandfather to the famous Aurenzeb, in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, who, after he had him priſoner, bid him aſk what favours he would deſire for himſelf and children, and they ſhould be granted. He nobly replied, that all the favour he begged, was, that himſelf, his queen, and their children, might be buried in that tomb, which, in times of proſperity, he had built for that purpoſe, and had coſt him two lack of rupees, or 25,000l. ſterling, which requeſt his conqueror could not well refuſe.

Tatta city ſtands about two miles from the river Indus, in a ſpacious plain, and they have canals cut from the river, that bring water to the city, and ſome for the uſe of their gardens. The King's gardens were in pretty good condition in anno 1699, and were well ſtored with excellent fruits and flowers, particularly the moſt delicious pomegranates that ever I taſted.

For three years before I came there, no rain had fallen, which cauſed a ſevere plague to affect the town and circumjacent country, to ſuch a degree, that in the city only, above 80,000 died of it, that manufactured cotton and ſilk, and above one half of the city was deſerted and left empty. And that was one reaſon why the nabob had placed

 his

his camp in that place that I went to visit him at. The figure of the camp was a regular tetragon, and ditched about with a trench about three yards broad, and two deep. The ground taken out of the ditch was thrown upon the inside, about four foot high, and regularly built like a parapet. It had four gates, one in the middle of each curtain, and a straight street from the opposite gates, which made an exact cross in figure, and the nabob's tent was pitched in the middle of the cross. Each side of the tetragon was about 6 or 700 paces in length, and the ditches could be filled with water from the Indus, and let out at pleasure, into a large marsh about two miles off the camp.

The river Indus is navigable for their vessels, as high as Casmire, that lies in the latitude of 32 degrees, and one branch runs up to Cabul to the westward, and others to Penjeb, Lahore, Multan, Buckor, and other large provinces and cities to the eastward, and all share the benefits of the inland navigation. Their vessels are called Kifties, of several sizes. The largest can lade about 200 tons. They are flat-bottomed, and on each side cabins are built from stern to stem, that overhang about two foot; and in each cabin, is a kitchen and a place for exoneration, which falls directly in the water. Those cabins are hired out to passengers, and the hold, being made into separate apartments, are let out to freighters, so that every one has a lock on his own cabin and apartment in the hold, and has his goods always ready to dispose on at what places he finds his market. And indeed in all my travels I never saw better conveniencies of travelling by water. They have one mast of a good length, and a square-sail to use when the wind is a-stern, or on the quarter, but they never hale close by the wind. They are obliged to carry a great number of men for tracting them up against the stream, when the winds are against them, so that a voyage from Tatta to Lahore, they reckon six or seven weeks long, but from Lahore back, not above eighteen days, and sometimes it is performed in twelve.

At Tatta the river is about a mile broad, and where I tried with a lead and line, it was about six fathoms deep, from side to side. The stream is not very rapid, for its motion did not exceed two miles and an half in an hour. It produces many species of fresh-water fishes, and among them, the best carp that ever I saw or tasted. Some of them weigh above 20 pounds weight, and we have them alive in Tatta market. They have black cattle in great plenty, large and good, and most excellent mutton, of 80 or 100 pound weight. Their horses are small, but hardy and swift. Deer, antelopes, hares, and foxes are their wild game, which they hunt with dogs, leopards, and a small fierce creature, called by them a shoegoose. It is about the size of a fox, with long pricked ears like an hare, and a face like a cat, a gray back and sides, and belly and breast white I believe they are rare, for I never saw more than one. When they are taken out to hunt, an horseman carries it behind him, hood-winkt, and their deer and antelopes being pretty familiar, will not start before horses come very near. He who carries the shoegoose, takes off the hood, and shews it the game, which, with large swift springs, it soon overtakes, and leaping on their backs, and getting forward to the shoulders, scratches their eyes out, and gives the hunters an easy prey. The leopard runs down his game, which often gives the hunters a long chase, as well as the dogs, who will take the water when the game betake themselves to swimming, which they frequently do. They have store of peacocks, pigeons, doves, duck, teal, widgeon, wild geese, curlews, partridge, and plover, free for any body to shoot. They have a fruit, that grows in their fields and gardens, called Salob, about the size of a peach, but without a stone. They dry it hard before they use it, and being beaten to powder, they dress it as tea and coffee are, and take it with powdered sugar-candy. They are of opinion, that it is a great restorative to decayed animal spirits.

This country abounds richly in wheat, rice, and legumen, and provender for horses and cattle; and they never know the misery of famine, for the Indus overflows all the low grounds in the months of April, May, and June, and when the floods go off, they leave a fat slime on the face of the ground, which they till easily before it dries, and being sown and harrowed, never fails of bringing forth a plentiful crop.

The other productions of this and the inland country, are saltpetre, sal-ammoniack, borax, opoponax, assa-fœtida, goat bezoar, lapis tutiæ and lapis lasuli, and raw silk, but not fine.

They manufacture in wrought silks, which they call Jemawaars, in cotton and silk, called Cuttenees, and in silk mixed with Carmania wool, called Culbuleys, in calicoes coarse and fine, sheer and close wrought. Their cloth called Jurries, is very fine and soft, and lasts beyond any other cotton cloth that I have used. They make chints very fine and cheap, and coverlets for beds very beautiful. They make fine cabinets, both lacked and inlaid with ivory. And the best bows and arrows in the world are made at Multan, of buffaloes' horns They lack wooden dishes and tables, but not so well as in China. The lack is clear enough, but always clammy. They export great quanties of butter, which they gently melt, and put up in jars, called duppas, made of the hides of cattle, almost in the figure of a globe, with a neck and mouth on one side. They are made of all sizes, from those that contain 320 pounds, to those of five, and that butter keeps, without salt, the whole year round, but as it grows old, it becomes rank.

The wood Ligna Dulcis grows only in this country. It is rather a weed than a wood, and nothing of it is useful but the root, called Putchock, or radix dulcis. I never heard it is used in physick, but is a good ingredient in the composition of perfumes. There are great quantities exported for Surat, and from thence to China, where it generally bears a good price, for being all idolaters, and burning incense before their images, this root beaten into fine powder, and an incense-pot laid over smoothly with ashes, and a furrow made in the ashes, about a quarter of an inch broad, and as much in depth, done very artificially into a great length, the powder is put into that furrow, and fired, and it will burn a long time like a match, sending forth a fine smoke, whose smell is very grateful, the powder having the good qualities of maintaining and delaying the fire.

The religion, by law established, is Mahometan; but there are ten Gentows or Pagans for one Mussulman. But the city of Tatta is famous for learning in theology, philology, and politicks, and they have above four hundred colleges for training up youth in those parts of learning. I was very intimate with a Seid, who was a professor in theology, and was reckoned to be a good historian. He asked me one day, if I had heard of Alexander the Great in my country. I told him I had, and I mentioned his battle with Porus, and his victory. He told me, that their histories mentioned the same, but with some difference in the two kings names, and Alexander's passage over Indus. He said, that their history mentioned Shaw Hasander and Prorus, and that Alexander was a great magician, and summoning above a million of wild geese, they swam his army over the river, and that Porus's elephants would never turn their heads towards the place where Alexander was.

The Portugueze had formerly a church at the east end of the city. The house is still intire, and in the [illegible]ry are some old pictures of saints, and some holy vestments, which they proffered to sell, but I was no merchant for such bargains.

The Gentows have full toleration for their religion, and keep their fasts and feasts as in former times, when the sovereignty was in Pagan princes hands. They burn their dead, but the wives are restrained from burning with the corps of their husbands.

 There

There is a very great consumption of elephants' teeth, for 'tis the fashion for ladies to wear rings of ivory from their arm-pits to their elbows, and from their elbows to their wrists, of both arms; and when they die, all those ornaments are burnt along with them.

They had several feasts when I was there, but one they kept on sight of a new moon in February, exceeded the rest in ridiculous actions and expence; and this is called the feast of Wooly, who was a knight-errant in time of yore, and was a fierce fellow in a war with some giants, who infested Sindy, and carried away naughty girls and boys, and made butcher meat of them. This Wooly, in a battle one day, killed fifty of them, each of them as tall as a tree, and after he had dispatched them, he led them down to hell, and there they continue bound up to their good behaviour, and are never to appear again on earth, for fear they should scare the King's liege-subjects, or frighten children.

In this mad feast, people of all ages and sexes, dance through the streets to pipe, drum, and cymbals. The women, with baskets of sweetmeats on their heads, distributing to every body they meet. The men are bedaubed all over with red earth, or vermilion, and are continually squirting gingerly oil at one another, and if they get into houses of distinction, they make foul work with their oil, whose smell is not pleasant; but in giving a present of rose-water, or some silver coin, they are civil enough to keep out of doors. And in this madness they continue from 10 in the morning till sun-set.

The river of Sindy would be hard to be found, were it not for the tomb of a Mahometan saint, who has an high tower built over him, called Sindy Tower. It is always kept white to serve as a land-mark. The bar, going into the river, is narrow, and has not above two fathoms and an half, on spring tides, but this is only a small branch of Indus, which appellation is now lost in this country that it so plentifully waters, and is called Divellee, or Seven Mouths, but it disembogues itself into the sea through many more.

CHAP. XII.—*Gives an Account of the ancient Kingdom of Guzerat, now a Province annexed to the Mogul's Dominions, its Situation, Product, Manners and Religion, with some Account of the Pirates that inhabit Part of it, and some Observations on Diu, a Portugueze City on an Island appertaining to Guzerat.*

THE next maritime country to Sindy, is Guzerat. The Indus makes it an island, by a branch that runs into the sea at the city of Cambaya. This province, though vassals to the Mogul, yet continue in their old religion of Paganism, and for the most part, drive the old trade of thieving and pirating, for they plunder all whom they can overcome, on both elements: nor can the Mogul restrain them, for their country is secure from the marches of armies into it, by reason of the many inlets of the sea that overflow the low grounds, and make it so soft and muddy, that there is no travelling but by little boats, in many places.

The first town on the south side of Indus, is Cutchnaggen. It admits of some trade, and produces cotton, corn, coarse cloth, and chonk, a shell-fish in shape of a perriwinkle, but as large about as a man's arm above the elbow. In Bengal they are sawed into rings for ornaments to womens' arms, as those of Sindy wear ivory rings. They are in fashion in many countries in India. The province and town of Cutchnaggen are governed by a queen, who is very formidable to her neighbouring states. The reasons

reasons they give for choosing that sex for their governesses, are, that they'll be better advised by their council than men, who, by too large a share of power and honour placed on them, become obstinate in their opinions, and insolent in their behaviour: but ladies are esteemed complaisant and gentle.

The next province to Cutchnaggen, is Sangania, which is also governed by a princess, for the above reasons Their sea-port is called Baet, very commodious and secure. They admit of no trade, but practise piracy They give protection to all criminals, who deserve punishment from the hand of justice. All villains in the countries about flock thither, and become honest robbers, so that they are a medley of criminals, who flee their country for fear of condign punishment due to their crimes. This province produces cotton and corn, as all the kingdom of Guzerat does, but they admit of no trade in their country, as I observed before, for fear of being civilized by example. I had several skirmishes with them. They, being confident of their numbers, strive to board all ships they can come at by sailing. Before they engage in fight, they drink Bang, which is made of a seed like hemp-seed, that has an intoxicating quality, and whilst it affects the head, they are furious. They wear long hair, and when they let that hang loose, they'll give no quarter.

In anno 1686, a small ship of theirs, that mounted eight guns, and manned with 300 of these furious fellows was cruizing on the coast of India, between Surat and Bombay, and the Phœnix, an English man of war of 42 guns was bound for Surat. The Sanganian made towards her, and engaged her, but would fain have been gone again when they found their mistake, but that was impossible. The Phœnix sent her boats, well manned, to try if they could make them yield, in order to save their lives; but they scorned quarter, and killed and wounded many of the English so that Captain Tyrrel, who commanded the Phœnix, was forced to run his lower tier out, and sink them: and after their ship was sunk, and the miscreants set a swimming, yet most of them refused quarter and only about 70 were taken alive. (I believe Sir George Bing can give a better account of the story than I, for if I mistake not, he was a lieutenant then on board the Phœnix, and received a dangerous wound in the combat at least one of his name, who bore a commission, did) In anno 1717, they attacked a ship called the Morning Star, in her passage between Gombroon and Surat. She was richly laden, which they were apprised of, and two squadrons were fitted out from two different ports, to way-lay her, and accordingly she fell in with eight sail of those pirates. One was a large ship of near 500 tons, and three others were ships between 2 and 300 tons, and the other four were grabs, or gallies, and sheybars, or half gallies. They reckoned in all there were above 2000 men in their fleet, and the Morning Star but 17 fighting men, who were resolved to trust to Providence, and fight for their lives, liberty, and estate. The first attack was by the greatest ship alone, but was soon obliged to sheer off again, with the loss of some men, and the captain of the Morning Star was wounded in the thigh, by a lance darted at him, that pierced his thigh through and through. The pirates were not discouraged by this first repulse, but joined their forces and counsels together, and, after a day's respite and consultation, they attacked the Morning Star a second time, the two largest ships boarding, one on her bow, and another on her quarter, and three more boarded them two, and entered their men over them. The combat was warm for four hours, and the Morning Star had seven killed, and as many wounded; but kind Providence assisted her. Whilst she was on fire in three places, and had burnt through her poop and half deck, she was disengaged of them, and left five of the largest so entangled with one another, that they could not pursue her. So she pursued her voyage to Surat, but having no surgeon

surgeon on board, she called at Bombay, to get her wounded men dressed and cured. In the time of the combat, while the pirates were on board the Morning Star, twenty-one Indian seamen went on board of them, and twenty-six merchants had gone to them, to try if they could persuade them to take a sum, and not put it on the hazard of a battle. All those they detained, and carried along with them, and made them pay above 600l. for their ransom, who gave an account afterwards of great slaughter done on the pirates. And the commodore lost his head as soon as he landed, for letting so rich a prize go out of his hands.

In anno 1698, one Captain Lavender, in the ship Thomas, bound from Surat to Mocha, encountered four sail of those freebooters, and fought them bravely; but they burnt the ship and all her crew, because he would not yield. They are very cruel to those they can master, if they make resistance, but to those that yield without fighting, they are pretty civil.

The next sea-port town to Baet, is Jigat. It stands on a point of low land, called Cape Jigat. The city makes a good figure from the sea, shewing four or five high steeples. It is the seat of a Fouzdaar or governor, for the Mogul. It is a place of no trade, and consequently little known to strangers.

The next maritime town is Mangaroul It admits of trade, and affords coarse calicoes, white and dyed, wheat, pulse, and butter for export, and has a market for pepper, sugar, and beetlenut. It is inhabited by Banyans, and wild deer, antelopes, and peacocks are so familiar, that they come into the very houses without fear.

The next place is Poreman, a pretty large town on the sea-shore, and admits of trade, producing the same commodities as Mangaroul, and its inhabitants are of the same religion, but both towns are obliged to keep Rasspouts to protect them from the insults of the Sanganians.

Those Rasspouts are natives of Guzerat, and are all gentlemen of the sword, and are well trained in the art of killing. They, like the Switz, employ their swords in the service of those who give them best pay. They seldom give or take quarter and when they go on an expedition, they carry their wives and children in carts and waggons along with them, and if they meet with a repulse, their wives will never suffer cohabitation till they can regain their lost honour by some noble exploit.

Diu is the next port, and is the southermost land on Guzerat. It is a small island of three miles long, and two broad, belonging to the crown of Portugal. The city is pretty large and fortified by an high stone wall, with bastions at convenient distances, well furnished with cannon to flank it, and a deep mote hewn out of a hard rock, to defend it on the land side, which is about one third part of the city. The other parts are fortified by nature, having the ocean thick set with dangerous rocks and high cliffs, who forbid any approaches on that side, and a rapid deep river, that affords a good harbour, on the north-east side. The harbour is secured by two castles, one large, that can bring 100 large cannon to bear on the mouth of the harbour, to forbid shipping entrance without leave. The other is but small, and is built irregularly on a rock in the middle of the river, and channels for shipping to pass by it, within ten yards of its walls. It is made use of for a magazine for powder and other warlike stores.

It is one of the best built cities, and best fortified by nature and art, that ever I saw in India, and its stately buildings of free stone and marble, are sufficient witnesses of its ancient grandeur and opulency; but at present not above one fourth of the city is inhabited. It contains five or six fine churches, which are great ornaments to the city, which stands on a rising ground of an easy ascent from the great castle; and the churches being built wide from one another, and standing gradually higher than one another,

another, make the Visto from the sea admirably pleasant, by shewing all their beautiful fronts that way. And within they are well decorated with images and paintings.

There is a tradition, that the Portugueze circumvented the King of Guzerat, as Dido did the Africans, when they gave her leave to build Carthage, by desiring no more ground to build their cities than could be circumscribed in an ox's hide, which having obtained, they cut it into a fine thong of a great length, and over-reached their donors in the measure of the ground.

After the city was built and fortified, it drew all the trade from the King's towns of commerce thither, which made him heartily repent his generosity; and he made proposals to the Portugueze to reimburse all the charge and expence they had been at, if they would restore that island again, but he could never persuade them to that bargain, and since fair means would not do, he designed to try what might be obtained by force, wherefore he raised a great army, and besieged it, but was soon forced to draw off again with loss, for the Portugueze large cannon from their walls disturbed and distressed his camp so, that he found but little safety for himself, and much less for his host.

This city came to such an height of trade and riches in the sixteenth century, that it drew a very potent enemy from the Red Sea, for about the year 1540, the Turks designing to have a footing in India, cast their eyes on Diu, as being conveniently situated, and well fortified for their purpose, so they came in a fleet of gallies and transports 25,000 strong, from Aden, and landed on the west end of the island, and laid siege to the city; but the Portugueze sent a reinforcement from Goa, of twenty sail, some of which were large ships or galleons, who carried heavy metal, with which they battered the Turkish fleet, being small vessels, that many Turks were sunk, and the bashaw was forced to make off with great loss and shame, and leave their battering artillery to the Portugueze, for which misfortune and disgrace he lost his head when he returned to Aden.

But about the year 1670, the Muskat Arabs had better fortune, for they came with a fleet of trankies, and took an opportunity to land in the night, on the west end of the island, without being discovered, and marched silently close up to the town, and at break of day, when the gates were opened, they entered without resistance. The alarm was soon spread over the town, and happy was he who got first to the castle gates, but those who had heavy heels were sacrificed to the enemy's fury, who spared none, so in a moment that fair rich city, and churches, were left to the mercy of the Arabs, who, for three days, loaded their vessels with rich plunder, and mounted some cannon in a great beautiful church, and fired at the fort, but to little purpose. The governor, who was in the castle, could soon have obliged them to remove farther off the castle, by the force of his heavy cannon, yet the priesthood forbid him firing at the church, on pain of excommunication, lest some unlucky shot should sacrilegiously have defaced some holy image.

But the Arabs, like a parcel of unsanctified rogues, made sad havock on the churches trumpery, for besides robbing them of all the sanctified plate and cash, they did not leave one gold or silver image behind them, but carried all into dismal captivity, from whence they never returned that I could hear of. And as for the poor images of wood and stone, they were so rudely treated by those barbarous infidels, that they came well off if they lost but a limb, and I saw some who lost their heads: but by the indefatigable industry of the clergy, their churches are again as well or better furnished with well carved images of wood and stone than they were before; but I saw none of gold or silver to supply the places of the poor captives.

However,

However, before the Arabs had done plundering, they became secure and negligent, which the governor having notice of, proclaimed freedom to all slaves who would venture to sally out on the enemy. Accordingly about 4000 soldiers and slaves made a sally with success, killing above 1000 Arabs, and made the rest flee from the town, the assailants losing but very few; and by that one sally the town was regained. These slaves are generally Mosambique and Mombass negroes, whose strength and bravery I have mentioned before. The city still feels the dismal effects of the loss it then received. At present there are not above 200 Portugueze both in the castle and city. The rest of its inhabitants are Banyans of all sorts, there may be about 40,000, but few of them of fortune or figure, because the insolence of the Portugueze makes it unsafe for moneyed strangers to dwell among them. The King of Portugal has about 12,000l. per annum, of poll money paid into his treasury, and the customs and land-tax may come to about 6000l. more: but if that island were in the hands of some industrious European nation, it would be the best mart town on the coast of India, for the river Indus being near neighbours, both by Sindy and Cambay, those commodities might be imported and exported to advantage. And that commerce has raised Surat.

All the country between Diu and Dand Point, which is about 30 leagues along shore, admits of no traffick, being inhabited by freebooters, called Warrels, and often associate with the Sanganians, in exercising piracies and depredations. They confide much in their numbers, as the others do, and strive to board their prizes, and as soon as they get on board, they throw in showers of stones on the prize's decks, in order to sink them that way, if they don't yield, and they have earthen pots as big as a six pound granadoe shell, full of unquenched lime, well sifted, which they throw in also, and the pots breaking, there arises so great a dust, that the defendants can neither breathe nor see well. They also use wicks of cotton, dipped in a combustible oil, and firing the wick, and throwing it into their opposer's ship, it burns violently, and sets fire to the parts that it is thrown on. They have no cities, and their villages are small. The best of them stands about 60 miles to the eastward of Diu, and is called Chance. It is built about a league within the mouth of a river, which has a small island lying athwart it, about two miles into the sea. The island has good springs of fresh water, but no inhabitants. In anno 1716 the English went to burn that village, and their pirating vessels, but were unsuccessful in their undertaking. The Warrels occupy all the sea-coast as high as Goga, which lies about 12 leagues within the Gulf of Cambay. And the coast, from Dand Point to Goga, is very dangerous, being thick set with rocks and sand banks, and a rapid tide runs amongst them of 6 or 8 miles in an hour, in a channel that is 20 fathoms deep in some places, which causes anchoring to be dangerous also.

Goga is a pretty large town, and has had some mud-wall fortifications, which still defend them from the insults of their neighbours the Coulies, who inhabit the north-east side of Guzerat, and are as great thieves by land as their brethren the Warrels and Sanganians are by sea: nor is there any land army that can come into their country to chastise them, for there are so many rivulets made by Indus and the sea, that are so soft and muddy at the bottom, that there is neither passage for men nor horse to penetrate their country. And their towns are invironed with such thick hedges of green bamboos, which are not to be burned in a short time, and the people so numerous and valiant, that it would be an hard task to civilize them.

Goga has ſome trade, admitting ſtrangers to a free commerce in ſuch merchandize as are fit to be imported or exported to or from Guzerat. It has the conveniency of an harbour for the largeſt ſhips, though they lie dry on ſoft mud, at low water; but the tides riſing four or five fathoms perpendicular, afford water enough at high water. The town is governed by an officer from the Mogul, who commands about 200 men, who are kept there for a guard to it.

CHAP. XIII.—*Gives an Account of Cambay, Baroach, and Surat; with ſeveral Occurrences that happened to them.*

CAMBAY, or, as the natives call it, Cambaut, about 12 leagues from Goga, in the bottom of the Gulf of Cambay, on a ſmall river, that is ſent by the overflowing of the Indus into that gulf or bay, is a large city, with high walls, and was formerly the metropolis of a kingdom that bore the city's name; but Eckbar, great grandfather to Aurengzeb, ſent his ſon, Jehan Guire, with a great army in the ſixteenth century, and conquered it, and annexed it to the empire of the Great Mogul.

It is ſtill a place of good trade, though not half inhabited, and it contributes very much to the wealth and grandeur of Surat, to which it is ſubordinate, and its vicinity to Amadabant, from whence it is about 150 miles diſtant, makes it ſhare the advantages of that great city, which, in magnitude and wealth, is little inferior to the beſt towns in Europe. What it exports by ſea, comes moſt to Cambay, and is carried by the Surat ſhipping all over India, except what European ſhips carry for Europe.

The product and manufactories of Cambay are inferior to few towns in India. It abounds in grain and cattle, cotton and ſilk. The cornelian and agate ſtones are found in its rivers, and no where elſe in the world. Of cornelian they make rings, and ſtones for ſignets, and of the agate, cabinets, intire ſtone except the lids. I have ſeen ſome of 14 or 15 inches long, and 8 or 9 deep, valued at 30 or 40l. ſterling. They alſo make bowls of ſeveral ſizes of agate, and ſpoons, and handles of ſwords, daggers, and knives, and buttons, and ſtones to ſet in ſnuff-boxes, of great value.

They embroider the beſt of any people in India, and perhaps in the world. Their fine quilts were formerly carried to Europe. I have ſeen ſome worth 40l. ſterling, and ſome cornelian rings, above double their weight in gold. The Patanners are their near neighbours. They are moſtly horſemen, and bold fellows, who borrow round ſums from the city, by way of compulſion, and the Raſhpouts and Coulies make inroads into this province, and plunder even to the gates of the city, and ſometimes have ſurpriſed, and plundered the city itſelf, for which neglect the governor's heads anſwered.

In anno 1716, they were very bold and preſumptuous, ſo that there was a ſtop put to all the commerce of Amadabant and Cambay. The governor of Surat got an army of 20,000 to chaſtiſe and reſtrain them, but they laid ſo many ambuſcades, that, in two months, the army was reduced to leſs than half the number, and the reſt were obliged to get home, with ſorrowful hearts, to Surat.

The next town of note for commerce, is Baroach, a walled town, ſtanding on a riſing ground, on the banks of the river Nerdaba. Formerly it was a place of great trade, but in Aurengzeb's wars with his brothers, about the year 1660, this town held out a great while againſt his army. That ſeaſon proving a dry one, Aurengzeb's folks ſuffered much for want of freſh water and proviſions, but at laſt he took it, and put all to the ſword that had borne arms againſt him, and razed part of the walls, and pro-

 nounced

nounced a curse on them that should repair them again. But the Sevajee's incursions made him order the rebuilding them himself, and he christened it Suckabant, or the Dry City; but that new name could not efface the old one, which it yet retains. It is now inhabited by weavers, and such mechanicks as manufacture cotton cloth. And the Baroach Bastas are famous throughout all India, the country producing the best cotton in the world. This town is also subordinate to Surat, and formerly the English and Dutch had factories settled there, but of late have withdrawn them.

Surat is the next sea-port. It was built about the year 1660, on the banks of the river Tapta or Tappee, which being discommoded with banks of sand at Rannier, the then mart town on this river, the English removed about two miles farther down the river, on the opposite side, near a castle which had been built many years before, to secure the trade from the insults of the Malabar pirates, who used to lord it over all the sea-coast between Cape Comorin and Cambay. In a little time after the English had settled there, others followed their example, so that in a few years it became a large town, but without walls, and so it continued till about the aforesaid year, that Rajah Sevajee, who had never submitted to the Mogul's domination, came with an army, and plundered it, except the European factories, who stood on their guard. Them he complimented with the proffer of his friendship, because perhaps he apprehended, that he could not plunder them without bloodshed and loss of time. However he carried away a very great booty, which made the inhabitants petition Aurengzeb to secure them for the future, by a wall round their town, which favour he granted, enclosing about four miles to build their city in, but trade increasing, the town was too small within the walls to contain the people that came about commerce, wherefore several large suburbs were added to the city for the conveniency of mechanicks. The wall was built of brick, about eight yards high, with round bastions, 200 paces distant from one another, and each had five or six cannon mounted on them. And the rich men of the town built many summer-houses in the fields, and planted gardens about them to solace themselves and families in the heats, which are pretty violent in April, May, and June.

The city flourished in trade till anno 1686, that the English company disturbed its tranquillity by an unjust war they made on Surat, but pretended it was not with the Mogul, who had given them many indulgences, which war I'll remark when I treat of Bombay, but that war was ended in anno 1689, neither to the profit nor honour of that East India Company. In anno 1695, Captain Evory, a pirate, disturbed the trade and tranquillity of the town with four small ships, taking one of the Mogul's ships, with a great booty in silver and gold, and a Mahometan lady, as I observed before on the commerce of the Red Sea and the island of Madagascar. And since that time, this city has felt many convulsions in its trade.

In anno 1705, when Aurengzeb began to be crazy with old age, the circumjacent Rajahs, with an united force of fourscore thousand horse, came and besieged Surat, and plundered all the villages in the plain country, but having no artillery, they could do but little harm to the city itself, besides straitening it a little for provisions, but the city having their river and sea open, that difficulty was removed by plentiful supplies brought them from Guzerat.

These freebooters go under the general appellation of Gennims, but they are composed of the aforementioned Warrels, Coulies, Rasspouts, Patanners, and Gracias. These Gracias were formerly the landed men of this country, and, upon their submission to Ecbar, the then Emperor of Mogul, articled to have the ground rents paid to them, and their posterity; but the nabobs often defraud them, and they, to put the

 governors

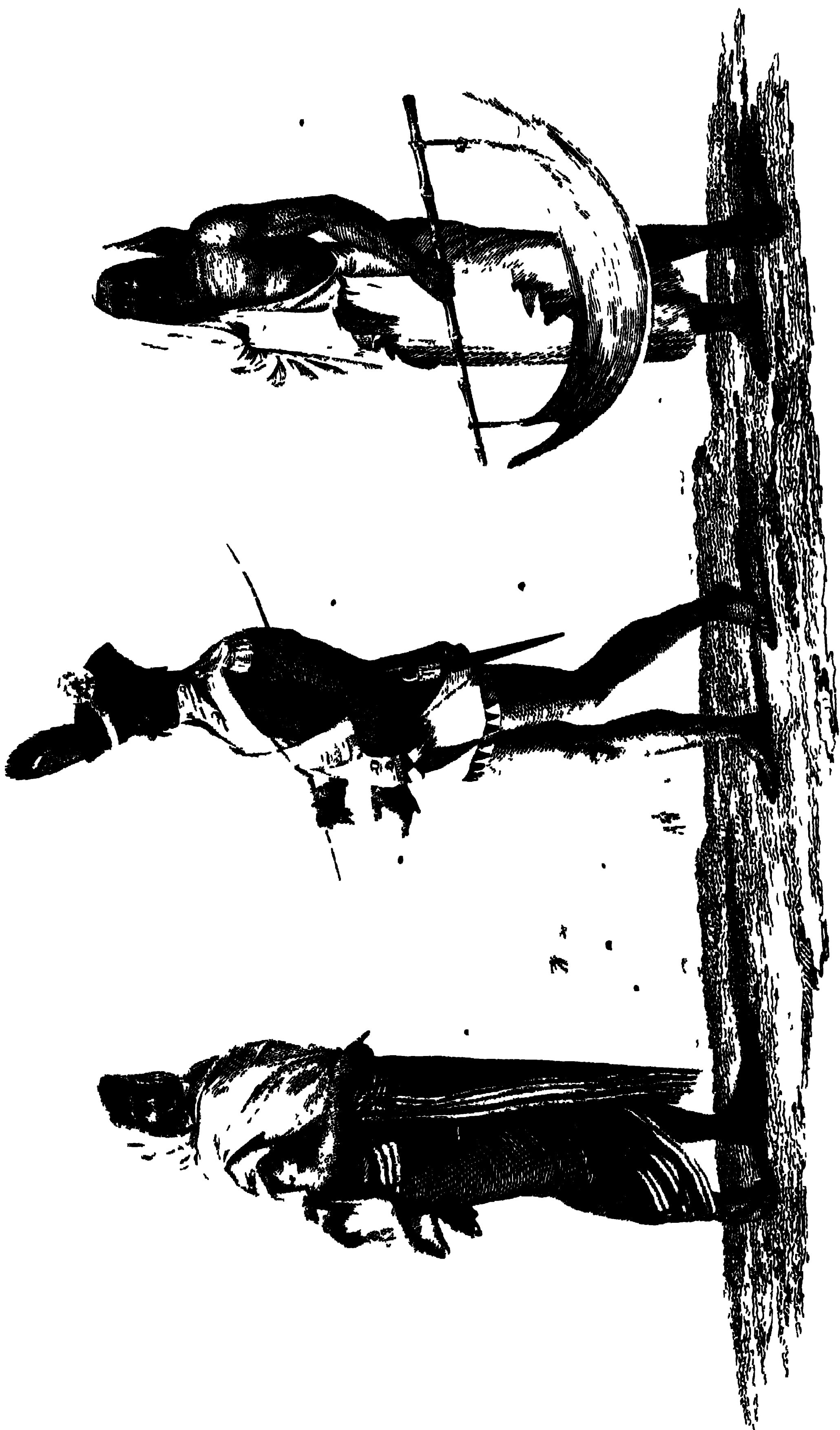
governors of towns and villages in mind of the contract, come in great numbers, and plunder, or lay them under contribution.

But, whilst this rabble army lay before the town, the citizens built sconces in convenient places, about half a mile without the wall, to protect the suburbs, and all those sconces had cannon mounted on them, which kept the Gennims at a distance; and, after the sconces were finished, they built a good high wall between each sconce, that encompassed the whole suburbs, which wall is about five miles in length from the bank of the river above the town, to that part that terminates below the town; and all the inclosure is well inhabited. The inhabitants are computed at 200,000 souls; and amongst them are many very rich, both Mahometans and Gentiles. Abdul Gafour, a Mahometan that I was acquainted with, drove a trade equal to the English East India Company, for I have known him fit out in a year, above twenty sail of ships, between 300 and 800 tons, and none of them had less of his own stock than 10,000l. and some of them had 25,000l.; and, after that foreign stock was sent away, he behoved to have as much more of an inland stock for the following year's market. When he died, he left his estate to two grandsons, his own son, who was his only child, dying before him. But the court had a fling at them, and got above a million sterling of their estate.

The trade of Surat was, and still is very considerable, for, from anno 1690, to 1705, the revenues arising from the custom-house, land rents, and poll money, *communibus annis*, came to 1,300,000 rupees, which is sterling 162,500l. And the revenue of Amadabant is generally reckoned ten times as much as Surat. The customs in the King's books are but 2 per cent. for Mahometans, and 5 per cent. for Gentiles. The land pays three quarters of its product in corn, and the poll about a crown a head; but the rich generally assist the poor, some paying for ten, some for 100, and some for 1000. This account I had from an officer, called the Vaccanaviece, who is obliged yearly to take in the accounts of the collections, and send them to court. Besides the current news that monthly occur in his district, he sends to the vizier by post.

The post in the Mogul's dominions goes very swift, for at every caravanseray, which are built on the high-roads, about ten miles distant from one another, men, very swift of foot, are kept ready. The letters are inclosed in a gilded box, which he that carries holds over his head when he comes near the Seray, and giving notice of his arrival, another takes it, and runs to the next, and so on, night and day, at five or six miles in an hour, till it is carried where directed to, so that in eight days, advices are brought from the farthest parts of that large empire, to court. And those couriers are called Dog Chouckies.

In the city of Surat there are as many different religions as in Amsterdam. That by law established, is Mahometan, of Hali's sect, and they are called Moors. Then there are Persians and Turks, and some called Musey, who observe Moses's law as well as the Alcoran, and another sect, called Molacks, who observe some ancient heathenish customs and feasts; but all the others reckon them heretucks. They have a yearly feast, but the time of its celebration is only known to themselves, wherein, after much mirth and jollity, each sex withdraw to a room. The women take each an handkerchief, (or some such sign that may be again known) and go in the dark promiscuously among the men, and, without speaking, lie down together on mats or carpets spread for that purpose, and enjoy one another's company some hours, then withdraw to their own room, leaving their signals with their bedfellows, who know whom they have been caressed by; but very often they find incestuous embraces, which at that feast are only lawful. Aurengzeb made it death to be found at those meetings, yet that



execrable rite is still continued and practised. And Abdul Gafour, the rich merchant aforementioned, was a disciple of that sect.

The Banyans are most numerous in this city, and are either merchants, bankers, brokers or pen-men, as accountants, collectors and surveyors, but few or none handy-crafts, except taylors and barbers. They have eighty-five different sects among them, that do not eat with one another. The greatest part of the eastern religion is in forms of worship, and abstaining from certain meats; and their priests differ as much in those points, and some others of doctrine, as Papists and Protestants do; for the Brahamans or Bramanies are the priests of the major part of those sects, who gull the people when any are dangerously sick, by persuading them to leave legacies to the church, as some pious Christians do among us, and when they obtain a legacy, they gratefully acknowledge the receipt of it, by putting a scroll of paper into the dead person's hand, containing an account of the legacy, with a bill at the bottom, to receive ten times the value in the other world, from some eminent saint that deals in such bills of exchange in Paradise. They have patriarchs and bishops to superintend the inferior clergy, who, by virtue of a divine right, live splendidly and luxuriously on the oblations of the people.

The other sects are taught by the Talapoins, who declaim against that papistical polity, and preach up morality to be the best guide to human life, and affirm, that a good life in this world can only recommend us in the next, to have our souls transmigrated into the body of some innocent beast, or to rest in Paradise.

Their priests indeed shew much self-denial, for they live on alms, and their pontificalia is a white sheet that covers their bodies, from the shoulders downwards, a black staff about five feet long in their hand, and a small earthen pot, with some powdered saffron and oil, to mark those on the forehead that have received their benediction that day. When they go abroad, the old carries a novice in his company, to teach him divinity and morality by example. They seldom speak in the streets, but look gravely and demurely, and they extend their charity even to beasts and birds. They suffer their hair to grow as low as their shoulders, and have no other covering on their heads, and keep their beards shaved.

Another sort of them are doctors of physick, who pretend to do great cures by amulets, philtres, and prayers. They have some skill in simples and minerals, which makes them in great esteem, but when their skill in physick produces not the promised effects, then they persuade the patient, that they lie under the displeasure of some angry deity, who must be appeased by oblations and penances, which they turn to good account, by ordering the offerings and penance to be light; and when that trick fails, they leave their patients to work out their own salvation the best way they can.

There is another sort called Jougies, who practise great austerities and mortifications. They contemn worldly riches, and go naked, except a bit of cloth about their loins, and some deny themselves even that, delighting in nastiness and an holy obscenity, with a great shew of sanctity. They never cut nor comb their hair, and besmear their bodies and faces with ashes, which makes them look more like devils than men. I have seen a sanctified rascal of seven feet high, and his limbs well proportioned, with a large turband of his own hair wreathed about his head, and his body bedaubed with ashes and water, sitting quite naked under the shade of a tree, with a pudenda like an ass, and an hole bored through his prepuce, with a large gold ring fixed in the hole. This fellow was much revered by numbers of young married women, who, prostrating themselves before the living Priapus, and taking him devoutly in their hands, kissed him, whilst his bawdy owner stroked their silly heads, muttering some filthy prayers for their prolification.

The

The auſterities of the Jougies are beyond belief to thoſe who have not been eye-witneſſes of them. Some ſtand on one foot ſome years, with their arms tied to ſome beam of an houſe, or branch of a tree over their heads, and continue in that poſture, except when nature calls for exoneration, for others feed them whilſt they ſtand. Their arms in time ſettle in that poſture, that ever after they become uſeleſs, and are not to be brought again into their natural poſition. Some ſit in the ſun-ſhine, with their faces looking upwards, till they are incapable of altering the poſture of their necks, their gullet ſwelling almoſt as thick as their heads; and they alſo take no ſuſtenance with their own hands. Others clench their fiſt, and tie them in that poſture till their finger nails come through the back of their hands. And their faſtings are as incredible. I ſaw a woman of about thirty years of age, who made a vow of faſting three months, to avert ſome impending calamity threatened by heaven, that ſhe pretended to foreſee. The governor of Surat being a zealous Mahometan, (who generally diſcourage Gentiliſm, and ſtrive to detect their legerdemain miracles) ordered the ſaid woman to be put into a priſon without windows, without any other ſuſtenance than fair water, and to be well guarded by Mahometans, to avoid impoſture. About eighty days after ſhe was impriſoned, I and ſeveral other Europeans paid her a viſit, and got the door opened to obſerve her aſpect. We found her in health, but very weak, and her pulſe beat very low. Her keepers declared, that, ſhe had taken no ſuſtenance, but a very ſmall quantity of water, all the while they had the overſeeing of her, nor did ſhe ever deſire any food. She told us, that three or four years before, ſhe had faſted ſixty days on the ſame account.

Yet in anno 1721, the governor detected a great piece of impoſture of the Jougies, who paid pretty dear for their impudence. One of thoſe ſilly zealots, who pretended to more ſanctity than his neighbours, gave out, that he would be buried (in a grave ten feet deep) alive, and that he would appear at Amadabant, which is diſtant from Surat about 200 miles, within the ſpace of fifteen days. The grave was dug, and he went in, and had ſome reeds placed about a foot or two over his head, to keep the mould off that was to be thrown over him. There was a large jar of water ſtanding under the ſhade of a great tree, about ten or twelve yards from the grave, where a good number of Jougies had for ſome time taken up their quarters, they were accomplices in the impoſture, and, by their pretended ſanctity and great intereſt with heaven, had gulled many poor people into a belief of their ſtory, and many brought preſents to them. But the governor of Surat ordered a party of ſoldiers to ſee the Jougie interred, and to ſee that no impoſture ſhould be uſed about his pretended reſurrection, and to ſearch well, that there ſhould be no ſubterraneous communication between the grave and any place that might be ſuſpected above ground, and accordingly ſearching narrowly, they ſuſpecting ſome place about the root of the tree might afford a paſſage, ordered the Jougies to remove a little out of their way, which they did willingly, and finding no viſto that might be ſuſpected, they ordered the Jougies to remove their great water jar, which was near full of water, but the Jougies clamoured loud againſt that breach of their privilege, in touching their water. but their noiſe made the Mahometans' ſuſpiſcion grow ſtronger, and the jar was either removed or broken, and behold, where the jar ſtood, they diſovered a mine that reached within two feet of the grave, which cheat being thus detected, the angry ſoldiers fell to work with their broad ſwords, to try if their ſanctity was proof againſt ſharp ſteel, but found, an experiment of laying a dozen or more dead on the ground, and twice as many imed with wounds, that they were as eaſily killed or wounded as other honeſt folks.

The

The poor miracle-monger loſt his head in the fray. That ſpoiled his journey to Amadabant, and, which was worſe, brought great ſcandal on the whole order.

I was one day walking by the ſide of a great tank or pond near Surat, in company with an Engliſh lady, and ſeeing a young Jougy ſitting by the tomb of a celebrated Cutteree, who are a ſect that bury their dead, the youth ſeemed to be very devout in prayer; but, by the lady's order, I interrupted him, and aſking him why he prayed there, and to whom did he direct his prayer, he anſwered that he prayed to God to make him as good a man as he was who lay interred there. I aſked him where God was, at which he ſeemed to ſmile, and aſked me, where is he not? and ſo continued a little ſpace in prayer, and when he had done, he took ſome flowers and grain, with a little water, and beſprinkled the tomb, and making ſome decent cringings towards the tomb, took a formal leave to go his way.

CHAP. XIV.—*Is a Continuation of my Obſervations of the Religions and Cuſtoms uſed in Surat and the adjacent Country.*

THE great God, whom all adore, they call Quedaa, but they have many inferior deities, and of them Mahadow, or as they expreſs it, Maadow, is the ſecond in place and dignity Ramm is the third, and Brahma the fourth. And Parvette is a goddeſs much venerated, and is ſuppoſed to be the wife of Maadow. The inferior deities or ſaints are very numerous, but the images of Gunies, Jagarenat, Ruſtum, and Gopalſami are moſt worſhipped in their temples, as reckoned to have moſt intereſt with the ſuperior deities.

The marriages of the Gentiles in India, are celebrated with much pomp. They begin in the forenoon to ſend a long train of people with covered diſhes or baſkets on their heads, with preſents from the bridegroom to the bride, and before the preſent march hautboys, drums, and trumpets. After the preſents march ſome female ſlaves for the bride and bridegroom's uſe. After the ſlaves comes an empty pallankeen to tranſport the bride from her houſe to her huſband's. At night the bride and bridegroom are carried in ſtate through the town, with torch-light and muſick before them, and fireworks played off as they paſs in the ſtreets, and the parents of the married couple ſend preſents to their friends. They have no choice in their marriages, for that is left to the parents or neareſt relations; and they are married before they can be capable either to chooſe or refuſe, being often married at ſix or ſeven years of age, but they do not cohabit before the bride be about twelve, and the bridegroom ſixteen. As to their burials, ſome burn and ſome inter, but children under four years of age are all buried. And the wives are not permitted to burn with their huſbands, but, when once ſhe is a widow, ſhe never can marry again, but lives to bewail her widowhood, and perhaps her virginity, all her days.

They marry but one wife, except in caſes of barrenneſs or adultery, though there are no laws againſt polygamy. They abhor buggery and ſodomy, and the Mahometans for that account, becauſe they uſe them. They eat twice a day, but the huſband and wife eat ſeparate; and they waſh before and after meat. And the Europeans there follow that cleanly cuſtom.

The Parſees are numerous about Surat and the adjacent countries. They are a remnant of the ancient Perſians, who rather chooſe to be baniſhed their country than change their religion; for in the ſeventh century of the Chriſtian æra, when Mahometiſm over-ran Perſia, the ſpirit of perſecution came there, and ſome 4 or 500 families

families were put on board of ſhipping, and ſent to ſea, without compaſs or pilot; and they ſteering their courſe eaſtward (in the ſouth-weſt monſoons) from Jaſques, in about twenty days, fell in with the coaſt of India in the night, and the firſt thing they ſaw was a fire aſhore, which the exiles ſteered towards, and accidentally ſteered into the river of Nunſaree, about ſeven leagues to the ſouthward of Surat, and were welcomed to land by the crowing of a cock. Zoroaſter was their founder, and taught them to adore the ſun and fire, that produced and maintained all ſublunary beings. Their ſeeing the fire on their approaching the land, confirmed their belief, in the opinion that adoration was due to it, for which reaſon they never extinguiſh fire by its oppoſite element water, and even if their houſes are burning, they will uſe no water to quench the flames, but throw earth or duſt to put it out. And becauſe the cock ſaluted them firſt, after they had paſt through a dangerous ſea, and were ſecure in a river, they will neither kill, nor eat the fleſh of a cock.

When they came aſhore, the charitable Indians flocked about them, and there being ſome among them that could ſpeak ſome Indian languages, related what hard uſage they had met with in their own country, and that Providence having directed them to the Indian country, they beg leave to ſettle among them, and by their behaviour they would ſhew their gratitude for relieving diſtreſt ſtrangers, who were then become their ſupplicants. The generous Indians granted their requeſt, and allowed them land to manure, and ſeed to ſow the ground, upon the ſame conditions and tenure they enjoyed their own farms. And there they ſettled firſt, and remain in and about that country to this day. They never marry into foreign families, which makes them retain their native fair complexion, little inferior to us Europeans, only their often waſhing and anointing, which is a part of the exerciſes of religion takes away the beautiful freſh ruddineſs that adorns ours. Their rites of marriage are performed like the other Gentiles, in oſtentation and expence, but their burials are quite different, for they encloſe a ſmall piece of ground, with a wall about four yards high, and place ſeveral benches for the corps to ſit on, that the four elements may each have a ſhare of the matter their bodies are compoſed of. The ſun or fire exhales the putrid effluvias The water or rain carries the putrified fleſh and bones to the earth, that gives burial to them, and the voracious fowls carry what they can pick into the air in their maws. They watch the corps all day, till one of the eyes is picked out. If the bird begins with the right eye, they rejoice and feaſt, but if with the left eye, they mourn and lament for the ill fortune of the defunct's ſoul, for they attribute future happineſs to the right eye, and miſery to the left. They build theſe charnel places far from any town or village, leſt the ſtink ſhould annoy them.

They are very induſtrious and diligent in their vocation, and are bred to trades and manuring ground. They are good carpenters or ſhip builders, exquiſite in the weaver's trade and embroidery, which may be ſeen in the rich Atlaſſes, Bottadaars and Jemewaars made by them, as well as fine Baroach and Nunſaree Baſtas that come from their manufactories They work well in ivory and agate, and are excellent cabinet-makers. They diſtil ſtrong waters, but that they do clandeſtinely, becauſe that trade is prohibited by the government they live under, yet ſome of them get a good livelihood by it.

The fields about Surat are all plain, and the ground very fertile towards the country, but towards the ſea it is ſandy and ſterile. They have excellent beef, mutton, and fowl, daily expoſed to ſale in the city, reaſonably cheap. Beef is about three farthings a pound, when the bones are kept with the fleſh, and about a penny with the bones out. Mutton is about three halfpence, and good large fowls at ſeven pence halfpenny apiece.

apiece. They have some good fish, not dear, and pigeons at a penny apiece, and live hares at four-pence apiece.

They have plenty of wheat, as good as any in Europe, and some pease, and French beans; but neither oats nor barley. They have several species of legumen, but those of doll are most in use, for some doll and rice being mingled together and boiled, make Kitcheree, the common food of the country, they eat it with butter and Atchar or salt-fish. 'Tis a pleasant nourishing food, and that which the famous Aurengzeb most delighted to eat. They have also store of wild fowl; but who have a mind to eat of them, must shoot them. Flamingoes are large, and good meat. The paddy-bird is also good in their season, and the corn-bird is excellent in theirs. They have good partridge, but bad pheasants. Their wild geese, duck, and teal, are plenty and good; and several sorts of turtle doves, both beautiful and well-tasted. They have few deer, but great plenty of antelopes in their forests There are no fine buildings in the city, but many large houses, and some caravanserays and muschcits, and some fine tanks, or large cisterns to keep rain water, near the town, particularly one a little without Brampore gate. The French have a little church near the old English factory, which maintains a few capuchins, who practise surgery gratis to the poor natives, of what persuasion soever. They make some converts; but they are generally of the loosest morals of any set in the town. There are above an hundred different sects in this city; but they never have any hot disputes about their doctrine or way of worship. Every one is free to serve and worship God their own way. And persecutions for religion's sake are not known among them The Mahometans have the law in their hands, and distribute justice best to those that pay best for it. The Judge's fees are 25 per cent. on all sums that he pronounces due to the party whose plea is best supported with bribes or interest, for the justice of a cause seldom prevails. Many examples I have seen between honest men of low fortunes and villans clothed with publick characters and good fortunes, yet in some cases I have seen justice take place. The English and Dutch directors or agents there make good figures, because the officers of state and justice get yearly presents or pensions from them. The governor of the castle is not subordinate to him of the town, and he dares not come out of his nest but once in a year, that he is permitted to go to church, and then he must return before sun-set. None are suffered to pass the river whilst the sun is down below the horizon, nor dares any one that comes in boats put their foot ashore without a special permission, and all boats or vessels must land at the custom-house, and the boat and men are narrowly searched The customs on Mahometan goods are two in the hundred, on Christians three and three quarters, but the Christians are exempt from paying poll-money, but the Mahometans are not, nor Gentows, who pay 5 per cent customs on their goods. The Banyans are brokers even to Mahometans, who cannot well make bargains without their brokers

The Mahometan women go always veiled when they appear abroad. Their garments differ but little from the man's. Their coats, which also serve both sexes for shirts, are close bodied. The men's are gathered in plats below the navel, to make them seem long waisted, and the women's are gathered a pretty way above, to make their waist seem short. They both wear breeches to the ancle. The men wear only silver rings on their fingers, and generally but one for a signet. The women wear gold rings on their fingers, and sometimes one on their thumbs, with a small looking-glass set in it, and often they wear gold rings in their noses and ears. The Gentiles again permit their women to appear bare-faced, and their legs bare to the knee. They wear gold or silver rings, according to their ability, one in their nose, and several small ones in

holes

holes bored round the rim of the ear, with one large and heavy in each lappet. They wear alſo rings on their toes, and ſhekels on their legs, of the aforeſaid metals, made hollow, and ſome glaſs beads looſe in them, that when they move the leg, they make a noiſe like a rattle ſnake. The men wear gold rings in their ears, and often three or four in a cluſter, hanging at the lappet. Some have a pearl ſet in them. The Mahometan men are known by their garb, though the Gentows and theirs are of one make, ſave only as they are all overlapped on the breaſt. The Mahometans are tied on the left ſide, which, among them, is the ſide of honour, and the Gentiles tie theirs on the right ſide. The Mahometan turbans are likewiſe of another dreſs or make than the Heathens, and the different ſects of the Heathens are known by the figure of their turbans.

When the Engliſh firſt ſettled a commerce in this country, which was about the beginning of the ſixteenth century, they were held in great eſteem, but the Portugueze pretending a right to that trade ſolely, diſturbed the Engliſh in theirs, murdering their people, and making prize of all ſhips and veſſels they could overcome. One ſeaſon the Engliſh had eight good large ſhips riding at Swally, which is about ten miles from Ranier, where the preſident and his council then reſided, and Swally was the place where all goods were unladed from the ſhipping, and all goods for exportation were there ſhipped off. The Portugueze thinking it a fit time to give a deadly blow to the Engliſh commerce, came with a fleet of ſix large ſhips, ten ſmall, and ten or twelve half gallies, and anchored to the northward of the Engliſh, in a narrow channel, not a muſquet-ſhot wide, and a tide generally of ſix or ſeven miles an hour. The Portugueze landed near 3000 men, and ſeized ſome carts laden with the company's goods. The Engliſh could not bear the inſults they daily received, held a council, wherein it was reſolved to land 800 men out of the ſhips, and attack the Portugueze, while they were lulled in ſecurity of their own ſtrength and numbers, and if they were overpowered, that thoſe left on board the Engliſh ſhould try if they could cut a Portugueze ſhip's cables that lay near them, and her driving on board of another, might, with the force of the tide, put them all a-ground on the ſhore, or a ſand bank that they lay very near to. Accordingly, by break of day, the Engliſh were all landed, and every ſhip's crew led by their own commander. As they had conjectured, ſo it fell out, the Engliſh were among the Portugueze before they could get in a poſture of defence, and put them in confuſion. Thoſe on board had done as they were ordered, one being cut looſe, ſoon made all the reſt run a-ground, and moſt of them loſt, eſpecially the great ſhips. The little Engliſh army purſued the Portugueze and killed many in their flight, but at a point of land, about three miles from the ſhips, the Portugueze made a ſtand, and rallied, but the little victorious army ſoon made them take a ſecond time to their heels, and ſo the Engliſh got an entire victory, with ſmall loſs, for there were not twenty killed on the Engliſh ſide, but above 1500 of the Portugueze. In anno 1690, I was on the field of battle, and ſaw many human ſculls and bones lying above ground. And the ſtory of the battle I had from an old Parſee, who was born at a village called Tamkin, within two miles of the field, and could perfectly remember the action.

CHAP. XV.

CHAP. XV.—*Gives an Account of the famous Aurengzeb's Birth, his Politicks and Actions in obtaining the Empire, and of his long and prosperous Reign*

AND now, before I leave Surat, I will venture to relate Aurengzeb's origin, and ſome of his actions.

Cha Jehan was one of the moſt polite kings that ever ruled over that great empire of Mogulſtan. He was a great patron to all ſkilful perſons in arts and ſciences, and gave great encouragement to foreigners to come to his court, treating them kindly and familiarly, and allowed them handſome penſions to live on, and often ſent for the moſt polite of them, and diſcourſed with them about the cuſtoms, laws, commerce, and ſtrength of the European nations, and what he found valuable amongſt them, he would fain have brought into his own dominions. He was ſorry to ſee the moſt beautiful part of the creation caged up in ſeraglios, bred up in ignorance, and kept from uſeful and [illegible] converſation, by the heavy fetters of blind and unreaſonable cuſtom. He [illegible] his thoughts to break thoſe ſordid chains, and introduce the ladies to a free air, and reckoned his court, which he then kept at Agra, a great city, to be the moſt proper part for the ſtage to act it firſt upon.

The firſt ſtep he took, was to order all the ladies at court to provide precious ſtones to bring to a market-place that he had erected, and there to ſhew their wares publickly to all the noblemen at court, who were ordered to buy them at whatever prices the ladies put upon them, and the King himſelf was to be a buyer, to put the greater honour on the new erected market. The ladies obeyed, and took their booths as they thought fit. On the market day the King and noblemen came to market, and bought the jewels and other trifles the ladies had to diſpoſe of.

The King coming to the booth of a very pretty lady, aſked what ſhe had to ſell. She told him, ſhe had one large fine rough diamond ſtill to diſpoſe of. He deſired to ſee it, and he found it to be a piece of fine tranſparent ſugar-candy, of a tolerable good diamond figure. He demanded to know what price ſhe ſet on it, and ſhe told him with a pleaſant air, that it was worth a lack of rupees, or 12,500l ſterling. He ordered the money to be paid, and falling into diſcourſe with her, found her wit was as exquiſite as her beauty, and ordered her to ſup with him that night in his palace. She promiſed to obey, and accordingly went and ſtayed with him three nights and days, and then went back to her huſband, whoſe name was Jemal Chaun, and was a commander of 5000 horſe. The huſband received her very coldly, and told her, that he would continue civil to her, but would never cohabit with her again, and would live with her in the ſame manner as if ſhe was his ſiſter. Upon which ſhe went back to the palace, and deſired to be brought to the King, and, being conducted to him, ſhe fell at his feet, and told what her huſband had ſaid. The King, in a rage, gave orders to carry the huſband to the elephant garden, and there to be executed by an elephant, which is reckoned a ſhameful and terrible death. The poor man was ſoon apprehended, and had his clothes torn off him, as the cuſtom is when criminals are condemned to that death, and he was dragged from his houſe, with his hands tied before him. On his way to the garden, he was to paſs near the palace, and he begged to have leave to ſpeak to the King, and then he would die willingly, if His Majeſty did not think fit he ſhould live. A friend of his, who was an officer of the guards, ordered the meſſengers of death to ſtop a while, till he had acquainted the King with the requeſt, which was accordingly done, and he was ordered to be carried into the court of the palace, that the King might hear what he had to ſay, and being carried thither.

thither, His Majesty demanded what he would have. He answered, that what he had said to his wife, was the greatest honour that he was capable to do his King, who, after he had honoured his wife with his embraces, thought himself unworthy ever after to cohabit with her. The King, pausing a little, ordered him to be unbound, and brought to his own room, where, as soon as he came, the King embraced him, and ordered a Serpaw or a royal suit to be put upon him, and gave him the command of 5000 horse more, but took his wife into his own harran or seraglio, and about nine months after, the famous Aurengzeb came into the world. How long the charter held for continuing those markets, I know not, but it seems Cha Jehan grew fonder of this lady than of any he had before, though he had three sons by them, the eldest of whose names I have forgot. Aurengzeb was brought up and educated by his mother, till he was about twelve years of age, and then he had priests and philosophers to instruct him.

Cha Jehan finding his empire too large, designed to divide it amongst his sons, and so placed his eldest son in the northern provinces of Candahaar and Uzbeck, to superintend there, and make him acquainted with those people and their customs, that he designed should be his subjects. The second son Morad Bucks he sent to Decan, to govern there. The third, Sultan Sujah, he sent to Bengal, to govern that country; and Aurengzeb he designed for Guzerat, being a small province in comparison of the others: but when Aurengzeb came to be about eighteen years of age, and had done with the school, he dissembled his ambitious thoughts, and declared that he desired to live a private life in the province allotted him, and so took up the Fakire habit and way of life, contemning the honours and riches of the world, and zealously kept the canonical hours of prayer, which, by the Alcoran, is five times a day. In this Pharisaical way he spent eight or ten years, till his father began to be old and weak; and news being spread abroad that he was sick, the eldest son began to raise an army in his province, to march towards Agra, in order to seize the crown on his father's demise. Morad Bucks knowing the cruel custom of his country, which is either to die, or be sent to an hill near Agra, called Goulour, and there drink the Poust, (which is an infusion of poppy seeds in water, that provokes sleep) and spend his days in a lethargy; but to avoid both, he also raised a good army in his province, and marched also towards Agra, and Sultan Sujah raised one in Bengal, but kept within his own province. Aurengzeb continued in his retirement and holy exercises, and neither disturbed his father's repose, as the rest had done, nor was suspected by his brothers to have any design to rule. Aurengzeb had a sister, called Neur Mahaal, that was continually about her father Cha Jehan, and he had a great esteem for her, as she had for Aurengzeb; and as she was a woman of great genius and vivacity, she fished out all the designs of her father and brothers, and acquainted Aurengzeb with them by letters, and promised her assistance to set him on the throne.

Cha Jehan sent letters to his sons, who were in arms, to disband their forces, upon their allegiance, but not one obeyed, alledging that they kept in arms for their own security in case of his death. The two eldest made daily approaches towards Agra, and Aurengzeb raised a small but good army, pretending it was to keep the peace of his own province. However, as Morad Bucks was on his march towards Agra, he was obliged to pass through some part of Aurengzeb's territories, and they had an interview, and agreed, that if the eldest son would not be advised to retire back with his army to his own province, but continue disobedient to their father's commands, then Aurengzeb would join Morad Bucks, and compel him by force; but still Aurengzeb preached up peace and contempt of worldly grandeur. They wrote pressingly to their elder brother, to honour their father's commands, but to no purpose; so Aurengzeb marched

marched his army always near Morad Bucks's to meet their eldest brother, and found him encamped on the banks of the river Gemna, and on the opposite banks Morad Bucks encamped his men. Aurengzeb went to wait on his elder brother as a mediator; but in reality to discover what condition his army was in. His brother received him with all the marks of esteem; and, after a long conference, he invited Aurengzeb to join forces with him, and that as soon as he came to the crown, he would make him and his heirs free sovereigns of Guzerat. Aurengzeb answered, that as for his own part, he had rather live a subject than a sovereign, whose care about government disturbed the mind, and rendered it unfit for sweet contemplation, and he only brought his army there to join him who inclined most to peace, which he found his brother Morad Bucks averse to, but that he would join neither till the last extremity, and on his return, he went to Morad, and told him, that his eldest brother's army was much inferior to theirs, and advised him to put all to the fortune of a battle, that he would stand at a little distance neuter, till the battle began, and then he would fall on the enemy's flank and rear with his army, which accordingly he did, when his eldest brother had no suspicion of such usage. The battle was short, but bloody, and the eldest brother was killed, which the remnant of his army seeing, begged for quarter, and had it, and listed into the conqueror's armies. The victory was wholly imputed to Aurengzeb's conduct, by all the three armies, which was a great mortification to Morad Bucks, who expected that honour. But Aurengzeb had another game to play whilst the armies were so much at his devotion, for his brother Morad Bucks was violently inclined to the love of wine, though forbidden by their laws. Aurengzeb got some of his own creatures of the best rank, to procure wine and carouze with him, which they did, and he got beastly drunk, and vomited on the fine carpets he lay on. While he was in that pickle, Aurengzeb came to his tent with his guard, and demanded present admittance, for there were news brought of the greatest importance, which he must, without delay, communicate to his brother, and stepping hastily into the tent, his guards following him, he found his brother in the condition he wished for, and calling him several times by his name, he was not able to answer, wherefore Aurengzeb, out of an holy zeal to religion, vented many angry words against the beast his brother, and then, in a sanctified choler, ordered one of his guards to strike off his head, which was forthwith executed. The news of the fratricide flew like wild fire through the armies, but Aurengzeb's being in arms soon calmed those that had a mind to raise troubles, and, in the morning, made an oration that pleased the armies so well, that they swore obedience to his commands. The clergy run his praises as high as their prophet's Paradise, commending his godly piety and zeal for poor distressed religion, and, no doubt, would have done the same for the drunkard, had he been as politick as Aurengzeb, who is now saluted Pautshaw, or Emperor, by the army, notwithstanding his father was then alive.

Cha Jehan having lost two of his sons, expected that all his troubles were now ended, sent to Aurengzeb to come to him, and consult about settling the peace of his country, which had been so long disturbed by civil wars, but Aurengzeb would not trust himself within the walls of a city, where he had not the command in his own hands, but wrote very submissive letters to his father, and advised him to lay down the heavy charge of government on his shoulders who was young, and much better able to manage it than a man whose age required rest, and gave orders to build an high wall round the palace, and placed his own creatures to guard the palace, which so vexed the old King, that he ordered all the Jewels of the crown to be broken, and particularly his throne, which he himself had caused to be made, worth above a million sterling, but

but none durst obey him. And Neur Mahaal, who had given her brother Aurengzeb private informations of her father's designs all the time of the rupture, advertised him of the old man's design in that affair, and cautioned him to take care of what meat and drink he took, and to send an army into Bengal, to reduce Sultan Sujah, who was invited by the old King, to come with his army to Agra. Aurengzeb durst not leave that country where his father was well beloved, for fear of a revolution in his affairs, but sent an army under the command of a trusty general called Emirjemal Chaun, who, in three years time, chased Sultan Sujah out of the dominions of Bengal, and Cha Jehan then dying, brought a serene peace throughout the whole empire. Aurengzeb remembering his sister's services, made her governess of the palace, and retained her always near his person, and would eat nothing but what came from her hand.

Being now settled in peace, he invited his holy brethren the Fakires, who are very numerous in India, to come to Agra, and receive a new suit of clothes, as a testimony of his kindness for them. Great numbers came on the invitation, and he pitched tents in many places round the city to entertain them, and he proclaimed, that on a certain day the distribution should be made, and appointed officers in every tent to deliver the new clothes, but to retain the old rags in their rooms, which stratagem brought many millions into his treasury, for those pretended saints having good store of diamonds and gold sewed up in their rags, were forced to leave all behind them He then bent his thoughts on enlarging his dominions, and quarrelled with the King of Orixa near Bengal, and with the King of Visapore near Decan, and, in ten years, he annexed their dominions to his own large empire. And so I leave him to take his pleasure till the year 1707; that he died in his tent near Agra, and lies buried in a small tomb of seven feet long and three high, on the side of an high-way that leads to that city.

He was a prince every way qualified for governing. None ever understood politicks better than he. The balance of distributive justice he held in an exact equilibrium. He was brave and cunning in war, and merciful and magnanimous in peace, temperate in his diet and recreations, and modest and grave in his apparel, courteous in his behaviour to his subjects, and affable in his discourse. He encouraged virtue, and discountenanced vice, and he studied the laws of humanity and observed them as well as those of religion, for in that part he inclined to superstition. He had five sons, but three only made any figure The eldest was Dara, or vulgarly Hazan Tarah, the second Shaw Allom, the third Furruckfier, the fourth Eckbar, and the fifth Shaw Hazander. The three first contended for the crown after their father's death, but Shaw Allom carried it.

From Surat to Damaan, a town belonging to the crown of Portugal, and at twenty-two leagues distance, are several rivers and villages, under the superintendency of Surat Dumbass is the first, but of small consequence, either in trade or manufactory. Nunsaree is the second, that has a good manufactory of cotton cloth, both coarse and fine. Gundavee is next, where good quantities of teak timber are cut, and exported, being of excellent use in building of houses or ships. Seragoung is a river of no other consequence but limiting the Mogul's dominions on the sea side, as well as the Portugueze territories. It is distant from Damaan about four miles.

CHAP. XVI.—*Treats of the Cities and Towns on the Sea-coaſt, belonging to the Crown of Portugal, from Damaan to Bombay.*

DAMAAN was, in former times, a place of good trade, but at preſent reduced to poverty. It ſtands at the mouth of a river on the ſea-ſhore, and is naturally very ſtrong, by a deep marſh that almoſt ſurrounds it. The town is about half a mile long, and near as broad, walled with a good ſtone wall, as the reſt of the buildings of the city are built of, and it has a large cathedral to adorn it, that is conſpicuous a long way at ſea. There are two or three other churches, and a convent, a monaſtery, a nunnery, and an hoſpital, and there is a caſtle ſtands on the oppoſite ſide of the river, chriſtened by the name of St. Salvadore, and it is well ſecured by the moraſs as well as the town. It has been for a long time a great eye-ſore to the governors of Surat, who have often picked quarrels with the Portugueze, and laid ſiege to Damaan, but without ſucceſs

From Damaan to Baſſaim is about eighteen leagues along the ſea-ſhore. There are ſeveral rivers and villages by the way, viz Danaw, Tarrapore, Mahim, Kellem, and the iſland Vaccas, but they are all of ſmall account in the table of trade

Baſſaim is a fortified city belonging to the crown of Portugal. It ſtands on a little iſland ſeparated from the continent by a ſmall rivulet Its walls are pretty high, and about two miles in circumference around the city, which has a little citadel in the middle of it. It contains three or four churches, and ſome convents and monaſteries, with a college and hoſpital.

It is a place of ſmall trade, becauſe moſt of its riches lie dead and buried in their churches, or in the hands of indolent, lazy country gentlemen, who loiter away their days in eaſe, luxury, and pride, without having the leaſt ſenſe of the poverty and calamity of their country. The town is about half a league diſtant from the iſland of Salſet, which inlet ſerves it for an harbour for ſmall ſhipping, but there is not water enough to accommodate great ſhips The governor is ſtiled by the Portugueze, General of the North, having Diu, Damaan, and Chaul, with all their territories, ſubordinate to him, but the church ſuperintends, which makes his government both uneaſy and precarious

Salſet is an iſland about twenty-five miles long, and, in ſome places, ten miles broad. It is fruitful in roots and fruits, but not in corn. It is ſtocked with villages and churches, but has no city on it, but an old one, called Canara, hewn out of the ſide of a rock, but by whom I never could learn. It is near a mile in length, and many antique figures and columns curiouſly carved in the rock, and has ſeveral good ſprings of water to accommodate it. At preſent it is inhabited only with wild beaſts, and birds of prey. The iſland is almoſt cut in two by a narrow river that biſects it at a town called Verſua, which lies on the ſea-ſhore, and has a little narrow harbour, deep enough to receive ſhips of the greateſt burden, and is ſecured by a ſmall fort ſtanding on the north ſide, but the town is on the ſouth ſide of the river. It drives a ſmall trade in dry fiſh, made here, and tranſported to the inland countries and villages, that want the benefit of fiſhing. The fiſhers here catch their fiſh in long nets, faſtened to ſtakes placed in the ſea, the outwardmoſt of which are driven in the bottom on nine fathoms water, and they appear to ſtrangers like a wood in the ſea. There are ſeveral villages ſtanding between Verſua and Bombay, on the ſea-ſhore, but Bandara is the moſt conſpicuous, which fronts Mahim on Bombay, about a mile diſtant. The Portugueze have

ſome great guns planted at Bandara, but they have no trade, becauſe the river belongs to the Engliſh; and all cuſtoms of goods, either imported or exported, are paid to the cuſtom-houſe of Mahim. The mouth of the river is peſtered with rocks, that forbid entrance to any veſſels of burden.

In anno 1694, the Muſkat Arabs made a deſcent on Salſet, and committed great depredations in plundering and burning villages and churches, killing the prieſts, and carried about 1400 captives into irredeemable ſlavery. And about the year 1720, the prieſts of Salſet diſturbed the Engliſh at Mahim, animating the people to arms, but a bomb or two thrown into the church at Bandara, had no reſpect to the prieſthood, but ſacrilegiouſly killed one or two, beſides ſome lay brothers, which made them know that war was not their trade. They were alſo troubleſome to the Engliſh in anno 1722, but the Engliſh ſurpriſed a parcel that were about repairing an old fort, contrary to articles of agreement, and killed a ſcore or two, which made the reſt take to their heels, and be quiet.

CHAP. XVII.—*Gives a Deſcription of Bombay, with ſome hiſtorical Remarks on its Wars, Government and Trade, till anno 1687, when the Foundation of a War was laid, which proved the Ruin of the then Engliſh Eaſt India Company.*

BOMBAY comes next in courſe, an iſland belonging to the crown of England. It was a part of Katharine of Portugal's portion, when ſhe was married to Charles II. of Great Britain, in anno 1662. Its ground is ſterile, and not to be improved. It has but little good water on it, and the air is ſomewhat unhealthful, which is chiefly imputed to their dunging their cocoa-nut trees with Buckſhoe, a ſort of ſmall fiſhes which their ſea abounds in. They being laid to the roots of the trees, putrify, and cauſe a moſt unſavoury ſmell; and in the mornings there is generally ſeen a thick fog among thoſe trees, that affects both the brains and lungs of Europeans, and breed conſumptions, fevers, and fluxes.

After the marriage, King Charles ſent my Lord Malberry, with four or five ſhips of war, to take poſſeſſion of it, and the King of Portugal ſent a viceroy to deliver it, and all its royalties, to the ſaid Lord, and Sir Abraham Shipman was ordered to be governor for King Charles. They arrived at Bombay in September 1663, but the church withſtood the crown, and diſobeyed the order. nor would they acknowledge the viceroy, unleſs he would come into their meaſures, which, rather than loſe his new dignity, he did. And the Engliſh fleet was forced to go to Swally to land their men, and get refreſhments; but the governor of Surat, in whoſe diſtrict Swally is, grew jealous of the numbers and bravery of the Engliſh, and threatened the factory eſtabliſhed in Surat, if they did not ſpeedily re-embark, which, to avoid ſuſpicion, they did, and the governor allowed them the free uſe of the markets, ſo that they had no want of proviſions and merchandize whilſt they ſtayed there. In January 1664, my lord went back to England, carrying two ſhips with him, and left Sir Abraham with the reſt, to paſs the weſterly monſoons, in ſome port on the coaſt, but being unacquainted, choſe a deſolate iſland, called Aujadiva, to winter at. It is ſo far from an harbour, that it is even but a bad road for ſhipping in thoſe boiſterous ſouth-weſt winds and turbulent ſea; however he landed all the land forces, and built huts to defend them from the weather. The iſland is barren, but has ſome ſprings of good water. It is about a mile long, and 300 paces broad. Here they ſtayed from April to October, in which time they buried above 200 of their men.

When

When the monsoons were over, the squadron put to sea, and put into Bombay, to try if the church had considered on the obedience due to the King of Portugal's orders, or if they had a mind to draw the arms of England, as well as their Sovereign's, upon them. Some of them had not forgot what damages Spain and Portugal had sustained by the English fleet in Cromwell's time, advised the church to obey the King, setting forth the miseries they should be brought into in case of non-compliance. At length their holy zeal abated, and they were content to admit of a treaty, but, before the treaty was concluded, Sir Abraham died, and one Mr. Humphrey Cook, who was next in commission, continued the treaty, and articled that the inhabitants should enjoy their lands and religion under the King of England, but forgot to insert the royalties appending on Bombay, which reached as far as Versua on Salset, which omission has been a bone of contention for both parties ever since.

Mr. Cook, according to the treaty, took possession of the island, in the King's name, and forthwith began to fortify regularly, and, to save charges of building an house for the governor, built a fort round an old square house, which served the Portugueze for a place of retreat, when they were disturbed by their enemies, till forces could be sent from other places to relieve them

After the fort was lined out, and the foundations laid, Sir Gervas Lucas arrived from England with two ships, but affairs being settled before he came, did not stay at Bombay longer than January 1666, and left the government of the island in the hands of Mr Cook and his council, the presidency for the then company, residing at Surat. Their trade flourished, and increased wonderfully; but, after the fort was finished, the King finding, that the charge of keeping Bombay in his own hands would not turn to account, the revenues being so very inconsiderable, he made it over to the East India Company in fee tail, which continues so till this time

In building the fort where it is, Mr. Cook shewed his want of skill in architecture, where a proper and convenient situation ought to be well considered, for it is built on a point of rocks that jets into the sea, where there are no springs of fresh water, and it stands within 800 paces of an hill, called Dungeree, that overlooks it, and an enemy might much incommode it from that hill, as we found by experience in anno 1689, when the Mogul sent an army on Bombay. As for the magnitude, figure, and materials of the fort, there is no fault to be found in them, for it is a regular tetragon, whole outward polygon is about 500 paces, and it is built of a good hard stone, and it can mount above 100 pieces of cannon, and that is all that is commendable in it. but had it been built about 500 paces more to the southward, on a more acute point of rocks, called Mendam's Point, it had been much better on several accounts. First, it had been much nearer the road for protecting the shipping there, it had been farther off Dungeree hill, it would have had a spring of pretty good water, which served the hospital that was afterwards built there, and the shipping had been better secured that lay in the little bay between the point where the fort now stands, and Mendham's Point.

They went about building several other little forts and sconces in convenient places, to hinder an invasion, if any of their neighbours should have attempted one. At Mazagun there was one, at Souree one, at Sian one, at Mahim one, and Worlee had one, and some great guns mounted on each of them. Notwithstanding the company was at so much charge in building of forts, they had no thoughts of building a church, for many years after Sir George Oxendon began to build one, and charitable collections were gathered for that use, but when Sir George died, piety grew sick, and the building of churches was grown unfashionable. Indeed it was a long while before the island had

had people enough to fill a chapel that was in the fort, for as faſt as recruits came from Britain, they died in Bombay, which got the iſland a bad name.

There were reckoned above 5000l. had been gathered towards building the church, but Sir John Child, when he came to reign in Bombay, converted the money to his own uſe, and never more was heard of it. The walls were built by his predeceſſors to five yards high, and ſo it continued till the year 1715, when Mr. Boone came to the chair, who ſet about building of it, and, in five years time, finiſhed it by his own benevolence, and other gentlemen, who, by his perſuaſions, were brought in to contribute. The Company alſo contributed ſomething towards that pious end.

About the year 1674, Preſident Aungier, a gentleman well qualified for governing, came to the chair, and, leaving Surat to the management of deputies, came to Bombay, and rectified many things that were amiſs, and brought the face of juſtice to be unveiled, which before lay hid in a ſingle perſon's breaſt, who diſtributed her favours according to the governor's direction. He erected a formal court, where pleas were brought in and debated, but that method laſted but a few years, when Sir John Child came to the chair the court was done. Mr. Aungier adviſed the Company to encloſe the town from Dungeree to Mendham's Point, for ſecuring the trading people from the inſults of their troubleſome beggarly neighbours on the continent, but his propoſals were rejected, and that neceſſary piece of work was reſerved for Mr Boone alſo. And happy it was for the inhabitants that the town was ſecured by a wall, otherwiſe Connajee Augarie would have haraſſed them with continual inſults ſince his war with the Engliſh began.

The name of Mr Aungier is much revered by the ancient people of Surat and Bombay to this day His juſtice and dexterity in managing affairs, got him ſuch eſteem, that the natives of thoſe places made him the common arbitrator of their differences in point of traffick: nor was it ever known that any party receded from his award.

There are no dangers in going into Bombay Road, but one ſunk rock that lies about half a league from the caſtle. It is dry at low water, and has a channel within it deep enough for the greateſt ſhips to paſs. I never heard of any damage done by that rock, but to a ſmall ſhip called the Baden, which by careleſneſs, run on it at noonday, and was loſt.

In the year 1673, the Dutch Eaſt India Company having an eye on Bombay, ſent a ſquadron of ſhips, with a little army, to try if they could take it in amongſt their other conqueſts of India, but, on their landing, met with ſo warm a reception, that they were glad to get off with the loſs of two or three hundred of their men, and ſo left the Engliſh to the quiet poſſeſſion of it.

The governors proved tolerable good, till 1682, when Sir John Child ſpoiled it. The India Company knowing how to make uſe of King Charles's neceſſities, made him ſome preſents of money, and he, in grateful acknowledgments, granted them power to rob their fellow ſubjects in India, but they uſed that power to their own deſtruction, for Mr. Child's pride and oppreſſions grew ſo intolerable, that even the gentlemen in the Company's ſervice had not the free exerciſe of trade, and much leſs private merchants. And he, trampling on the eſtabliſhed laws of England, by advice of his nameſake who governed the Company in Europe, by impriſoning and murdering their fellow ſubjects, grew hateful to all.

In anno 1684, he made his brother-in-law, Mr. Ward, his deputy of Bombay, who deſigned to fiſh in troubled waters. Mr. Child being honoured with the title of baronet, by the powerful motive of the Company's money to the King, he, at the ſame time,

 got

got the commiſſion of general, which puffed him up ſo, that he contemned all laws human and divine. The military gentlemen, who had made contracts in England for their ſalaries, though paid at 20 per cent. loſs, yet to ſhew himſelf a good œconomiſt for his maſter's intereſts, ſent his deputy orders to reduce their pay to 30 per cent. leſs than it was before, though it was ſo ſmall, that they could hardly bring both ends to bear at the month's end. That hard pill the ſons of Mars could not ſwallow, and ſo bent their minds on a revolution: and having come to ſome knowledge of Mr. Ward's tampering with the Sevajee to land on the iſland, they detected ſome letters of his to that purpoſe, which gave them a ground for a revolt. The Sevajee indeed ſent a fleet of 80 ſail of ſmall veſſels to land on the back bay which faces the ocean, but, on their trying to land ſome forces, they were warmly repulſed, and loſt many of their men, which made them draw off again in confuſion, and Mr. Ward, being confronted with his own letters, and having little to ſay in his own defence, was made a priſoner; and General Child's faction was ſent to Surat to him. The iſlanders, taking the government of the iſland into their own hands, choſe captain Kegwine major of the military, to ſuperintend military affairs, and one captain Thorburn to overſee the civil.

General Child ſoon diſpatched letters to England, and gave an account of the rebellion, and King Charles diſpatched a frigate, called the Phœnix, for India, to demand the reſtitution of the iſland, and put it again into the Company's hands. They arrived at Bombay, in September 1685, and ſhewed the King's orders, with a full pardon to all who yielded obedience, which unanimouſly the iſlanders did, but, for their own ſecurity, drew up ſome articles to be ſigned by general Child and captain Tyrrel, who commanded the Phœnix, one of which articles was, that any perſon that had a mind to go for England, ſhould have free liberty, and a paſſage on board the Company's ſhipping, which being agreed to and ſigned, captain Kegwine took his paſſage on board the firſt ſhip; but Thorburn being a married man, and having a ſmall eſtate, as well as a family on the iſland, could not ſo eaſily remove, but truſted to the act of grace, and the treaty they had made.

After general Child had gotten the reins of government again into his hands, he became more inſupportable than ever. He erected a court of inquiſition, and made an old Greek, one captain Garey, judge, who had condemned a man to be hanged on a Tueſday, and the man ſuffered according to ſentence; but, on Friday after, the poor dead fellow was ordered to be called before the court, but he would not comply with the orders

Captain Thorburn was the firſt that felt the weight of Mr. Child's diſpleaſure. He got ſome fellows to ſwear him out of his little eſtate, who brought in forged bonds for ſums borrowed from one King, whom he never had any dealings with, and found witneſſes to atteſt them. All that Thorburn had, was too little to pay the ſums, for which his eſtate was taken from him, and himſelf put in priſon, without the permiſſion of one ſlave to attend or ſerve him in priſon. His own wife was not permitted to viſit him, which hard uſage brought him into a violent fever, that ſoon put an end to his life About two days before he died, the goaler acquainted his lady of his danger, and ſhe, with two ſmall children, went to the general, and, on their knees, begged that a doctor might be permitted to viſit her huſband, but he was inexorable, and would allow no ſuch favour, only granted her leave to be in priſon with him till he d[illegible]d, and ſhe ſtayed but one day and a part of a night till he expired. When the tragedy was over, ſhe was going home to her diſtreſſed family, but found her ſlaves and children removed into a little out-houſe of hers, and the doors of her dwelling-houſe ſhut againſt her. The lady had two ſiſters married on the iſland, and ſhe, hoping to find relief from them, went

went to visit the eldest, but she met her at the door and told her she could have no admittance, her husband being liable to proscription, if he admitted her into his house; and she believed the other sister's husband durst not entertain her in his house. The poor lady, full of sorrow and grief, being abandoned by all her friends and relations, went back to her distressed family, and, having no visible way of support, had once some thoughts of putting an end to her miseries, but her sisters, unknown to their husbands, sent her some relief by a trusty female slave in the night, and a letter (that they desired her to burn as soon as she had read), wherein they promised to be assisting in the maintenance of her and her children, till the Almighty should think proper to deliver her out of the persecution.

The poor lady had both beauty and discretion enough to recommend her to the virtuous part of mankind, but none of the gentlemen that wished her well, durst make addresses to her, only one, who had the command of a ship in the Indian merchants service, as he had no dependence on the general, nor his masters in England, thought he could not well come within the reach of their persecution, so he courted her, and married her, but that was thought a capital crime, and the general acquainted his Indian owners, that without they discharged him their service, they should also find the weight of his displeasure, and accordingly, to avoid contests with his excellency, he was discharged: but grief put an end to his troubles, for he died within a year after his marriage, and left the poor lady another child to take care of, and above 1000l. sterling of stock for her and her family's support.

As the Phœnix was in her way to India, she called at the island of Johanna, and there found an English ship, called the Bristol, stopping some leaks in her bottom. Captain Tyrrel, by a dispensing power from the King of England, seized her, and designed to have carried her to Bombay, in company of a small vessel that he had seized on the coast of Madagascar. The Bristol sunk the third day after they put to sea, but the other came safe. The Bristol's men were looked on as pirates, and one Mr Mews, a supercargo was arraigned before the general's tribunal, where he himself sat lord chief justice, and, after his usual manner of bestowing opprobrious names, he condemned Mr Mews to lose all that he had in the world, and 1000l. beside, and to lie in prison, at his own charges, till the fine was paid, but Mr. Vaux, who was judge of the island in petty affairs, shewed him the weakness of his sentence, and persuaded him to set the poor man at liberty, and ordered him a passage for England.

When Mr Child first got his commission to plunder, there were two of his own council at Surat that were great eye-sores to him, viz. Messieurs Petit and Boucher. They were gentlemen of good interest in England, and had great remittances of monies on the Company's shipping coming yearly to them, to buy up diamonds and send home. General Child let them know, that he expected half of their commissions as a perquisite to his post, but they could not be brought to think so. however they condescended, that if he would join his commissions to theirs, which were much greater than his, they would be content to make an equal dividend in the commissions; but that proposition he rejected, and was resolved to carry his point by fraud, and wrote to the Company in England, of those two gentlemen's ill services relating to the Company's affairs, though none knew of any, but Mr. Child himself. Those gentlemen's friends in the committee of the company in England, acquainted them, by letters over land, of the danger they were in, and gave them warning to be on their guard; and they accordingly took an house contiguous to the factory, and, by degrees, conveyed what they thought fit into their new lodgings, but retained their old ones in the factory. When the shipping arrived, and the Company's packet was opened, and read at the

council table, Mr. Petit sat in his place as second, and Mr. Boucher in his as fourth. When some few paragraphs were read, one was to dismiss those gentlemen from the Company's service, and were forthwith ordered to withdraw, which accordingly they did, and went to their new lodgings without the factory. As soon as the council broke up, Mr. Child sent orders to confine them in their factory rooms, but word being brought that they were not in the factory, but their doors were locked, he gave orders to break them open, and secure all that was found in them for him, especially their papers and books, but they found nothing but a bed furnished, and some empty trunks. When Mr. Child understood that their effects and papers were removed, he raved like a mad man, but to no purpose, so he perpetrated their destruction by fraud, but the proscribed being well beloved by the brokers, who were always of Mr Child's cabinet council, were timely advertised of his plots, and prepared to counterplot him. He was the first that bribed the Mogul's governors to join in villainy with a president, but 'tis now a very common piece of policy at Surat, and has been often made use of against the English Company, since Mr. Child's time. however, for a sum of about 4000l. sterling, he got the governor of the town to stretch his commission, in pretending to distribute justice, which is only the Cadjee's place to do. He got the governor to command the two victims to meet at a garden near the town, and to deliver them up to the general, who was there with a dozen grenadiers to receive them, and carry them on board of a ship that lay ready to transport them to Bombay, and there to feed on the bread of affliction as long as they lived He had suborned a gentleman to draw up an account, wherein the delinquents were brought in debtors to the Company 114,000 rupees, or 14,250l. sterling, and that gentleman swore to the account. The two defendants being forewarned of the plot, had given bonds to their Mahometan and Heathen friends, for above double the sum that the honest general demanded, and it is against their law to force any person out of the Mogul's dominions, who is indebted to his subjects, but when Mr. Harris had sworn to the account, (for that was the gentleman's name) the governor ordered the two gentlemen defendants to be put in irons, and to be delivered to Mr. Child, but their friends protested against their going, till they had satisfied their creditors, and declared the governor liable to make good all the sums contained in their bonds, if by violence they were sent away. That protest startled the general and governor both, so the gentlemen were delivered to their friends, and the governor was no loser by the general's honesty. however, they could not live in quiet, so Mr Petit bought a ship to go a trading, whilst Mr. Boucher went to the Mogul's court, or rather his camp, to try if he could procure a phirmaund or charter to be under the Mogul's protection, but the Company's money had crept into the secretary of state's purse, which retarded Mr. Boucher's affair some time. but the general, being afraid of his success, sent a Banyan from Bombay to poison Mr Boucher This Banyan being often about his tent, got acquainted with his cook, thinking him to be the properest person to make use of in that affair, and, after some discourses about General Child and Mr Boucher's quarrel, he told the cook, that he had a commission from the general to settle a salary on him during life, and the sum of 500 rupees in hand, if he would poison his master. The cook seemed to like the proposals, and bid the Banyan bring him the poison and the 500 rupees, and accordingly the next day he did, and, on the delivery of the money, he gave him a paper with some powder of white arsenick to mix with his master's rice, which is a common dish there. The cook gave him large promises of performing what he would, and so left him, and went to his master with the bag of money and the paper of arsenick, and told him, that he had made a bargain with General Child's vakeel, or attorney, to poison him, and t[illegible] him the

the terms he had agreed on, and ſhewed the money and poiſon. Mr. Boucher commended the cook's fidelity, and told him, that he would give him 600 rupees to be honeſt, and a maintenance during life. And Mr. Boucher being bred a druggiſt in his youth, preſently knew the poiſon, and carried it to the Cautwal or Sheriff, and ſhewed it. The Cautwal uſed his utmoſt endeavours to catch the Banyan, but he could never be found there.

Mr. Boucher had been fourteen months ſoliciting to procure his phirmaund, but his repeated petitions to the ſecretary had no effect but he had an Engliſhman, one Swan, for his interpreter, who often took a large doſe of arrack Aurengzeb one day had ordered his camp to remove to another place, and had got on horſeback. Swan took hold of that opportunity, and got pretty near the King, holding his petition or rocca above his head, and cried with a loud voice in the Perſian language, that his maſter wanted juſtice done him. The Mogul ſeeing him in an European garb, ordered him to be brought to him, and aſked the cauſe of his complaint He anſwered, that his maſter had been ſo long at court about procuring a phirmaund to become a ſubject of His Majeſty's, to be freed from the oppreſſions of the Engliſh Company, who were grown intolerable by the connivance of His Majeſty's governors of Surat, and therefore conjured His Majeſty, as he ſhould anſwer before God at the great day, to do his maſter juſtice, and grant him a phirmaund. The King was ſtartled at the bold expreſſions, ordered his ſecretary to get one ready for the ſeal againſt the next day, which was accordingly done, and Mr. Boucher had it delivered to him as ſoon as it was ſigned, and then took his leave of the court.

While Mr. Boucher was at court, Mr. Petit made ſome voyages into the Gulf of Perſia, and going thither once, met with ſome Sanganian pirates, who attacked him. He defended himſelf bravely, and beat them off, but his gunner firing a blunderbuſs out of one of the gun-room ports, blew the ſhip up, and the Sanganians took up thoſe that were ſaved by ſwimming, among whom was Mr. Petit himſelf.

The Sanganians carried their priſoners to Baet on Guzerat, and laid a ranſom on them, which Mr. Petit agreed on, and ſent letters to his friends at Surat to pay the money: but general Child hearing of Mr. Petit's misfortune, and where he was, diſpatched a Banyan to Baet, to perſuade the pirates not to part with their priſoner under 25,000l. ſterling, and they hearkening to the Banyan, would not ſtand to the ſtipulated ranſom of 5000l. Mr Petit ſtayed about ſix months their priſoner, and then died through grief, and the ill treatment he had received by Mr. Child's perſuaſion, but the pirates getting no ranſom, curſed the general for his counſel

In anno 1683, the Dutch diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh Company of their factory of Bantam, on the weſt end of Java, and the Engliſh having a mind to regain it by force of arms, built ſeveral ſhips between 60 and 70 guns, ſo that in anno 1685, they had a fleet ready victualled, and manned with 7 or 8000 men, to the number of 23 ſail of the line of battle ſhips, which expence, and the continual craving of the court, brought their ſtock very low, yet ſince the maw of the court was not enough crammed, the King laid embargoes on the fleet from time to time, for nine months, and then the Dutch ambaſſador had orders to preſent His Majeſty with 100,000l if he would command the Company not to uſe violence. He ſnapped at the bait, and defeated the deſign to all intents and purpoſes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.—*Continues the Observations on the Affairs of Bombay, with the Articles exhibited by Mr. Child, in order to embroil the Company's Affairs with the Mogul and his Subjects.*

THE Company having such a number of great ships on their hands, were obliged to send them abroad, but having no stock to employ them, ordered the general and chiefs of their factories in India to borrow what sums they could on the Company's credit, from the Indian merchants, to lade their ships home, which accordingly they did, and what they could not lade home, they were to employ by freights in India. And I saw a letter from the governor of the Company in England, intimating, that when they had got as much credit of the Mogul's subjects as they could, then they would pick quarrels with the creditors, and put a general stop to their trade, which was accordingly done, for in 1686 and 1687, the Surat merchants traded briskly by sea to Mocha, Persia, and Bassora, to the westward, and to Bengal, Atcheen, Malacca, and Siam, to the eastward The general granting passes to all who required them, then, about the latter end of the year 1687, he laid down a complaint and grievance before the governor of Surat, and demanded redress and satisfaction. The articles of his grievances I saw in a printed copy, and were as follows, in 35 articles

"I. Last year a ship of Molah Abdel Gafoar's coming from Juddah, in her return met with two Danish pirates, who made a prize of her. The news coming to Surat, the said Molah Abdel Gafoar, by persuasions of Meir Nazam, and other merchants, made their complaints to Sababat Caun (then governor), and other officers of Surat, saying, the English belonging to Surat had taken his ship, at the same time sending his attorney to court, to complain to the King, who ordered the governor, &c. officers of Surat, to enquire into it, and to do justice accordingly. In this affair, by bribery, and disgracing me to the King and his subjects, as also the Dutch, French, and other nations, making them believe it to be true, for which disgrace I am not able to trade in these parts, but I hope the disgrace will light on him, that hereafter no such scandal may be put on me, or any other, we having traded here these eighty or ninety years, but never before accused as robbers, but daily enriched the port of Surat.

"II The complaints of Mulah Abdel Gafoar have been much to my prejudice, by reason I could not clear my money out of the custom-house, nor ship my goods for Europe, which were seized and hindred, which hath made me leave the port and trading, and retire to Bombay. I have by me 30 or 40 lacks of rupees in money and goods in a readiness, if you please to send any body, you may be certified of the truth. Consider the loss I am at in the use of my money, damage of my goods, and detaining my ships a year. I desire your answer.

"III. Mulah Abdel Gafoar's disgracing me, makes people afraid to trust me, my credit being lost by his false reports, having 12 ships laden with goods, which I designed to have sent to Surat, there to have provided goods, and relade for Europe, but his disgracing me is the occasion of the great charges I am at, my ships wintering in these parts, and my goods lying on my hands, we merchants trading for profit, which hindrance hath not only been a great loss to the King in his customs, but to me, which I must answer to my masters.

"IV. Mr Petit and Mr. Boucher being indebted to the Company several sums of money, I would have called them to account for the same, but they, like traitors, went to the governor Cortalab Caun for protection. As for Mr. Petit he is dead and gone to

to the devil Mr. Boucher still remains at Surat. I demand him, his wife, or child, children, family, and all Englishmen belonging to him, with their effects, that they be delivered to me, and that he may not make his escape from Surat.

" V. Formerly such goods as we brought from the Malabar coast, Mocha, and other parts, which were for Europe, and not to sell here, we had liberty to bring them ashore at Swally, to clean them, and ship again, without paying custom; but the governor Cortalab Caun, in his time, forced us to pay custom for those goods. My demand is, that what he took more than the former customs, may be restored, and he do not the like again.

" VI. Of late years we bring more money than formerly, which hath much enriched the port, of which the governor did acquaint the King, who was pleased to take no more than 2 per cent. we paying no more for many years. Of late, the governor of Surat did write to the King, to make us pay 3½ per cent. for money as well as goods, which has been a great prejudice to our trade. My desire is, that we may pay no more than formerly, and that the former overplus may be repaid. Which exactings made Salabat Caun over-rate our goods in the custom house, to our great damage.

" VII Formerly we never paid custom for apparel or provisions, but of late Salabat Caun forced us to pay custom for them My desire is, that may be re-paid, and, for the future, no more trouble on that account.

" VIII. When our goods came out of the country, if robbed by thieves, or otherwise, on the road, it is the King's order, that the governors and officers make good all damages, or else the King to satisfy us himself. Few years since our goods coming from Amadabant and Durringum, were robbed in the way to Surat. We have petitioned the governor of Surat for satisfaction, but never obtained any My desire is, that the King order satisfaction to be made for the loss we sustained, being great and considerable.

" IX Several of the natives are indebted to us, of whom we can get no satisfaction, having several times made complaints to the governors, where they reside, for their assistance, but, as yet, could have no redress from them Our desire is, that all governors and their officers may be assistant to us in recovering our debts.

" X. We bring more treasure into the country than any other nation, which is carried to the custom-house; when cleared from thence, we send it to the mint to be coined; but the officers, for their own interest, delay the coining, to the hindrance of the dispatching our business, for, if our cash was coined in time, we could have our investments out of the country, and lade our ships according to the monsoons or season of the year Our request is, that, for the future, the coiners may not delay the coining, and that our treasure may be coined apart, for its more speedy performance.

" XI At the arrival of our ships, when unladen, we carry our goods to the custom-house, where they are thrown up and down very carelessly, where they are broken, dadamaged and stolen. Our request is, that we may have a ware-house apart by that of the Dutch, to put our goods in, that we may be no further sufferers; that when we dispose of our goods, or send them to our factory, that the customer take account of the King's customs, clearing them without farther molestation

" XII. Formerly when we cleared our treasure, &c goods from the custom-house, we used to make up the account of our customs at the latter end of the year, and then paid it. Of late years, the officers of the custom-house daily and monthly send to our broker, demanding the custom, for which reason, we are forced to fee the officers not to affront our broker, which has been much to our prejudice. Our request is, that they demand not the customs till the end of the year, as formerly accustomary.

" XIII. When

" XIII. When Gaſſadean Caun was Governor of Surat, by order of the King, the city was walled, at which time we had a garden near Brampore gate, about which we built 34 ſhops, ſtables for horſes, a ſummer-houſe, and ſeveral other convenient places, all firm buildings, which coſt to the amount of 25,000 rupees, when the wall came near our garden, our buildings were broke down, and our garden ſpoiled. We petioned the governor for ſatisfaction, he promiſed to allow us charges out of the King's treaſury, but we have not received any ſatisfaction. We demand ſatisfaction for the ſaid charges.

" XIV. Formerly when our goods came from other parts to Surat, we paid no more than due cuſtom, and ſhipped them for Europe, or other places, without any farther trouble Of late years the officers of thoſe places, from whence our goods come, put us to much trouble in demanding the governor's and officers of Surat's receipts of us, and many times detain our goods on that account, by which their proceedings our ſhips ſometimes return empty, and ſometimes are forced to remain in the country, which is a great loſs to the King in his cuſtoms, as well as to us Our requeſt is, that, for the future, ſuch receipts may not be demanded of us, but that we may have the ſame liberty as formerly

" XVI When our goods are in a readineſs, we ſend them to the accuſtomed place to be ſhopt, with a true invoice of the contents of the bales. Formerly they uſed to make choice of one or two bales, and if they found them according to invoice, then to ſhop and clear the reſt without any farther trouble. Of late the cuſtomer and officers, for their intereſt, and to delay time, open moſt of our goods, which is not only a great charge to us in repacking our goods, but alſo our goods are damaged. Our deſire is, that they may be ſhopt and ſhipt according to invoice, without any farther trouble, as accuſtomary.

" XVI. Our ſloops and boats coming from Swally to the cuſtom-houſe, the Meerbar uſed to ſearch them, if empty, cleared them, without any farther trouble. Of late Years the Meerbar, &c. officers will not clear them in three or four days, which is a great hindrance to us in the diſpatch of our buſineſs. Our deſire is, they may be ſearched and cleared as formerly, without delay.

" XVII Sometimes merchants that buy our goods, break, plead poverty, that they have not wherewithal to pay us, applying ourſelves to the governor and officers for juſtice, and their aſſiſtance, we can have no redreſs. Our deſire is, either that the governor, and officers order payment to be made, or to ſatisfy us out of the King's cuſtoms, that we may be no longer ſufferers by his ſubjects.

" XVIII. Sometimes we ſend our brokers or ſervants to the governor and officers, as our affairs require, who cannot be admitted without bribing the ſervants of ſaid governor and officers. We deſire it may be remedied for the future.

" XIX. Our horſes that come from Perſia, Baſſora, and at their arrival we uſed to ſend them to our ſtables, without farther delay Of late years at their landing are carried to the governor, his ſeal put about their necks, and ourſelves not truſted to uſe or diſpoſe of them. Our deſire is, that we may either ride them, or diſpoſe of them as formerly.

" XX. The governor and officers often ſend to us for broad cloth, ſword-blades, &c, in civility we cannot deny them, but when we ſend for the money, they deny the payment, and abuſe our ſervants, by which we are ſufferers Our deſire is, that, for the future, if the governor and officers deſire any goods, they may pay for them before they carry them away.

" XXI. Goods

"XXI. Goods provided at Agra, Amadabant, &c. coming to Baroach, the governor forces us to pay 18 per mil. cuſtom, which is contrary to the King's order, for we ought to pay but in one place as the Moors and Banyans. Our deſire is to be cleared of that cuſtom, that at the arrival of our goods at Surat, they may be ſent for out abroad without farther trouble, paying the King his due cuſtom. We deſire the ſame goods ſhipped at Baroach, Cambay, &c. that our ſhips may not loſe their paſſage to Europe.

"XXII. At the arrival of our European ſhips we ſend our goods to the Cuſtom-houſe, when cleared, carry them to the factory, ſometimes we have preſent vend, and ſometimes we ſend them to other places, as we think convenient, and for our intereſt; in caſe we ſend our goods to any other place, within the term of ſix months, then to pay half cuſtom for the ſaid goods, but if kept a full year, then to pay full cuſtom. Sometimes we ſend to Swally more goods than will lade our ſhips, the remainder we dare not keep there, for fear of fire or thieves. Our requeſt is, that for all ſuch goods as have paid cuſtom, we may freely bring them to Surat, keep them there for our next ſhipping, and ſhip them off without farther trouble or demands.

"XXIII. Our ſervants, Engliſh, Gentows, and others, many times we ſend up the country for the ſpeedier diſpatching of our affairs. When we ſend to them for our accounts, being at a diſtance and out of our reach, like to Mr. Petit and Mr. Boucher, they go to the governors for protection, by which means we cannot call them to an account, to our great loſs, and farther proceedings againſt them. Our requeſt is, that whatever Engliſhman, employed in your ſervice, without our leave and diſcharge, that they, with their effects and eſtates, be delivered to us, that they may not be protected, but we may proceed againſt them, as we think convenient.

"XXIV. It is near 90 years that we have traded here. At our firſt coming, the King granted us a piece of ground for a bunder to repair our ſhips and veſſels. Of late years Meer Naſſam hath forced it from us, and made it a garden. We are deſtitute of a place for repairing our veſſels, and other conveniencies. Our requeſt is, that we may have the ſame ground as formerly, or ſome other near the water ſide, fitting our occaſions.

"XXV. Formerly we uſed to pay for each bale of indigo, two and an half rupees per bale, without opening it. Of late years the officers open it, valuing it at their pleaſure, damaging the goods, which is a great loſs and charge to us in repacking it. Our deſire is, that, for the future, it may not be opened, paying the cuſtom as formerly.

"XXVI. The governor and officers buy of us, for the King's account, iron, guns, lead, giving us ſome money in hand. When they are turned out, and others come, when we demand the remainder, they delay the payment of the money, ſaying the King did not want our goods, that we may take them again, ſometimes after they have kept them one or two years. Our requeſt is, that whatever they buy of us for the King's account, we may be paid before they take them from us, and whatever goods we have that the King has no occaſion for, we may diſpoſe of them at our pleaſure.

"XXVII. As to the iſland of Bombay, it produceth no corn. The Mogul's fleet often winters there, which makes proviſions ſcarce and dear. We are in want of ſupplies from Surat, and other the Mogul's ports. When we ſend to theſe places, the ſaid governor and officers will not let us have any without giving them one and one

fourth per cent. Our requeſt is, to be free of this tax, that we may have liberty of ſending what is neceſſary for ſupply of the King's people and ſaid iſland.

"XXVIII. A ſhip, with her cargo, to the amount of 254,000 rupees, came out of England without our King's licence, which came to Surat. Our King's orders came to us to ſeize ſhip and cargo, which accordingly we did; but Salabat Caun then being governor, forced her from us, and delivered her to Mr. Boucher. Our deſire is, the ſaid ſhip may be re-delivered us, that Mr. Boucher and his broker give us a juſt and true account of the remainder of the cargo, and that the governor take care it be not ſquandered away by them.

"XXIX. It is the King's grant, that merchants pay but one cuſtom for their goods, without farther moleſtation, and, when they pay it, to take a diſcharge. Of late years, the officers have forced us to pay double cuſtom, beſides their perquiſites which they have demanded, which has been a great hindrance to the timely arrival of our goods. We deſire we may not be forced to pay more than accuſtomary.

"XXX. We formerly rented a piece of ground for ſtables, on which we were at conſiderable charges in building and reparations. Meer Naſſam, by buying it, deprived us of it. We deſire he may ſatisfy us the ſaid charges.

"XXXI. Some years ſince we loſt an anchor at the river's mouth, which Mirza Moſſum's people took up. We have often demanded it, offering to defray the charges he was at, but cannot get it. Our requeſt is, that his ſon Mirza Mahomud Araff deliver the ſame, we paying the charges they were at.

"XXXII. At the arrival of our ſhips, they ſend the boat up with news. At the cuſtom-houſe they ſtop her a whole day before they will let our people come on ſhore with letters, which is a great impediment to our affairs. Our requeſt is, that they may not be hindred for the future, but ſuffered to land as ſoon as they come to the cuſtom-houſe.

"XXXIII. As concerning my Bengal, we hear ſeveral ſhips have been taken and burnt, in which affair we are not concerned, neither do we know whether peace be concluded there or not. Our requeſt is, that the King iſſue out his orders, that no perſon queſtion us, or make demands on us on that account.

"XXXIV. Some years ago the Sedee, with the King's fleet, wintered at Bombay, in which time ſome of his people murdered two of our Engliſhmen, which made our men reſolutely reſolve to revenge their death, but, with great perſuaſions were pacified, being promiſed ſatisfaction. We acquainted the governor of it, who ordered the murderers to be impriſoned; but, three days after, they were cleared by the Sedee. Our requeſt is, they may be delivered that we may proſecute them, and that juſtice may be done.

"XXXV. When we are minded to take our pleaſure out of the city, although we return before the uſual time of ſhutting the gates, the porters ſhut them againſt us, demanding money before they will let us enter the city. Our requeſt is, that order be given by the governor, that we be no more affronted by thoſe people."

Theſe grievances were the foundation on which General Child built a war with the Mogul, without ever ſending them to court to know the King's pleaſure, but, without declaring war, ſeized his ſubjects ſhips wherever they were found, although they had the ſanction of his own paſſes. If the fourth article be Chriſtian the Mahometans and Heathens abhor it. The ſeventeenth and twenty-third are unjuſt, as well as the twenty-eighth; and the thirty and thirty-firſt were but weak arguments to help to ſupport his complaints and raiſe a war, that coſt his maſters above 400,000 pounds before they could lay it, beſides the loſs of their credit with the Mogul and his ſubjects, which, to this time, is

 not

not quite recovered. Or by what rule in policy could Sir Josiah or Sir John Child think to rob, murder and destroy the Moguls subjects in one part of his dominions, and the Company to enjoy a free trade in the other parts? or how they could expect that he would stand neuter? let politicians answer them, and I will proceed.

The general having such a number of great ships on his hands, and little employment for them, sent them to Mocha, Persia and Bengal, where the Suraters had sent theirs under the protection of his passes. Captain Andrews in the Charles II. went to Mocha, and set up the King of England's flag on the factory; and there he seized two English ships, one from England, called the Streights Merchant, commanded by captain Bear, and another belonging to Mr Samuel White at Siam. She was commanded by one Captain Wren, whom they killed in his cabin, because he would not deliver his ship up voluntarily. There was but little of their cargoes on board of the ships, so they might as well have let them alone. However such doings displeased the governor and merchants of Mocha, and they had a design to force Captain Andrews to restore the ships, but he suspecting as much, fled on board, and left his colours flying on his factory.

He soon after left Mocha, and carried his two prizes with him, and Mr. Clive, super-cargo of the Streights Merchant, got bills for his stock, payable at Grand Cairo, except about 60 bales of coffee that he carried with him to England, where it sold very well, and the Company were obliged by the law to make good all the ship's cargo *pro rata*, as those 60 bales sold for, which amounted to 32,000 pounds. The Bristol's cargo was also made good to her owners, with the ship that was taken at Johanna by the Phenix, which came to 60,000 pounds. And the Little Betty, that was also taken by the Phenix, in her way to India, cost them 12,000 pounds, though she and her cargo were sold at Bombay for less than 600 pounds. The owner of that vessel was one Mr. Hastewell a Quaker, and a substantial merchant in London, who arrested Captain Tyrrel going off the exchange. The captain proffered King James for bail, but the Quaker would not accept of him, but was content to accept of Sir Joseph Herne who became bail.

The Charles, Cæsar, and Royal James and Mary way-laid the Surat shipping, and brought in fourteen sail to Bombay, where I saw them lying in anno 1688, and yet no war with the Mogul, only with the inhabitants of Surat, whom he threatened to humble.

In October 1688, he went to Surat road, in the Royal James and Mary, with three or four other ships of countenance, to try if he could bully the governor, and frighten the merchants into a compliance of losing their estates, but was disappointed in both. He staid there till the beginning of January 1689, and then left Surat in a huff, and brought all the English ships along with him, except the ship Adventure, whom the Phenix had forced over the bar, when she was lying at the river's mouth, taking in a cargo for England, under the protection of Mr. Boucher's Phirmaund, which was the grievance complained of in the 28th article. However, her supercargo dying, the ships bottom was eaten up with worms in the river, and part of the cargo remained many years in Mr. Boucher's possession.

On the general's passage to Bombay, he met with a fleet of vessels that were carrying corn to an army of the Mogul's that lay at Dunder-rajah-pore, about 14 leagues to the southward of Bombay. That fleet he also seized, and carried to Bombay, though against the opinion of most of his council. Before this seizure he asked the opinion of some sea-officers; and one Captain Hilder, being the eldest, advised him not to meddle with the corn fleet, because it would straiten the army, and force them to look abroad for provisions, where it might be best procured, and perhaps might affect Bombay which,

which was in a great meaſure beholden to their neighbours for ſubſtenance and fire-wood. The general took him up with ſcurrilous language, calling him coward and fool, and bragg'd, that if Sedee Yacoup (which was the Mogul's general's name) ſhould dare to come with his forces on Bombay, he would blow him off again with the wind of his bum.

Cowards are generally ſtout when dangers are at a diſtance, and ſo was our general, who had never ſeen a ſword drawn in anger, and conſequently very ill acquainted with war, and when it came to his door, none was ever ſo confounded and dejected as he was, as appeared by his conduct in that war that he ſo fooliſhly brought on himſelf and his country.

CHAP. XIX.—*Gives an Account of the War of Bombay, between the Mogul and the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company; with Aurengzeb's Letters of Advice to the Governor of Bombay, on granting them a Peace and new Indulgences in Trade.*

WHEN the news came to Sedee Yacoup, that his fleet, with his proviſions of corn and cloth, were ſeized and carried to Bombay, he ſent a civil letter to our general to diſcharge his fleet, proteſting, that as he had not meddled in the affairs between him and the Suraters, he would continue neuter, unleſs he was forced to do otherwiſe: but our general gave him an inſolent anſwer, and the fleet was unladed at Bombay.

Sedee Yacoup ſent again to deſire the delivery of his fleet in fair terms, otherwiſe he would be obliged to come with his army, and quarter on Bombay, where his proviſions were detained, and that if his fleet was not ſet at liberty before the 11th of February, which was near at hand, he would certainly be on Bombay the 14: but ſtill receiving uncivil anſwers, he performed his promiſe to a tittle, for that very night he landed at a place called Sourec (about four miles diſtant from the main fort), with 20,000 men at his back.

Our general's ſecurity had made him neglect providing for receiving ſuch gueſts, truſting to the reputation of his forces, who were greater then than ever they had been before, or ever were ſince that time, and he had ſmall ſhips enough, had they been placed in proper places, that might certainly have hindered his landing, and forced him home again, but all thoſe neceſſary preparations were neglected, and the Sedee landed at mid-night, and the redoubt where he landed, fired a great gun to give the alarm, and ſo deſerted their poſt, and the Sedee took poſſeſſion of it. At one in the morning the caſtle fired three guns to give the general alarm, which brought ſuch fear on thoſe that lived ſecurely in their houſes without the caſtle, that the poor ladies, both white and black, run half-naked to the fort, and only carried their children with them, but they were all obliged to wait without the wall, till day-light relieved them.

Next morning the Sedee marched to Mazagun, a ſmall fort of 14 guns, and about a random ſhot diſtant from the caſtle. On the enemy's approach, that fort though ſituated on a point of rocks, where the ſea defended three quarters of it, was alſo deſerted in ſuch precipitancy, that eight or ten cheſts of treaſure, which generally contain 1000 pounds each, and four cheſts of new arms, were left behind, though the ſeamen that were ſent in boats to bring them off, preferred to carry them along with them; but the commanding officer thought them not fit to be truſted with money and arms, and ſo they were left for a preſent to Sedee Yacoup, with fourteen cannon, two mortars, with ſome powder, ſhot and ſhells: but why that treaſure, and thoſe arms and ammunition were depoſited in Mazagun, few could account for, and the

reaſons

reasons why they were left to the enemy were as wonderful; but it was plain, that the old way of fishing in troubled waters was known at Bombay, and the officer was never called to account for his oversight.

Sedee Yacoup finding no opposition, sent a party of men towards Mahim, to plunder the poor peasants, and to take that fort, which he thought, might be deserted as the rest had been, and was not in the least out in his conjecture, for the garrison had embarked in boats, and came by sea to Bombay, before they saw an enemy. The Sedee taking possession of Mazagun, hoisted his flag there, and made it his head quarters.

The following day some of the enemy appeared on Mazagun hills, which grieved our general's righteous soul to see infidels come so near him in an hostile manner. He called a minion of his own, one Captain Pean, who was no better soldier than himself, and ordered him to take two companies, each containing about seventy men, and march to those hills, and drive the enemy out of his sight. He ordered one Monro, who had been a soldier at Tangier, to be his lieutenant. In Tangier he had received a wound in his heel, that spoiled his running, and accordingly they marched in good order within shot of the enemy, who shewed their heads above the surface of the hill, but did not offer to advance or expose their bodies. Several gentlemen volunteers took their arms, and accompanied the little army.

The lieutenant advised the captain to march up the hill in platoons, to separate the enemy's forces. The captain took it as an affront to be advised, told his lieutenant, that, when he had the command in his own hands, he might use it as he thought fit, but, as it was intrusted to him, he would use it according to his own mind, and so ordered his men to spread as much as they could, and when they saw the enemy open in the plain, to discharge all at once amongst them, which, he said would terrify them. Monro opposed his scheme, and told him of the danger he would bring himself and them into, if the enemy should attack them whilst their arms were reloading; but nothing could dissuade him from his project, and so commanded his men to fire as he had directed. The Sedee's being ten to one in numbers, and better runners than our men, and better acquainted with close fighting with sword and target, took hold of the opportunity, and advanced with all their speed, which the captain perceiving, betook himself to his heels, and was the foremost man to the Portugueze church, where he took courage to look behind him, to see what was become of his men. Poor Monro thinking to stop the enemy's career by a part of the wing that he commanded, found himself deserted by all, but 13 or 14 stout fellows, who where soon surrounded by the enemy, and cut to pieces.

Pean had not stop at the Portugueze church, had he not found a party of 100 men that lay there ready to support or receive him, as his case should require. He was a fellow as well made for running as any I ever saw, and was so much in the general's favour, that he had not so much as a reprimand for his cowardice and misbehaviour. This relation I had from a gentleman volunteer, who kept always near the captain while he could keep pace with him.

When the general left Surat, there where several gentlemen in it, some in the Company's service, and some private persons, who were all imprisoned, and put in irons, except Mr. Boucher and his dependents, who were protected by his Phirmaund. Those imprisoned were scurvily used, being obliged to pass through the streets with irons about their necks, for spectacles to please the mob. Captain Johnson and Captain Yeaman, though particular merchants, were obliged to act their parts in the tragi-comedy, and continue prisoners, where Captain Johnson died; but Captain Yeaman got his liberty at the end of the war, which was about the beginning of June 1690.

I will

I will now return back to the year 1686, when Sir John Weyburn was ſent from England, with a commiſſion of judge admiral from the King, and he had likewiſe another commiſſion from the governor of the Company (which they made him believe was alſo from the King) to condemn and hang 13 of the inhabitants of St. Helena, where, in a tumult cauſed by the oppreſſions of the governor of that iſland, one Johnſon the ſecond was killed. Sir John Weyburn took his paſſage to India on board the ſhip London, and, in his way, called at St. Helena, and hanged up the 13 proſcribed perſons, without form of proceſs, for which the Company paid dear afterwards, and ſo had Sir John, had he lived, but he finding the illegal proceedings of Mr. Child to be inſupportable, and meeting with many affronts (from that man without manners) died at Bombay about two months before the Sedee came on it. He was much lamented by all honeſt men that knew him. He was captain of the Happy Return who accompanied the Glouceſter when ſhe was bringing the Duke of York to Scotland, and loſt by the way. It was Captain Weyburn that ſent his barge to wait on the Duke, and brought him ſafe on board of the Happy Return, who carried him forward to Scotland, for which good ſervice he was knighted. He was ever after a great favourite of King James, who ſeeing he could not be brought into his meaſures, put that employ on him, to diſmiſs him with honour.

And now the Sedee being maſter of the whole iſland, except the caſtle and about half a mile to the ſouthward of the caſtle, he raiſed batteries on Dungeree Hill, which overlooked the fort wall, and diſturbed the garriſon very much; then he put four great guns in the cuſtom-houſe, commonly called the India-houſe, and raiſed a battery at the Moody's houſe, within 200 paces of the fort, and another in the lady's houſe that he had been ſo unkind to, ſo that it was dangerous to go out or in at the caſtle gate, till we got up an half moon before it. All men were then preſt into the Company's ſervice, and I amongſt the reſt. We paſſed the months from April to September very ill, for proviſions grew ſcarce by the addition of 3000 Sevajees that were employed as auxiliaries in the military ſervice of the Company. When the winter months were over, at September we went to ſea with our ſmall ſhips, to cruize on the Mogul's ſubjects, and had pretty good ſucceſs. I was employed in that ſervice, and had the command of a ſmall privateer of ſeven or eight tuns, with twenty fighting men, and ſixteen rowers. In three or four months I brought nine prizes into Bombay, laden moſt with proviſions and clothes for the enemy's army, which was now increaſed to 40,000: but we were not allowed any plunder, but were rather plundered ourſelves, for when we brought our prizes in, our cheſts were ſeverely ſearched, and if we had ſaved any of our pay, it was ſeized for the Company's uſe, as money we had found in the prizes, which made us careleſs in purſuing the enemy at ſea. Except when hunger pinched we never looked out for prizes, by which indifference of ours many of the enemy eſcaped that we could have taken.

The ill ſucceſs we had aſhore with the enemy made our General ſick, and, in December, he diſpatched two factors to the Mogul's court, with a Surat merchant, called Meer Mezamie. He was our friend, and had ſome intereſt at court. They went under the name of the Engliſh ambaſſadors. Mr. George Weldon was firſt in commiſſion, and Abraham Navaar, a Jew, was ſecond. In fifteen days they arrived at court, being then at Jehanabant. They were received but coldly; but, about the middle of April, by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of preſents to the officers at court, they were admitted to audience, but were brought to Aurengzeb's preſence after a new mode for ambaſſadors, their hands being tied by a ſaſh before them, and were obliged to proſtrate. The King gave them a ſevere reprimand, and then aſked their demands.

They

They firſt made a confeſſion of their faults, and deſired pardon, then that their Phirmaund, which was forfeited, ſhould be renewed, and that the Sedee and his army ſhould be ordered off Bombay. Their ſubmiſſion he accepted of, and pardoned their faults, on condition that Mr. Child ſhould leave India in nine months, and never come back again, the Phirmaund to be renewed, on condition that ſatisfaction ſhould be given his ſubjects on account of debts contracted, robberies committed, and loſſes and damages made good, and, on ſecurity given for the due performances of theſe premiſſes, the Sedee and his army ſhould be ordered off the iſland. In January General Child died, which much facilitated their affairs, but it was kept ſecret at court, till they knew how the King would order the affair about him. In March Meer Mezamie died alſo, and, it was ſuppoſed, was poiſoned by ſome enemies contracted by his good ſervices to the Engliſh When he was given over by phyſicians, our ambaſſadors ſent to know what he had done with 50,000 rupees, he had received for ſecret ſervices. He anſwered, that he was ſorry that ever he had meddled in their affairs, for he had ſerved them even with his life, and yet they were not contended, for what uſe that ſum was put to, he durſt not divulge.

When our affairs were in ſo bad circumſtances at the Mogul's court, the Dutch Company had one Mr. Baroon their ambaſſador there, who deſigned to impoſe on Aurengzeb, who, he thought was ignorant of European affairs. The news of the revolution in Britain being arrived in India, when he had an audience of Aurengzeb, he began to magnify the power and grandeur of his country, and vilify the Engliſh. The Mogul ſeemed to be pleaſed with his diſcourſe, to encourage him to go on. He told, that the Engliſh were but contemptible in compariſon of his ſovereigns, for they were forced to ſend the Engliſh a King to rule over them, and that if His Majeſty would exclude the Engliſh from the trade of his dominions, the Hollanders would carry it to a much greater height, and enrich his treaſury, and the Engliſh would not know where to get bread. The Mogul gravely anſwered, that if his maſters were ſo much ſuperior to the Engliſh in power and riches, they might eaſily drive them out of India, engroſs all the trade of his countries to themſelves, and commanded him to tell his maſters, that he expected it from them. Then the ambaſſador excuſed himſelf, and told, that he could act nothing in that affair till he received orders from Holland Aurengzeb then reprimanded him, and ſhewed him wherein he had lied; for, ſays he, about ſeventeen years ago, the King of France conquered moſt of your country in a few days, and that it was the Engliſh, and not the power of Holland, that repelled him, and that if England did not hold the balance of power, either the Emperor or the King of France could conquer it in one campaign.

The ambaſſador knew not how to anſwer to thoſe truths. but, being ſent to ſolicit ſome indulgence in their trade, he could obtain none, and ſo left the court diſſatisfied.

After our ambaſſadors had obtained pardon, they began to be reſpected, and had liberty to take their diverſion abroad, till a new Phirmaund was drawing up, which, according to the method of the eaſtern courts, took up ſome time. however, orders were ſent to the Sedee to forbear hoſtilities, and the Engliſh had the ſame orders, ſo that frequent viſits paſt between the Sedee's people and ours. And, during the war, about 60 Europeans of ſeveral nations, had deſerted from us, and took pay of the Sedee. The reaſon they gave for their deſertion, was ill uſage they had received from the Iriſh officers, yet moſt of them returned after the war, on promiſe of pardon.

The Phirmaund being ready, and the required ſecurity given, Sedee Yacoup left Bombay the 8th of June, 1690, but he alſo left a peſtilence behind him, which, in four

months time, deſtroyed more men than the war had done, and, for joy, made a malicious bonfire of his head quarters Mazagun fort.

Now we may ſee the Mogul's ſtyle in his new Phirmaund to be ſent to Surat, as it ſtands tranſlated by the Company's interpreters, which runs thus in the printed copy annexed to Sir John Child's 35 articles of grievances:

THE occaſion of your writing to me, was your being in fault of all theſe troubles, that you have repented of what you have done, that you made ſeveral complaints againſt former governors, all which I have here from ſeveral of my Umbras, and the ſeveral abuſes received from them, and their officers, all which you ſhould have acquainted me with, before you proceeded ſo violently. Having acknowledged your error, and deſired pardon, I do not only grant your requeſt, pardoning what is paſt, but granting you a Phirmaund according to your deſire, and have ordered Aſſit Caun to forward it to the governor of Surat, with ſuch particulars as he will acquaint you with.

At the arrival of my Phirmaund, receive it with great reſpect, acknowledging the great glory you have got in obtaining the ſame, that you may trade as formerly at your pleaſure, and as accuſtomary That you deliver the merchants, that have complained againſt you, their ſhips with their effects. That, for the future, you do not commit the like error, in doing as you have done, and proceed according to my will and pleaſure, and be not forgetful of the ſame.

If you receive any affronts from my governors, or their officers, or any of my ſubjects, be not negligent in acquainting me of the ſame. I have ordered Aſſit Caun to write accordingly.

What you write concerning former governors, protecting Mr. Boucher, that you have ſeveral demands of him, that you cannot call him to an account, deſiring that he may be delivered to you. My order is, that you prove your demands according to law, that juſtice may be done accordingly.

Dated the 31ſt year of Aurengzeb's reign.

It ſeems the King was not ignorant of the hard uſage his ſubjects had met with, nor was he deſirous to uſe ſeverity in puniſhing offences and affronts, but, like an indulgent prince, only told them of their faults, and prudently admoniſhed them not to be guilty of falling into ſuch like errors, and, in a majeſtic ſtyle, adviſed them to receive his favours and graces with great reſpect, and that they ought to make the law the ſtandard of juſtice, and, in all his words and actions, uſed a Chriſtian moderation.

General Child being dead, Mr John Vaux ſucceeded him in the government of Bombay, but Mr. Bartholomew Harris, who had been priſoner at Surat (all the time of the rupture) had the ſeigniority in the Company's ſervice, but it being not the cuſtom for one that had been the Mogul's priſoner (for any crimes judged to be capital) to receive public marks of eſteem from the ſtate, without a ſingular amneſty from the King, Mr. Vaux was obliged to go to Surat and receive the Phirmaund and the King's ſerpaw or preſent, which, on ſuch occaſions, is generally a fine horſe, and a ſuit of clothes from head to foot, made of rich atlaſſes or zeerbaſtas. Thoſe are ſatins and taffetas full of gold or ſilver flowers wrought in them. The horſe muſt never after be ſold, on no account whatſoever. They have alſo a fine turban, embroidered ſhoes, and a dagger of value, ſtuck into a fine cummerband or ſaſh, and, being equipt in that habit, the Phermaund is preſented (by the gooſberdaar or hoſbalhouckain, or, in Engliſh, the King's meſſenger,) and the governor of the pro-

vince or city makes a short speech adapted to the occasion, setting forth the great honour conferred upon him by the greatest King in the world, with an admonition to make future actions deserve the merit of such favours.

After the aforesaid manner Mr. Vaux received the Phirmaund in a gilded box, and, according to custom, put it on his turban for a little while, and, by an interpreter, returned the governor's compliment, acknowledging the King's favours, and the governor's civilities; and then the governor conducted him from the garden (where the ceremony was performed) into the city, through a great concourse of people, who welcomed him with shouts of joy as he passed through the streets to the English factory.

After Mr. Vaux had staid in the city about a week, he sent to acquaint the governor of the necessity he lay under to return back to his government of Bombay; but the governor sent him word, that none but he could be trusted by the King to see the performance of the contract accomplished, and begged, that he would not think of leaving the city, lest the King should take it amiss, and repent him of the favours he had shewed to the East India Company, and so Mr. Vaux was detained an hostage for his master's future good behaviour

Mr. Harris, according to that Company's ordinary custom, demanded the presidency from Mr. Vaux, who, to save contention, gave it to him, though his mind was so debilitated, that he was but few degrees wiser than an ideot, and, in two years time, Mr. Vaux was suspended the Company's service, and to remain their hostage at his own charges, and so he continued till the year 1697, when he, by accident, was drowned in Surat river, by a pinnace's oversetting, in which he and his lady had been taking a pleasure on the water

This Mr. Vaux had been book-keeper to Sir Josiah Child in England, and, for his good services and behaviour, was preferred by his master to a supercargo's post in a ship to China, which trade, in those times, was the most profitable of any within the limits of the Company's charter. In anno 1684, he was sent thither on board a ship called the Carolina, commanded by one Captain Harding, but Mr Vaux and Harding disagreeing in their passage to China, Mr. Vaux laded the ship, and sent her back to England, while he himself went passenger on board a Surat ship for Bombay, where he was entertained in the Company's service as a factor, and wrote to Sir Josiah Child the reasons he had for leaving the Carolina, and his resolution of staying in India. Sir Josiah continued his esteem for Mr. Vaux, and procured him several profitable posts at one and the same time in the Company's service, and, amongst the rest, constituted him judge in civil affairs, which brought him both a good salary and perquisites. After he was installed in that office, Sir Josiah wrote him a letter of admonition and reminiscence, wherein, after many postulates, he put him in mind of the many favours he had done him, and that now, having the power of condemning the Company's enemies, or such as should be deemed so, particularly those who should dare to question the Company's power over all the British subjects in India, and that he expected his orders from time to time, should be observed and obeyed as statute laws.

Mr. Vaux gratefully acknowledged Sir Josiah's favours in his answer to that letter, and promised, that, as he had put him into that post of honour and profit, he would strive to acquit himself with all the integrity and justice he was capable of, and that the laws of his country should be the rule he designed to walk by.

In answer to that letter, Sir Josiah seemed to be angry, and wrote roundly to Mr. Vaux, that he expected his orders were to be his rules, and not the laws of England, which

which were an heap of nonſenſe, compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly knew how to make laws for the good government of their own private families, much leſs for the regulating of companies and foreign commerce.

I am the more particular in this account, becauſe I ſaw and copied both thoſe letters in anno 1696, while Mr. Vaux and I were priſoners at Surat, on account of Captain Every's robbing the Mogul's great ſhip, called the Gunſway.

Having given an account of ſome part of Sir John Child's reign, I muſt alſo remark a few ſlips in the government of ſome of his ſucceſſors, and of the ways that they took to get into the chair of Bombay.

I remarked before, that Mr. Harris was a very weak and indolent perſon, very unfit to govern a colony and the factories ſubordinate to Bombay, and, by that means, a cunning deſigning fellow, one Mr. Samuel Anneſley, had the reins of the government wholly in his management, who ſhewed, that he had malicious wit and avarice enough to embroil both his maſters and the private merchants affairs in Surat in Harris's time, and, on Harris's death, got into the preſidency, or rather tyranny.

The Mogul's ſubjects have a good many fine large ſhips that trade all over India. The owners of thoſe ſhips had a very great regard for the courage, conduct, and art of navigation of the Engliſh, above any other European nation in India; and, for thoſe qualifications, the Indian owners procured Engliſh officers to go in their ſhips, and allowed them very handſome ſalaries and indulgences. The captains had from 10 to 15l. per month. Mates from ſix to nine pounds, and the gunners and boatſwains had alſo good ſalaries, beſides the privilege of carrying ſome goods and merchandizes, freight free.

Mr. Anneſley thought thoſe ſalaries and indulgences were too great for ſeamen, ſo he went about to reduce them to about one half, and the other moiety he looked on as his own due by virtue of his poſt.

Some, through fear or neceſſity complied, others again, who diſpiſed both his power and tyranny, would, by no means, come into his meaſures, and thoſe he looked on as rebels, and perſecuted them to the utmoſt of his power, bribing the Mogul's governor to plague us, ſo ſome were ruined by his villainy, whilſt others bade him open defiance: and we were not wanting on our ſide to expoſe him and his maſters to the Mogul's ſubjects, which, in the end, was the loſs of both their eſteem and credit among the trading people of that country. The poorer ſort, whoſe maintenance depended on their labour and induſtry, loſing their employs in the Mooriſh merchants ſervice, were obliged to fall on new ſchemes to ſupport themſelves, not very well ſuited to the Company's intereſt, for ſome went and joined themſelves with the pirates.

The Company in England received accounts from every one that came from India, of Harris and Anneſley's mal-adminiſtrations, ſent out Sir John Gayer to take care of their affairs. He arrived in anno 1694, with the lofty title of General of all India. He continued Anneſley in the Company's ſervice till the year 1700, but diveſted him of all power of doing more miſchief; and, in the end, he diſmiſſed him the Company's ſervice.

Sir John Gayer was a man not vicious in his temper, yet he had ſome ſlips in his government that proved prejudicial to his character, though, in matters of common commerce he acted pretty regularly, till a young laſs of 3000l. portion made him diſpenſe with the common methods of matrimony. This young gentlewoman was a daughter of Mr. Ward, before mentioned. She had no relations alive, and unadviſedly

visedly married one Mr. Solomon Lloyd, a factor, and the marriage was clandestine, which was positively against the statute law of Bombay, where no marriage is binding but when the governor's consent is tacked to it. This law Sir John had got by heart, and unmarried the poor factor after consummation, and married her to his own son; but the second marriage was attended with ill consequences, for, whilst her husband was at China, one Coleman was ordered to teach her to write good English, but, neglecting those orders, he taught her something else, and was discovered in the practising, by a watchful mother-in-law. The poor school-master was sent, in irons, on board a ship for England, and the poor husband's head ached as long as he lived.

Another piece of ill conduct was in forcing the Mocha frigate's men on board, against their wills, to proceed on a voyage to China, notwithstanding their just complaints against Edgecomb their captain, whom the mutineers shot in his cabin, and then turned pirates, and infested the streights of Malacca, robbing and plundering all ships that they could overcome. Captain Hide, in the Dorrel, met her there in her passage to China, and had a sharp engagement with her, but got clear with the loss of 16 men killed, and some wounded, which disabled the Dorrel so, that she proceeded no farther than Malacco.

And another fault of Sir John's was in suffering himself and his lady to be taken prisoners at Swally, by the governor of Surat's order, when he might either have avoided that disgrace by force or flight, but it was generally believed, that that was only a piece of policy to get to Surat, in order to employ his money, which he could do much better there than at Bombay.

Sir Nicholas Waite supplanted Sir John in the government of Bombay, and in the presidency. He was a man of very loose morals; and his bare-faced injustices and prevarications irritated the inhabitants and soldiery of Bombay, that they seized him, and sent him prisoner for England. Though his reign was short, it was very pernicious to his masters, as well as to particular merchants under his jurisdiction. But, to return from this digression.

Bombay was governed by a deputy, since the president was obliged to stay at Surat. And of seven or eight hundred English that inhabited before the war, there were not above sixty left by the sword and plague, and Bombay, that was one of the pleasantest places in India, was brought to be one of the most dismal deserts, but the spirit of injustice still resided in it, for those who had ventured through the war and plague in defence of the island, had not the liberty of returning home to their own country, nor to raise their fortune by private trade, but all were continued pressed men in the Right Honourable Company's service, without the hope of preferment, which made some discontents.

And, even in the time of war, when strangers should have been encouraged to bring provisions on the island, the Company's taxes of five per cent. were exacted with great severity, for I have seen the Portuguese subjects bring twenty or thirty poultry to the market, and have had five of the best taken for the custom of the rest.

CHAP. XX.—*Gives an Account of what is remarkable on some Islands, and of the Sea-coast, as far as* Goa.

TWO leagues from the castle is a small island belonging to the Company, called Butcher's island; it is of no use, besides hauling ships ashore to clean, and graze a few cattle. And, a league from thence, is another larger, called Elephanto, belonging to the Portugueze, and serves only to feed some cattle I believe it took its name from an elephant carved out of a great black stone, about seven foot in height. It is so like a living elephant, that, at two hundred yards distance, a sharp eye might be deceived by its similitude. A little way from that stands an horse, cut out of a stone, but not so proportionable and well-shaped as the elephant.

There is a pretty high mountain stands in the middle of the island, shaped like a blunt pyramid, and, about the half of the way to the top, is a large cave, that has two large inlets, which serve both for passage into it and lights. The mountain above it rests on large pillars, hewn out of a solid rock, and the pillars curiously carved. Some have the figures of men, about eight feet high, in several postures, but exceedingly well proportioned and cut. There is one that has a giant, with four heads joined, and their faces looking from each other. He is in a sitting posture, with his legs and feet under his body. His right hand is above twenty inches long. There are several dark rooms hewn out of the rock, and a fine spring of sweet water comes out of one room, and runs through the cave out at one of the inlets. I fired a fusee into one of the rooms, but I never heard cannon nor thunder make such a dreadful noise, which continued about half a minute, and the mountain seemed to shake. As soon as the noise was over, a large serpent appeared, which made us take to our heels, and got out of the cave at one door, and he, in great haste, went out at the other. I judged him about 15 foot long, and two foot about. And these were all that I saw worth observation on that island. I asked the inhabitants of the island, who were all Gentows, or Gentiles, about twenty in number, if they had any account, by history or tradition, who made the cave, or the quadrupeds carved in stone, but they could give no account. About a league from Elephanto, is an island, called Salvageo. It affords nothing but fire-wood, with which it supplies Bombay. And, about half a league from it, is the island of Caronjaa, belonging to the Portugueze. It affords no trade, but eatables for Bombay, from whence it lies east about two leagues. Between it and the main land, is the mouth of Pen river. And four leagues south of Bombay, are two small islands, Undra and Cundra. The first has a fortress belonging to the Sedee, and the other is fortified by the Sevajee, and is now in the hands of Connajee Angarie. The English have made several attempts to take it, but never could, though in anno 1719, it had certainly been taken, had not a Portugueze traitor, who lay on one quarter of it with some vessels of war to hinder relief coming to it, betrayed his trust, and let some boats pass by in the night with provisions and ammunition, which the island was in great want of. The English landed, and were obliged to retire by some loss they received.

About four miles to the south-east of Cundra, is Culabee, a fort built on a rock a little way from the main land; and, at high water, it is an island, belonging to the Sevajee. And, two leagues to the south of Culabee, is Chaul, a town belonging to the

 the

the Portugueze, whose river affords an harbour for small vessels. The town is fortified, and so is an island on the south side of the harbour, called Chaul Moat, which may be known five or six leagues off at sea, by a white church built on it. Chaul, in former times, was a noted place for trade, particularly for fine embroidered quilts, but now it is miserably poor.

Dande Rajapore lies seven leagues to the southward of Chaul, a town belonging to the Sedee, who generally lies there with a fleet of the Mogul's vessels and ships of war, and an army of 30 or 40,000 men. This place affords a good harbour for his fleet, and the country about feeds good numbers of black cattle, from whence Bombay is mostly supplied, when they keep in good terms with the Sedee, otherwise he makes them feed on fish, which that island is plentifully stored with, but now worse than before the Sedee's war. There is a rock fortified by the Sevagee, that lies within a league of the mouth of Dande Rajapore river, to the northward, and another as far to the southward, called the Whale, that shews his back at low water.

Coasting to the southward from Dande Rajapore, are several small rivers, and fishing towns. Zeferdon is the best, and two little islands called Horney Coat, fortified and kept by the Sevagee. It lies five leagues to the northward of Dabul, which stands the mouth of a large river, and, of old, was a place of trade, and where the English once had a factory

There is an excellent harbour for shipping eight leagues to the southward of Dabul, called Sangufeer, but the country about being inhabited by raparees, it is not frequented: nor is Rajapore, about seven leagues to the southward of Sangufeer, though it has the conveniency of one of the best harbours in the world, and had formerly both an English and French factory settled there, and the place where General Child had his education, from ten years old to eighteen, under his uncle Mr. Goodshaw, who was chief there, and having betrayed some of his uncle's secrets, in making use of the Company's cash in his own private trade, his uncle was cashiered, and, before the nephew was come to four and twenty, he had the honour to fill his chair.

About the year 1685, when Aurengzeb's army was in Decan, in order to bring Sevajee Rajah to submission, but could never do it, a son of Aurengzeb, called Sheck Eckbar, had contracted a friendship with the Rajah. His father having notice of it, dissembled his resentment, till he had, by fair promises, enticed the Sevajee to come to his camp on the public faith, but had a design to have him cut off in his return from the camp. Sheek Eckbar forewarned him of his danger, while he was in the camp, which made the Rajah depart in the night, without taking a formal leave, which Aurengzeb imputed to his son's advice to the Rajah, and, to requite his son, he had a mind to make his life atone for the Rajah's, but designed it to be taken from him by stratagem; wherefore, pretending more kindness than ordinary to his son, he sent him a fine horse, richly furnished, and a vest, which was very rich and beautiful, but was poisoned by a perfumed powder. His son, with great acknowledgements, received the present, but, being too well acquainted with his father's subtilty, put not the vest on, but deferred it to another time, that he might put it on with more solemnity, however, he ordered it to be put on a slave, who died in a day or two after he put it on. On which Sheek Eckbar fled to Rajahpore, and took shipping, with a few attendants, for Muskat, where he was kindly received by two English gentlemen, Messieurs Bendal and Stephens, and they provided a vessel to carry him to Persia, where he had a royal wel-

come, and was ſoon after married to that King's ſiſter, whom Merriweys dethroned, and beheaded at Iſpahan.

When the Engliſh had a factory at Rajahpore, that country produced the fineſt beteellas and muſlins in India; but now all arts and ſciences are diſcouraged, and the port not frequented. There are fine artificial ciſterns for water there, and a natural hot bath, within three yards of a very cold one; and both are reckoned very medicinal.

Ghiria is another harbour, about two leagues to the ſouthward of Rajapore. That is the common place of reſidence for Connajee Angarie, which is well fortified by a ſtrong large caſtle, waſhed by the ſea. Whether Ghiria is alſo called Vizendruck, or whether it lies about ſeven leagues more ſoutherly, I am not certain, but that place, to the ſouthward, determines the limits of his government that way.

About twelve leagues to the ſouthward of Ghiria, is an iſland about two miles in circumference, and fortified with a ſtone wall round it, called Malwan. It lies about a mile from the main land, and is governed by an independent Rajah, who is alſo a freebooter, and keeps three or four grabs at ſea to rob all whom they can maſter. And that is all I know of him.

Vingula lies about four leagues to the ſouthward of Malwan, and was formerly a place of trade, and the Dutch Company had a factory there for cloth, both fine and coarſe. But, in anno 1696, a Rajah, called Kempaſon, overrun that country, and ſubdued it, and, under pretence of viſiting the Dutch chief factor, took an opportunity of the Dutch being in ſecurity, ſeized their factory, and plundered it, but killed nobody. The trading people in the country, in and about the town, having no ſecurity for their perſons and eſtates, fled to the Portugueze dominions of Goa, that lie within ſix leagues of Vingula The Rajah finding the country deſerted by the natives, wrote to the viceroy of Goa to ſend them back, but, on his non-compliance, entered the Portugueze territories, and plundered and burnt all he could lay hands on, not ſparing the churches and images, for which ſacrilege the Portugueze gave him the name of Kema Sancto, or, Saint Burner, and they raiſed a force ſufficient to drive him and his freebooters out of their dominions, but, for many years, continued in his robberies, when opportunity preſented, which kept the poor country peaſants continually alarmed, and, for all the Portugueze haughtineſs and pride, they were at laſt forced to buy a peace, and allow him a yearly penſion to keep him quiet.

He is a ſoldier of fortune, and will ſerve thoſe Rajahs who hire him beſt, ſo that if he aſſiſts one at one time, if another gives him better hire, he tacks about, and ſerves on the other ſide. His army conſiſts of 7 or 8000 men, and he had two grabs a pirating at ſea, but, in a diſpute about a prize which Connajee Angarie laid claim to, they went to war, and Connajee being much ſuperior to him in power, firſt took his grabs and burnt them, and then landed at Vingurla, and burnt and deſtroyed the villages near the town. And I know not if ever they made peace ſince.

Two leagues to the northward of Vingurla river there is a parcel of rocks that ſtretches about two leagues into the ſea. The outermoſt lies in 17 fathoms of depth. They ſeem to have been volcanoes.

The religion of all the countries, from Dande Rajapore, to the dominions of Goa, is Paganiſm; but they are not tied up to divine or moral rules. And ſo I leave them to take a view of Goa.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI. — *Gives an Account of Goa, its Situation, Trade, Religion and Churches, with the Fortifications about it, the Limits of the Portugueze Dominions there, as far South as Cabo de Rama.*

GOA, the metropolis of India, under the dominion of the crown of Portugal, ſtands on an iſland about 12 miles long, and ſix broad. The city is built on the north ſide of it, on a champaign ground, and has the conveniency of a fine ſalt water river, capable to receive ſhips of the largeſt ſize, where they lie within a mile of the town. The banks of the river are beautified with noble ſtructures of churches, caſtles, and gentlemen's houſes, but, in the city, the air is reckoned unwholeſome, which is one cauſe why at preſent it is not well inhabited. The viceroy's palace is a noble edifice, ſtanding within piſtol ſhot of the river, over one of the gates of the city, which leads to a ſpacious noble ſtreet, about half a mile long, and terminates at a beautiful church, called Miſericordia. The city contains many noble churches, convents and cloiſters, with a ſtately large hoſpital, all well endowed, and well kept. The market-place ſtands near the Miſericordia church, and takes up about an acre ſquare, where moſt things of the product of that country are to be ſold, and, in the ſhops about it, may be had what Europe, China, Bengal, and other countries of leſs note furniſh them with. Every church has a ſet of bells, that one or other of them are continually ringing, and, being all chriſtened, and dedicated to ſome ſaint, they have a ſpecific power to drive away all manner of evil ſpirits, except poverty in the laity, and pride in the clergy, but, to thoſe that are not uſed to nocturnal noiſes, they are very troubleſome in the nights. The viceroy generally reſides at the powder-houſe, about two miles below the city, on the river ſide, the ſprings of water there being reckoned the beſt on the iſland, which is a liquor very much eſteemed by the Portugueze, except when they can get wine or ſpirits coſt free, and then they will drink to exceſs.

The religion, eſtabliſhed by law, is the Romiſh, and here are the moſt zealous bigots of it, and the laws of the church (but not of their country) are rigorouſly obſerved, and there is a ſevere inquiſition court to puniſh any whom the inquiſitors have the leaſt ſuſpicion of, which awes both clergy and laity to ſuch a complacency, that I queſtion if there is ſuch a pack of notorious hypocrites in the world, and yet their Indian converts, who go by the general name of Cannarians, retain ſo much of their ancient heatheniſh ſuperſtition, that they abſtain from eating cows fleſh, becauſe of the veneration paid to that beaſt, above others, by the Gentows, whoſe offspring they are.

There are many Gentows dwell in the city, who cannot be brought to change their idolatrous ſuperſtition for the religion of Rome; but they are tolerated becauſe they are generally more induſtrious than the Chriſtians, eſpecially in mechanical employments and agriculture, but the mercantile part of them are very ſubject to the inſults of the Reynolds, or European Fidalgoes, who will often buy their goods, and never pay for them, which cuſtom has alſo crept into ſome countries better poliſhed than the Portugueze, only with ſome reſtrictions, that they dare not uſe force in taking what they have occaſion for, as the Portugueze do, nor inflict corporal puniſhments on their creditors, when they aſk for their money, ſo that it is dangerous for the poor induſtrious merchant, either to refuſe their goods, or aſk for their money when it is due,

due, for fear of a baſtinado in either caſe, and ſometimes worſe conſequences, which abuſes make the circulation of trade very faint and weak.

The [illegible] Goa are very numerous and illiterate, and are a very great burden on the ſtate. [illegible] churches are richly furniſhed with fine decorations and images, and, as I ſaid before, richly endowed to maintain the luxury of a great number of idle drones.

Their houſes are large, and their outſides magnificent; but within (like their owners heads) they are but poorly furniſhed, and their tables very mean. Green fruits and roots, in their ſeaſons, with a little bread and rice go far in their diet; and candied and preſerved fruits are their regalio in all ſeaſons. They have hogs and fowl plenty, but uſe them ſparingly, and the church feeds moſt on fiſh, but not miraculouſly, for the poor fiſhers dare ſell none till the prieſthood is firſt ſerved, ſo that the laity moſtly eat ſtale or ſtinking fiſh. And the ſoldiery, fiſhers, peaſants and handicrafts feed on a little rice boiled in water, with a little bit of ſalt fiſh, or atchaar, which is pickled fruits or roots, and drink fair water when they can get it. This fine ſpare diet never loads them with ſuperabundant fleſh on their bones, and, without the church, it is rare to find a corpulent man among them. They are generally very weak and feeble, but whether that proceeds from their diet, or from their too great inclinations to venery, or from both, I am not phyſician enough to determine.

Their ſoldiers pay is very ſmall and ill paid. They have but ſix xerapheens a month, and two ſuits of calico, ſtriped or chequered, in a year. Their two ſuits may amount to forty xerapheens; and a xerapheen is worth about ſixteen pence halfpenny ſterling. Out of their ſix xerapheens in money that they are to receive, their captain, who is barrack-maſter and victualler to his company, detains five, and the other one is paid in ſmall money to diſcharge the accounts of the ſhoe-maker, tailor, barber, waſherman, and tobacconiſt, ſo that frugality is no great virtue among them, though theft is, and really they are very dextrous in that art, as well as in murder, for if they are detected in committing ſuch innocent crimes, the very next church is a ſanctuary for them, and neither divine nor human laws can affect them after they get in there.

This nation was famous in the fifteenth century for their navigation and diſcoveries tion the Eaſt Indies, where, by friendſhip or force, they made ſettlements all over its ſea-coaſts. Their ſettlements were thick ſet between Mozambique and Japon: and, as a monument of their grandeur then, their language goes current along moſt of the ſea-coaſt at this time: their inſolent pride and war with the Dutch have brought them to the poverty and contempt they are in, as I ſhall remark in their proper places.

The Muſkat war, (that has laſted ſince the Arabs took that city from them,) though the longeſt, has done the leaſt harm, for it obliges them to keep an armada of five or ſix ſhips, beſides ſmall frigates and grabs of war, which gives bread to great numbers of people who otherwiſe would be much more burdenſome to the ſtate, by crowding into churches. The Arabs and they have had many encounters, but no great damage done on either ſide. I was witneſs to one engagement near Surat bar, but it was not bloody.

They alſo have had ſeveral wars aſhore, but the moſt dangerous to the city of Goa was that with Sevajee Rajah, who got footing on the iſland about the year 1685. He raiſed ſome batteries againſt the town, which would have annoyed it very much, had not a Portugueſe heroine, in a ſally, got into a redoubt of the enemy's, and cut them to pieces, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into Sevajee's army, that they quitted their poſts and fled. The lady was alive in anno 1705, and received the pay of a captain all her

 days

days after that noble exploit. She was called Donna Maria. She came to India in man's apparel, in quest of a gentleman that had promised her marriage, and then deserted her, and went, in quality of captain, to India; she found him, and challenged him at sword and pistol, but he rather chose to make the quarrel up amicably by marriage.

I have stood on a little hill near the city, and have counted about eighty churches, convents and monasteries, within view, and I was informed, that, in the city and its districts, which stretch about 40 miles along the sea-coast, and 15 miles within land, there are no fewer than 30,000 church vermin, who live idly and luxuriously on the labour and sweat of the miserable laity, so that every body that has sons and substance, strives to buy places for them in the church, because neither military or civil preferments can be expected from the state, or if by merit they chance to raise themselves, yet the tyranny and oppressions of the domineering clergy is insupportable; for instance, I knew a gentleman that bought a parcel of fresh fish, and a priest coming soon after to the fishers, and finding that none was left for the church, he demanded the gentleman's bargain, who excused himself, by telling the priest, that he had some friends to dine with him, and could not spare them. The priest gave him a reprimand in scurrilous language, and the gentleman using some tart language to the priest, that offended him, he let fly the sharp dart of excommunication, that pierced him so deep, that it cost him above seven pounds sterling to take it off again, and beg his pardon on his knees before the Archbishop, before he could be absolved.

In a fine stately church, dedicated to St. Paul the apostle, lies the body of St. Francis Xavier, a Portuguese apostle, and a Jesuit by trade, who died in his mission to Japon in the fifteenth century; and, about fifty years after, as a Portuguese ship was going to, or coming from China, being near an island on that coast, called after St. Juan, some gentlemen and priests went ashore for diversion, and accidentally found the saint's body uncorrupted, and carried it passenger to Goa, and there with much veneration and ecclesiastical ceremony, it was deposited in an aisle of St. Paul's church, where it lies still, and looks as fresh as a new scalded pig, but with the loss of one arm; for when the rumour of the miracle reached Rome, the sovereign pontiff ordered his right arm to be sent, that he might find out if there was any imposture in it or no, or perhaps make him fadge in a China bonzee into his calender, under the name of a Christian saint. Accordingly his arm was fairly cut off by the shoulder, and sent to Rome to stand its trial. When His Holiness had viewed it, he called for pen, ink and paper to be brought on a table, and the arm set near them. After a little conjuration, in full view of the sacred college, who were there present, and no body else, the saint's hand took hold of the pen, dipped it in ink, and fairly wrote Xavier.

I take it to be a pretty piece of wax-work that serves to gull the people of their money, for many visit it with great veneration, and leave something at its shrine for the maintainance of candles and olive oil, that continually burn before it: And a priest attends weekly to shave his head and beard, but none but that priest has the honour to come within the iron rails that are placed about the corpse, four or five yards distant from it. Now, if any should question the truth of Xavier's story at Goa, they would be branded with the odious name of an obstinate incredulous heretick, and perhaps fall in the hands of a convincing inquisition.

But, if any incredulous heretick should be squeamish, and cannot swallow the story of Xavier without chewing it, I will tell them of another, that, doubtless, will go glibly down.

down. At a certain time, but God knows when, a ſhip of Portugal coming to India, got the length of Cabo de Bona Eſperanza, and then met with ſuch a violent ſtorm, that drove the ſhip ſo violently before it that it was paſt the pilots ſkill to keep her to rights in her courſe; and who ſhould come to their aſſiſtance in that critical juncture but Senhor Diabolo, who took the helm, and managed it very dexterouſly: and the Virgin Mary, to ſhew her kindneſs and ſkill in navigation, ſtood a whole night on the forecaſtle, directing the Devil how he ſhould ſteer, and behold, to the great admiration of all concerned, the ſhip was high and dry in the morning, in a valley on the ſouth ſide of the river of Goa, about half a mile within the land. The ſhip ſailed very well, for that in one night ſhe ran, according to a moderate computation, 1500 leagues. And in commemoration of this miracle, there is a fine church built where the ſhip anchored ſo ſafely, and the ſtructure is juſt the length, breadth, and height of the ſhip. The church I have often ſeen as I paſſed up and down the river. And this ſtory is ſo firmly believed at Goa, that it is dangerous to make any doubt of it.

Of all the churches in or about Goa none is honoured with glaſs-windows, but one in the city dedicated to St. Alexander, for the reſt are all ſerved with clear oyſter-ſhell lights, which are far inferior to lights of glaſs: all their ſtately houſes are furniſhed with oyſter-ſhell lights.

The country about Goa is ſterile in corn, but it produces ſome excellent fruits. The Goa mango is reckoned the largeſt and moſt delicious to the taſte of any in the world, and, I may add, the wholeſomeſt and beſt taſted of any fruit in the world. Their jambo Malacca is very beautiful and pleaſant, and they have very good pine apples and melons.

The little trade they have is moſtly from their arrack, which is diſtilled from toddy of the cocoa-nut tree, which grows in great abundance in the territories of Goa. The Engliſh are their beſt cuſtomers, for they buy great quantities yearly for punch. It is ſold by the candy, or two caſks, about 45 gallons each, for 25 xerapheens per caſk; but I have bought it for 20, when there was no great demand for it. They alſo make a great deal of ſalt in ponds made in low grounds, where they may convey the water at ſpring tides. It may be bought for a crown the tun, and ſometimes cheaper.

The river's mouth is guarded, and the entrance defended by ſeveral forts and batteries, well planted with large cannon on both ſides. On the iſland is the black fort, which ſtands within half a muſket-ſhot of the bar, which is ſhut up by the ſouth-ſouth-weſt monſoons, from April to September, when is St. Anthony's new-moon, as they call the firſt new-moon in September. The freſhes coming down from the mountains, carry off the ſands, which choke the mouths of the rivers along all the coaſts of India. And, without the black fort, is a battery built cloſe to the ſea on a little promontory, called Nos Senhor de Cabo, about a mile without the black fort. And, juſt over that battery, on a little hill about 40 yards high, is a fine monaſtery, always kept as white as ſnow, and may be ſeen a good diſtance off at ſea. The monaſtery has a large pleaſant garden towards the land, and an orchard of excellent fruit trees. And, on the oppoſite of Nos Senhor de Cabo, is a fort built on the face of a little hill, which commands that ſide of the river. And, without that, is the Aguada, fortified with a fort on its top, and ſeveral batteries at the foot of its high grounds, which are alſo about 40 yards high. In the caſtle is placed a large lantern for a light-houſe, to ſhew ſhipping the way into the road about the beginning of September, when thick clouds obſcure the land, that it cannot be well known at ſea. All boats that are bound to the city, are obliged to call at Aguada, to give an account from whence they came, and what their buſineſs is; and if any preſume to paſs without calling there, they are ſure of a

 ſhot

ſhot fired from a battery at them, to put them in mind of their duty. Two leagues to the ſouth of Aguada are the Marmagun iſlands, being five in number, and lie a league into the ſea. The two innermoſt are fortified, to command the entrance of the river of St. Lorenzo, which is a branch of Goa river, parting about five leagues from their mouths, and compoſe the iſland called Goa iſland.

This country belonged formerly to the kings of Viſapore; but in the fifteenth century, when Albukerk ſettled the Portugueze colonies in India, he purchaſed the iſlands of Goa and Salſet, which lie contiguous to Goa, from the King, who did them many ſingular ſervices, which afterwards were repaid by ingratitude.

About the year 1660, when the Dutch had a war in America and India, with the Portugueze, the Dutch ſent a ſquadron, to try if they could add Goa to the reſt of their Indian conqueſts, but found its avenues ſo well fortified, that it was thought impracticable to land. Their ſhips were forced to lie at a good diſtance from Aguada and Nos Senhor de Cabo, and ſo continued riding at anchor triumphantly, without action, except a little diverſion they had with a Portugueſe bravo, who, with a ſmall ſhip of forty guns, would needs paſs through the Dutch fleet as they lay at anchor; but they ſoon made him ſenſible of his raſh folly, by ſinking his ſhip, and either killing or drowning him and all his crew.

When the Portugueze and the Sevajee had war, (I think that Conde de Villa Verde was then viceroy,) there were ſo few ſoldiers, and ſo many prieſts, that he was obliged to take recruits for his army, out of the church, but the King of Portugal was forced to recal him for that great offence.

Between Goa and Salſet there is a little river that is another branch of the river of Goa, which diſembogues about a league to the ſouth of Marmagun, at a village called Bangricoal, and affords a little harbour for ſmall veſſels, from which place the iſland of Salſet ſtretches five leagues along the ſea-ſhore in a fine level plain, planted with cocoa-nut trees and churches. The product of this iſland is as that of Goa, arrack and ſalt. The churches and monaſteries are ſeminaries for black Romiſh prieſts, and the country, beſides them, produces good ſtore of hogs and poultry. At Cabo de Rama, which is contiguous to Salſet, are the limits of the dominions of the Portugueze on that part of India.

CHAP. XXII—*Gives an Account of the Sundah Rajah's Dominions, the Product, Religion and Cuſtoms of his Country, with Obſervations on his War with the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company, in anno 1718.*

CABO de Rama, or, as the Engliſh call it, Cape Ramus, begins the limits of the Sundah Rajah's country to the northward, and has a caſtle on the cape to ſecure his frontier; but there is no river or harbour for ſhipping, till we come to Sevaſeer, and that is but a bad one, though it has the cover of a large caſtle with few guns in it. But,

Carwar, which lies ſeven leagues to the ſouthward of cape Ramus, has the advantages of a good harbour, on the ſouth ſide of a bay, and a river capable to receive ſhips of 300 tuns. The Engliſh have a factory here, fortified with two baſtions, and ſome ſmall cannon for its defence. The Rajah is tributary to the Mogul at preſent, but formerly was a part of Viſapore's dominions, before Aurengzeb conquered that country. This Rajah's dominions reach from Cape Ramus to Merzee, about fifteen leagues along the ſea-coaſt, and ſixty or ſeventy leagues within land.

About

About the year 1660, Aurengzeb came into Viſapore with an army of 3 or 400,000 men, and ſoon conquered the open country; but the metropolis, called the city of Viſapore, took him ſeven or eight years to reduce it, for being built on a flat mountain of difficult acceſs, and room enough to ſow corn on it, obliged Aurengzeb to ſurround it with his army, and make a blockade; but at laſt it yielded, and Aurengzeb put the King in chains of ſilver, and carried him in triumph along with his victorious army, near the ſpace of thirty years, and then he died an inglorious captive. He was reckoned a good ſimple peaceable prince while he reigned, but was in no way related to the god Mars.

The Sundah Rajah's country is mountainous, and lies on both ſides of the mountains of Gatti. The vallies abound in corn and pepper, the beſt in India, and the woods, on the mountains, with many ſorts of wild beaſts, as tigers, wolves, monkies, wild hogs, deer, elks, and wild cattle of a prodigious large ſize. I have ſeen a wild bull killed there, whoſe four quarters weighed above a tun weight, beſides the hide, head and guts. I meaſured his horns, which were not long in proportion to their thickneſs, being twenty three inches in circumference about the roots, and his marrow-bones ſo large, that I took the marrow out with an ordinary ſilver-ſpoon. The fleſh was not ſo ſavoury as that of ſmall tame cattle, nor would it take ſalt kindly, but grew hard dry and black when ſalted.

This country is ſo famous for hunting, that two gentlemen of diſtinction, viz. Mr. Lembourg, of the houſe of Lembourg in Germany, and Mr. Goring, a ſon of My Lord Goring's in England, went incognito in one of the Eaſt-India company's ſhips, for India. They left letters directed for their relations, in the hands of a friend of theirs, to be delivered two or three months after their departure, ſo that letters of credit followed them by the next year's ſhipping, with orders from the Eaſt-India Company to the chiefs of the factories, wherever they ſhould happen to come, to treat them according to their quality. They ſpent three years at Carwar, viz. from anno 1678 to 1681, then, being tired with that ſort of pleaſure, they both took paſſage on board a Company's ſhip for England, but Mr. Goring died four days after the ſhip's departure from Carwar, and lies buried on the iſland St. Mary, about four leagues from the ſhore, off Batacola, and Mr. Lembourg returned ſafe to England.

There are three ſpecies of tigers in Carwar woods. The ſmalleſt is the fierceſt. It is not above two feet high when it walks. It is very cunning, and delights much in human fleſh. The ſecond ſort is about three feet high, and hunts deer and wild hogs, and a little creature, called a piſſay. Its body has the ſhape of a deer, but its head like a ſwine, and, as a boar has two long tuſks growing upward from the nether jaw, ſo it has two long ſmall ſharp teeth which grow downward from the upper jaw, and reach as low as the under part of the lower jaw. They are very harmleſs and fearful, and feed on graſs and herbs. They are hardly ſo big as a full grown cat, and their fleſh is black, and taſtes like an hare's. The largeſt ſize of the tigers is above three foot and an half high, when they walk. They are leſs rapacious than the others, ſeldom greedy of human fleſh, and ſooner frightned. A poor peaſant in this country had a buffalo bemired in a bog, and while he went to his neighbours for aſſiſtance came a large tiger that ſaved them the trouble, for he pulled it out by his own dexterity and ſtrength, and when he had done, threw him over his ſhoulder, as a fox does a gooſe, and was carrying it, with its feet upwards, to his den, but, when he ſaw the people, he let it fall, and went away; but he had killed the buffalo, and

had ſucked his blood. It is a ſmall buffalo that weighs not above 500 lb. weight, and ſome weigh 1200.

I once was in the woods with my fuzee, to try if I could kill a deer, but a ſmall rain happened to fall that damped my powder, which was only wrapped up in paper; and my gun being uſeleſs, I was making towards the plain where our factory ſtands, and falling on a foot-path from the mountains towards the plain, I kept in that road, and had not gone far, till I eſpied a tiger of the largeſt ſize ſtanding in the ſame path, with his face towards me. As ſoon as he ſaw me, he ſquatted his belly to the ground, and wagged his tail, crawling ſlowly towards me. I thought it would be in vain to flee, ſo I ſtepped leiſurely forward, till I came within ten yards of him; I then clubbed my fuzee, and made what noiſe I could to frighten him, and he out of civility, ruſhed in amongſt a thicket of buſhes, and left me the road, which I did not think fit to accept of, but got in among the buſhes on the oppoſite ſide to him (I dare ſay) much more frightened than he was. And, before I got to the plain, I ſaw a wild bull and a cow grazing. The bull grew angry, and ſnorted, but the cow only gazed on me; but I ſoon got out of their ſight, and got ſafe to the factory; but never went into the woods again but with a numerous company.

The chief of the Engliſh factory is held in very great eſteem in this country, and when he goes a hunting, is generally accompanied with moſt part of the people of diſtinction in the vicinage, who bring their vaſſals and ſervants with them, armed with fire-arms and other weapons, both miſſive and defenſive, with trumpets, hautboys and drums. The fire men place themſelves at convenient diſtances, along the ſkirts of an hill or a wood, except ſome that are ſent in to guard thoſe who are ſent with their loud muſick to rouze the game. The drums, trumpets and hautboys ſpread themſelves ſometimes for a mile or two, and on a ſignal given, ſtrike up at once, and march towards the ſkirt where the fire men are placed. The wild inhabitants being aſtoniſhed with the unuſual noiſe, betake themſelves to their heels, and fall in the ambuſcade, and many of them are killed and wounded in their flight. I ſaw, in one of theſe huntings, above a dozen of deer killed, two wild cows with their calves, who would not leave their dead parents, though they had done ſucking, alſo four or five ſows, who had above a dozen of pigs following them, and were all killed, with ſome piſſays, and all in leſs than two hours ſpace. The hunters made good cheer of what they liked beſt, and what remained was ſent to the factory, and the chief ſoon following after, was conducted home by the whole company, and at the factory gate, made him a compliment, and departed. At this time, which was in anno 1692, the factory had about a ſcore of good dogs for game, of Engliſh brood, and the Company allowed each of them about two pounds of boiled rice daily, but now they are better huſbands of their money, and have diſcharged all their dogs and other ſuperfluities, except one good old cuſtom of treating ſtrangers that come there from Europe, with pretty black female dancers, who are very active in their dancing, and free in their converſation, where ſhame is quite out of faſhion.

The woods produce great quantities of good teak timber, uſeful in building both ſhips and houſes. It is more durable than oak. And there is good poon maſts, ſtronger, but heavier than fir. There is a ſhrub grows in the woods, that has a leaf bigger than that of the fig-tree; and the dew that falls on that leaf being carefully gathered, and ſet in the ſun a day or two, becomes the pleaſanteſt and ſtrongeſt acid that ever I taſted.

Before Aurengzeb conquered Visapore, this country produced the finest betteellas or muslins in India. The English Company had a great cloth trade here, and employed about 50,000 people in that manufactory; but the Mogul's licentious soldiers fell into this province, and ruined all manner of trade, plundering the industrious inhabitants of all they could lay hands on, and cut the Company's cloth from the loom, and used the weavers so rudely, that they left their own country, to look for protection in countries farther to the southward, where war had not set up her bloody banners.

When the Mogul's general had taken possession of that province in his master's name, he invited the gentlemen of the English factory to an entertainment in his tent, under pretence of settling the Company's commerce, and, while they were at dinner, he sent a party of men, who plundered and burned their house, which made the Company build and fortify what they now have; but he who built it where it is, had no great foresight in choosing his ground, for it ought to have been built in a place of free communication with the sea, but now it stands a league from it. And in anno 1718, the Rajah shewed them their error, and built batteries at the mouth of the river, so that the factory is nothing at present but a genteel prison, which by dear bought experience, we found in a war we had with him, by the indiscretion of one Taylor who was chief, who pretended to be lord of the manor, in appropriating a wrack to his own use, that was cast away above four miles from the factory. The Rajah could not bear to be so bare-facedly affronted in his own dominions, by tenants that would hear no reason. He besieged the factory for two months before the season would admit of forces coming to assist them by sea; and when they arrived, the seas run so high on the shore, that there was great difficulty of landing in the teeth of an enemy, who had ten times our numbers, so that the first attempt of landing was unsucessful, by reason of our men's neglect and disobedience to the orders they had received, and about fourscore of our bravest fellows were cut off, and some taken prisoners but, about six weeks after, we had some revenge on the enemy in an engagement on the side of an hill among thick bushes. The enemy being above our men began their fire at break of day, to beat our men from a spring of fresh water close to the sea: but our small vessels lying near the shore to cover about 400 men, that lay to guard the water, fired with such good success, that, in an hour's time, they were obliged to run, and leave nearly 200 dead in the woods; and our men pursuing them in their flight, did some execution on them.

We were in daily expectation of more forces, and did not offer the enemy battle, because of their numbers and our want of experience, but we harassed the enemy in the nights, in burning villages, for there was little to plunder, and at sea we took some vessels laden with salt going to the enemy, and three ships of the Rajah's coming from Arabia with horses, to the number of 140, which created us much trouble to find provender and water for them: however, when our reinforcement came, we could muster, in our fleet, of seamen and soldiers, 2250 men. The enemy raised some batteries on the strand to hinder our landing; and we took two of the prizes, and made them shot-proof above water, and laid them ashore at high water to batter their batteries and keep the enemy at a distance with their great shot, till our men were landed and drawn up. Each of our floating batteries was covered with a frigate of 20 or 24 guns. When all was ready we landed 1250 men, without the least hindrance from the enemy, for they were preparing to flee to the woods, but our fresh water land officers were so long drawing up their men in a confounded hollow square, that the enemy took courage, and, with horse and foot came running towards our men,

firing, and wounding some as they marched in their ranks, which our commandant seeing, pulled off his red coat, and vanished. Some other as valiant captains as he, took example, and left their posts, and then the the soldiers followed, and threw down their arms. We lost in this skirmish about 250; but our floating batteries would not permit the enemy to pursue far, nor durst they stay to gather up our scattered arms, so about 80 sailors went on the field of battle, and brought on board of the commodore about 200 stand of arms, most of them loaded: however the enemy had some loss too, for we found eleven horses dead, and saw many fires along the foot of the hills to burn their dead men in.

The Rajah had, by this time, 7000 men engaged in this war, which expence he began to be tried of, and the loss of his ships and horses was some mortification to him, besides the Saw Rajah had made an inroad into his northren borders, which made him incline very much towards a peace, and accordingly he sent a Brahman on board the commodore of the fleet, to negotiate a peace. The commodore heard him, and advised him to make his overtures to Mr. Taylor; but he said, that the Rajah would by no means consent to treat with him, complaining, that he was not only the occasion of that war, but even, before the war, had done some detriment to him and his subjects, for receiving the Company's pepper above 100 miles from the factory. He made the servants that went to receive the pepper, take certain quantities to sell out by retail in his villages, to the utter ruin of many poor inhabitants, that had no other way to get their livelihood, but, by huckstering, and because the company's agreement with his forefathers and himself, gave them a free trade in all his dominions, he passed all over, but was forced to relieve the poor botickeers or shop-keepers, who before could pay him taxes, however we being tired of war as well as he, by the mediation of a Seid, who was a friend to both parties, in ten days after the first overture was made, peace was proclaimed on easy terms for both parties.

There is one trick that the priests yearly put upon the people in this country, that would puzzle the best merry-andrews in Europe to imitate, and that is, about the latter end of May, or the beginning of June, there is a feast celebrated to the infernal gods, with a divination or conjuration to know the fate of the ensuing crop of corn. The ceremony I saw here, and at other places on the coast of Canara. The priests having persuaded some fools to bear a part in the farce, proclaim the feast to be on such a day, at a certain grove, where several thousands of people assemble, and in the middle of the grove is placed a black stone of 3 or 400 weight, without any designed shape, but some places bedaubed with red lead mixed in oil, to serve for a mouth, eyes and ears, with a little earthen pot of fire placed before the stone, and a girl about ten years of age to attend it.

Some priests, all naked, except a bit of cloth to hide their privities, run and dance round the stone and fire for half an hour, like mad-men, making strange distortions in their phizes, and now and then bellowing like calves. This was the first scene. Those priests had erected a scaffold on two axle-trees, that had trucks fitted for them like the carriage of ship guns. In the middle of the scaffold (which might be about 15 foot long, and as broad) was erected a piece of wood about 15 feet high, with a notch cut in the upper end, like the cheeks of a ship's pump, with holes bored for a bolt to pass through, as pump cheeks have. A tree hewn for their purpose, about 40 feet long, was laid about the middle in the notch, and a bolt passing through the cheeks and that tree, like a pump-brake. At one end of the tree were placed two cross pieces, one at the very end, and the other about four feet without it. Each of

these

these cross pieces were about four feet long, and, at the other end had a rope fastened to it. And this was the vehicle for the actors to hang on for a mile or two.

The actors presenting themselves to the priests, being four in number, dressed as the priests were; only on their heads, crowns were made round their temples, of sugar-cane leaves, open at the top, like ducal crowns. The priests brought two tenter-hooks, such as the butchers in Britain hang their meat on, for each actor, and, after some ridiculous ceremony, hooked them on each side of the back-bone, a little above the kidnies. Those hooks had cords fast to them, so they went dancing round the stone, and the priest holding their strings fast, and, after two minutes dancing, they came tamely to the end of the tree, where the cross pieces were fastened, and one was tied up to each end of the cross pieces, and the mob was ready to hale down the other end, and fastened it to the end of the scaffold, and the foolish fellows were hung up by the back, above ten yards from the ground. The populace broke some old cocoa-nuts on the scaffold, and some hundreds of them got hold of the ropes fastened to the scaffold, and hauled it over ploughed ground, above a mile, to another grove, and the girl with the pot of fire on her head, walking all the way before. When they came to the end of their journey, they were let down, and going into the grove, where was placed another black stone pagod, the girl set her fire before it, and run stark mad for a minute or two, and then fell in a swoon, and in that she lay sweating and foaming at the mouth prodigiously. When she grew mad, the men fell flat on the ground before the image, and then arose after she fell in her trance. She continued immoveable about a quarter of an hour, and then awoke, and seemed to be very sick. The priests interrogated her about what she had seen and heard from the terrestrial gods, and she gave them a satisfactory answer, on which they all bowed to the image, and put their hand on a cow that was there ready, dedicated to the image; and so all departed satisfied.

On sight of the new moon in August they have another piece of superstition, in a feast dedicated to the sea, for the prosperous navigation of the ensuing season. They have the effigies of the god Gunnies, which is a man's body, with an elephant's head, clapped cleverly on his shoulders, and carried in procession to a river's side, and thrown into the river, upon which, all rivers who have bars are opened for navigation.

This Gunnies was son to Ram, another god, who had a great war many years with a certain sort of gigantick devils, that insulted the land, and carried away all the virgins they could lay their paws on, at length Ram overcame them in a bloody battle, for which success, he swore he would make a sacrifice of the first living creature he should meet in his own dominions, to the great god of heaven, and poor Gunnies was the first object that presented himself, for being a good loving son, came on purpose to meet and welcome his father from his fatigues in war: you may judge what a pack of troubles Ram was in, but there was no remedy, but Gunnies must die, and, with great regret, he was about to have his head struck off, when a clever fellow of a Brahman doctor came, and told Ram, that by his art he could save Gunnies's life, if his advice might be followed, which Ram promised to do, on which the doctor ordered a young elephant to be brought; and when the father whipped off his son's head, the doctor very skilfully cut off the elephant's at one stroke, and nimbly set it on Gunnies's shoulders, to the great admiration of all the beholders; and from that day to this, Gunnies has wore an elephant's head.

There are a set of Brahmans in this country called Buts, they study astrology, and are in great repute for their exemplary innocent lives, and skill in prophesying. In the year 1684, one Moam But told some things very surprising, when Mr. Walsel was chief for the English at Carwar.

 In

In the ſpace of three years no Engliſh ſhip from Europe had called there, and the gentlemen longing for one, and Moam But coming to viſit the chief, Mr. Walſel aſked him if he could tell when a ſhip from Europe would call there. He anſwered, he could tell, and muſing a little while, told, that on that ſame day forty days, which happened to fall out on Sunday, one would arrive, and that ſhe was, at that time, at anchor at an iſland on this ſide of the Cape of Good Hope, taking refreſhments. The chief told him, if he propheſied true, he would preſent him with as much ſcarlet cloth as would make him a coat. The But anſwered, that he thanked him, but that neither of them would live to ſee her arrive, and therefore adviſed Mr. Walſel to ſet his houſe in order, and that, to prove ſome part of the prophecy true, the But himſelf ſhould die ten days after the day he propheſied, and that Mr. Walſel ſhould die ſo many days after. Accordingly the But died, which put the other's mind out of order, till the day of his death came, and that morning Mr. Walſel ſaid, he believed the conjurer was out in his reckoning, for he never was in better health in his days; but, after dinner, he had an apoplectic fit, that carried him off. And the ſhip's pinnance came aſhore at the factory gate that noon that the But told ſhe ſhould arrive. The ſhip was the Mexico Merchant, commanded by Captain Roger Paxton, whom I well knew.

The pretty nimble female dancers at Carwar are not ſo by choice; but all trades and occupations being liſted into tribes, none can marry out of their own tribe, and, as it fortuned, the originals of this tribe were ladies that could not be confined to one huſband, and ſo would not marry. Their poſterity are not ſuffered to marry, becauſe there are no men in their tribe allowed. When the laſſes bring forth children, the males are brought up ſoldiers, and the females are learned to dance, and what they earn by dancing goes to the Rajah, except a ſmall ſhare for the girl's maintenance. What they get by their kindneſs to ſtrangers is all their own, and I have ſeen ſome have very fine clothes and jewels acquired by their trade.

The Portugueze have an iſland called Anjediva (before mentioned), about two miles from Batcoal. They fortified it, for fear that Muſkat Arabs or the Savajees ſhould have ſettled on it, if they had, they might have incommoded the Goa fleet that goes yearly to Canara for corn.

At the mouth of Carwar river, are two fortified iſlands called Shipe and Gui. One is fortified by walls built round it, and ſome guns mounted on it. The other is ſteril and dry, and not worth walling. They both belong to the Rajah of Sundah. There are ſome iſlands lie athwart the mouth of the bay, that make the harbour of Carwar, but none inhabited. The bay has two large entrances for ſhipping. That to the north is clear from danger; but the ſouth channel has a ſharp rock like a pyramid in the middle of it, that ſeveral large ſhips have ſtruck on, for there is too much water on it for ſmall ſhips to be frightened by it, having at leaſt 15 feet water on its top.

There are ſeveral more little harbours in this Rajah's dominions to the ſouthward of Carwar, viz. Ankla, Cuddermuddy and Merzee, whoſe river terminates the Sunda's territories, and brings us on to a better country, viz. Canara.

CHAP. XXIII. — *Gives a Deſcription of Canara, ſhewing its Fertility, Product, Government, Religion, Cuſtoms, and Temper of its Inhabitants.*

ONOAR is its northermoſt port, and has the benefit of a river, capable to receive ſhips of two or three hundred tuns. It has a caſtle on a low hill, about a mile within

 the

the bar, built, of old, by the Portugueze, when they were lords paramount of all the sea-coasts of India; but the Rajah of Canara was so affronted by them, that he laid siege to the castle, but was three years in reducing it; and so long he blocked it up, till hunger forced a surrender.

The religion, by law established, here, as well as in Sundah, is the Pagan. And there is a pagod or temple, called Ramtrut, that is visited yearly by great numbers of pilgrims. Close by the temple, there is a fine cistern or tank, of a square oblong figure. It is continually furnished with good water, that gushes out of the face of a rock, as big as a man's thigh. There are about 50 steps cut out of the same rock, that lead from the surface of the earth down to the tank; and at the foot of the stairs is a little summer-house built. The tank is about three fathoms deep in the middle, and is stored with plenty of pretty brown fish, with a white stroke from their head to tail, on each side of the back-bone. And when any musical instrument is played on by the sides of the tank, they come in such numbers towards the music, that they may be taken up in baskets, but none dare meddle with them, because they are consecrated to the pagod.

Sometimes they carry the image of the pagod in procession. In figure he is more like a monkey than a man. They put him into a coach in form of a tower, with a pyramidal top about 15 feet high, where eight or ten priests are set to bear the image company, and to sing his praises. The coach has four wheels, and a rope of a good thickness made fast to it, and drawn through the streets by strength of hand, with a great mob attending his godship, wherever he is drawn.

In Canara there are several customs peculiar to itself, and many of them are spread abroad to remote countries. Here it was, that the custom of wives burning on the same pile with their deceased husbands had its beginning. It is reported, that before the Brahmans invented this law, poison was so well known and practised, that the least quarrel that happened between a married couple, cost the husband his life, and this law put a great stop to it, and now custom so far prevails, that if any faint-hearted lady has not courage enough to accompany her spouse to the other world, she is forthwith shaved and degraded, and obliged to serve all her husband's family in all kinds of drudgery.

I have seen several burned several ways. In this country they dig a pit about ten feet long, and six broad, and fill it with logs of wood. One great piece is set at the brim of the pit ready to fall down on pulling a bit of string. When all is ready, there is good store of oil or butter thrown on the wood, and then the husband's corpse is placed about the middle of the pile, and fire set to it, which blazes in an instant. Then the spouse took her leave of all friends and acquaintances, and drums, trumpets and hautboys being playing cheerfully, she walked three or four times round the pile, which, by this time, was all in a great blaze, and then leaps in on the corpse. As soon as ever she leaped in, a priest drew the string, and down fell the great log of wood, at least 500 pound weight, over her body, and all consumed together.

In other parts they do not use pits, but a pile is built, and the corpse laid on it, and fire put to it, and the victim dancing round it for a little time, to the noise of loud music, leaps in; and, if she hesitates, the priests thrust her in with long poles, making such an hideous noise that she cannot be heard; and, all the while she is a burning the priests dance round the fire. Others again take somnific medicines, and stand by the pile till they fall on it while asleep. I heard a story of a lady that had received addresses from a gentleman, who afterwards deserted her, and her relations obliged her to marry another, who died shortly after the marriage, and who, accord-

ing to custom, was laid on the pile; and, as the fire was well kindled, and she going to act the tragedy on herself, she espied her former admirer, and beckoned to him to come to her. When he came, she took him in her arms, as if she had a mind to embrace him; but being stronger than he, she carried him into the flames in her arms, where they both consumed, with the corpse of her husband: yet I have known some faint hearted girls that had not the courage to accompany their spouses into an unknown world, but rather live in this, though under the badge and umbrage of ignominy and shame.

This country of Canara is generally governed by a lady, who keeps her court at a town called Baydour, two days journey from the sea She may marry whom she pleases, but her husband never gets the title of Rajah, though if she has sons, the eldest of them does, but neither husband nor son have any thing to do with the management of the government, while she lives: nor are the queens obliged to burn with their husbands. The subjects of this country observe the laws so well, that robbery or murder are hardly heard of among them. And a stranger may pass through the country without being asked where he is going, or what business he has.

No man is permitted in this country to ride on horses, mules or elephants, but officers of state or troopers, though we are allowed to ride on oxen or buffaloes: nor none are permitted to have umbrellas carried over them by servants, but must carry them themselves if the sun or rain offend them, but in all things else there is liberty and property.

The next sea port, to the southward of Onoar, is Batacola, which has the vestigia of a very large city, standing on a little river, about four miles from the sea There is nothing of it left now worth noticing but ten or eleven small pagods or temples covered with copper and stone. The country produces good quantities of pepper; and the English company had a factory there: but about the year 1670, an English ship coming there to lade, had a fine English bull-dog, which the chief of the factory begged of the captain.

After the ship was gone, the factory, which consisted of eighteen persons, were going a hunting, and carried the bull dog with them, and, passing through the town, the dog seized a cow devoted to a pagod, and killed her. Upon which the priests raised a mob, who murdered the whole factory, but some natives, that were friends to the English, made a large grave, and buried them all in it. The chief of Carwar sent a stone to be put on the grave, with an inscription, that this is the burial-place of John Best, with seventeen other Englishmen, who were sacrificed to the fury of a mad priesthood, and an enraged mob The English never resettled there since, but often buy pepper there. The island St Mary lies west north-west from the mouth of the river of Batacola, about four leagues distant, being the burial-place of Mr. Goring before observed There are some more islands lying close to the shore, but are beset with rocks under water. And what ships pass between St Mary and them, ought not to venture above two miles within that island, but there is no danger within a quarter of a mile of it, but what is visible.

The next town to the southward of Batacola, is Barceloar, standing on the banks of a broad river, about four miles from the sea. The country abounds in rice, having in many places two crops in a year, by the advantage they have of some lakes at the feet of the mountains of Gatti, whose waters being confined by sluices, are let out at convenient times to water their rich fields. The Dutch have a factory here, only to buy up rice for their garrisons on the Malabar coast. It stands about a mile from the river's mouth, that has a bar of 13 or 14 feet water on it at spring

5

spring tides, and has a castle on its north side for its guard, that none may go in or out without leave.

The Portugueze also get supplies of rice for Goa, and they have six or eight ships, belonging to Barceloar, that carry their cargoes of rice to Muskat, and bring back in return, horses, dates, pearls, and other merchandize of the product of Arabia. To the southward of this place, on a plain road that leads to Mangulore, are planted four rows of trees, on the sides of a walk about eight or ten miles long, which being very large, and having spreading branches ever green all the summer, serve for umbrellas to passengers that travel that road. And, on several places, there are huts built, where some old people stay in the day time, with jars of fine clear water for the passengers to drink gratis, at the charge of the state. Baccanoar and Molkey lie between Barceloar and Mangulore, both having the benefit of rivers to export the large quantities of rice that their fields produce.

Mangulore is the greatest mart for trade in all the Canary dominions. It has the conveniency of one river produced by three that come into it different ways, viz. from the north, south, and east, all proceeding from the great rains and dews that fall from the mountains of Gatti, which lie 25 or 30 leagues up in the country, and are the inland bounds of the Canary dominions. Those three rivers join about a mile from the sea, and, at Mangulore, disembogue at one mouth into the common receptory of rivers.

The Portugueze had a factory for rice here, and a pretty large church, because great numbers of black Christians reside there. The priests, as well as their congregations, are the very scum of Christianity. The clergy are so shameless, that they will bargain with a stranger to pimp for them. And the laity look on whoring, thieving, and murder, as no sin, if any gain can be got by them.

The fields here bear two crops of corn yearly in the plains; and the higher grounds produce pepper, bettlenut, sandal-wood, iron and steel, which make Mangulore a place of pretty good trade The town is poorly built, along the sides of the rivers, and has no defence against an enemy, but two small forts, one of each side of the river's mouth. The Rajah or Rana keeps generally about 15,000 soldiers on their Malabar frontiers, to repel the insolence of the Malabars, and another army towards the Sevagee borders, to cover them from the inroads of those Harpies, for the Malabars and Sevagees being poor in respect of the Canarines, watch opportunities to borrow the superfluities of their rich neighbours. Such practices have been used, in former times amongst us in Britain and, no doubt, would still be so, if good wholesome laws, backed with good forces to see them put in execution, did not restrain us.

Along the Malabar frontiers, the Canarians have forts built of earth, wherein are kept about 2 or 300 soldiers ready, on all occasions, to encounter any small party of the Malabars that clandestinely come in to thieve or rob, but the Muskat Arabs, in anno 1695, came with a fleet, and plundered the sea-coast of Canara, and burnt Barceloar and Mangulore, and carried away a great booty. And Connagee Angarie, in anno 1720, came along the coast, and insulted it, but, on landing some men, found such resistance, that made him embark again, without doing much mischief to the country.

There is only one small sea-port more in Canara, called Manguzeer, about five leagues to the southward of Mangulore, and three from Decully, a large fort built on an island close to the land. And three leagues farther south is a small river that divides the Canara and Malabar territories.

CHAP. XXIV.—*Treats of the Malabars; their Forces and Families, Religion, Laws and Customs, Product of their Country, and their Commerce; with some miscellaneous Observations on their Customs and Laws.*

MALABAR is a pretty large country, divided into many principalities, and I have a list of them as they were given in to the ingenious and curious Heer Van Rede, commissary general for affairs of the Dutch East India Company in anno 1694, who died off Bombay in his voyage towards Surat.

Each province can raise forces by its clans, as follows:

Tipopoforiwan:	Men
Terivancoar	100,000
Attinga	30,000
Eledaloriwan	50,000
Peritalie	3,000
Seigenatie	30,000
Teirewey	15,000

Odenadie Carree:	Men
Coilcolong	50,000
Pana Pollie	15,000
Martin Gallie	15,000
Carimbalie	15,000
Teiom Balanore Koilie	3,000
Reubanie Aregalie	3,000

Chitawa Canaar:	Men
Tellicherry Baakie, Elependre May Porombo	3,000
Dedamaadie Peneretta, Moeterte Manka Polie	15,000

Perombara Cormaa:	Men
Arregatte Calgampolie, Mamalie Madonie	15,000

Bambellendada:	Men
Kilpolie Chitway	75,000
Martingalie Coer	37,000
Tekellenore	37,000
Doenjatte Penmaal	3,000

Cottenadie:	Men
Zembaga Cherry	30,000

Tefegidin Genatie.	Men
Elertecore	10,000
Moutere Coree	10,000
Ambada Coree	10,000

Rapolin:	Men
Elengoly Serewan	5,000

Courour Nadie:	Men
Corour Monta Coil	15,000
Billiatte Serewan	15,000

Badecancore:	Men
Manne Tellum	30,000
Moda Callie	3,000
Boy Pilcore	15,000
Kilmalle Core	15,000

Perimba Daponadie:	Men
Martingaly Tavil	3,000
Moute Tavil	3,000
Palombe Tavil	3,000
Teilor Tavil	3,000
Ela Tavil	3,000

Teficragatta Nadie:	Men
Teiragalle Caymaal	15,000
Padanarie erte Caymaal	8,000

Pindereretol Nade:	Men
Pindereretel Nambi Deri	15,000
Coil Pade	1,000

Mangela Nade:	Men
Belatte Tavil	10,000
Cara ta Tavil	15,000

Nambouries,

	Men.
Nambouries, or, Priests:	
Bay Pinade - -	6,000
Aaron Ade - -	2,000
Merinade Nambouri -	3,000
Nanderetti Nade:	
Coro Seir Caymal -	30,000
Cories Caymal -	5,000
Siangrande Canmal -	5,000
Panna Maketts Caymal	3,000
Tollapoli Nade:	
Amacotta Nambedi -	15,000
Manacotta Nambedi -	15,000
Cacatte Nambedi -	15,000
Tistul Nambedi -	15,000
Terratekin Nair -	15,000
Nambiar, or, Priests of the second order:	
Relolaste Nambiar -	3,000
Relo Canadarie -	30,000
Erenaden Caree:	
Cannal Canadrie -	40,000
Rete Coil - -	5,000
Paio Pachoil -	3,000
Ropo Coil - -	2,000

	Men.
Tomera Serinade:	
Iregale Nade, a priest of the first order -	3,000
Candette Nayer -	10,000
Omnitrie - - -	10,000
Palangier Nayer -	3,000
Mangalacka -	3,000
Dana Seir Ilerda -	10,000
Ramenatte Corie -	15,000
Polletti Nade:	
Callistree Odirose Coilan / Palle Coilan Ziereck Coilan	23,000
Ballanore Burgary -	30,000
Tellicherry Mota Naire	15,000
Zitre Caymal Mar -	30,000
Alarte Tere Caymal -	30,000
Alarte Nade Adovodic	15,000
Paravia Coil -	60,000
Bayella Nade:	
Mangalette Naire -	1,000
Manetane Naire -	1,000
Callepatte Naire -	1,000
Teyka Patte Naire -	1,000
Motrel Naire -	1,000

Making in all 1,262,009 men fit to carry arms.

There are several other principalities in this country that I do not find mentioned in this list, as Cannanore and Tannore, whose government are in the hands of Mahometans, or Malabar Moors. The kingdoms of Couchin and Porcat are not put down in the list, nor Paarow, which are potent principalities; and the Samorin, or empire of Calecut, one of the most potent of them all, has no place in this list. But,

The country, though large and populous, is not fruitful in corn, for there is abundance of rice imported from Canara, but, being low and sandy all along the sea-coast, except a few rising grounds, which are the most sterile, yet it nourishes vast numbers of cocoa-nut and arecka trees, whose fruit brings them great gains from other countries. The higher grounds produce pepper and cardamums, the best in the world; and their woods teak timber and angelique for building, sandal wood, or saunders, white and yellow cassia lignum, or wild cinnamon, and cassia fistula, nux vomica, and cocolus India. Drugs grow plentifully in their woods, which are also well stored with wild game both for pleasure and use. Their mountains produce iron and steel, but not so good as we have in Europe. And their sea is stored with many species of excellent fishes.

When

When the Portugueze came first into India, the Samorin of Calecut was lord paramount of Malabar; and, in his dotage, when he was well advanced in years, he would needs be a Mahometan, and, to shew his zeal, would go in pilgrimage to Mecca, to visit the tomb. Before he took his voyage, which was by sea, he made a will, and having four nephews, bequeathed each of them a part of his empire. To the eldest he bequeathed Callistree, whose sea-coast reaches from Decully to Ticone, about 24 leagues. To the second, whom he loved best, the title of Samorin and a sea-coast from Ticone to Chitawa, about the same distance. To the third, Attinge, which reached from Chitawa to Cape Comorin, about 50 leagues, because that part of the country is confined between the sea and the mountains of Gatti, and is divided by rivers from those mountains, into more than 1000 islands between Chitawa and Quoiloan. The youngest had Coil, which reached from Cape Comorin to the river of Nayapatam, about 50 leagues more

The old zealot dying in his voyage, made great disturbances in the state among the brothers; and, after a long and bloody war, they concluded on the partitions of the foregoing list. Many of the tribes continue tributaries to the provinces mentioned in the old king's will, but many more are independent. And so I will return to Decully and proceed in my observations along the shore

Between Decully and mount Delly there is no harbour, though a fine deep river keeps its course to the southward, along the shore, for about eight leagues, never, in all that tract, going above a bow-shot from the sea It disembogues itself by the foot of mount Delly, over rocks and sands, in a channel of half a league broad The inhabitants are a wild, superstitious, uncivilized people There is also a small river that runs close by the foot of mount Delly, on the south-side. And three leagues south from mount Delly is a spacious deep river, called Balliapatam, where the English Company had once a factory for pepper, and the aforementioned Mr. Boucher was the last chief for their affairs there.

Cannanore was formerly a town belonging to the crown of Portugal, with a very strong fort to guard it, built on a point of land so commodiously, that the sea fortified above four fifths of it, and had the conveniency of a small bay for an harbour, that could shelter small ships from the fury of the south-west monsoons. The Dutch came with a fleet about the year 1660, and landed a small army, and were joined by a great number of the natives, who were weary of the tyranny of the Portuguese. The very first day that they opened their trenches a Portuguese fidalgo was killed on a bastion, by a shot from the Dutch, which so frightened the governor of the fort, that, in the night, he made his escape, and left the garrison to capitulate for themselves, which they did next day, to save the effusion of Christian blood by heretical cannon.

The Dutch continue still masters of the fort and added a large curtain, with two royal bastions fronting the land avenues They demolished the town, and, with its stones, built those defences. There trade is very small, so that their garrison consists of about forty soldiers and a captain, who is governor of the fort, but there is a pretty large town built in the bottom of the bay, that is independent of the Dutch, and that town, with some circumjacent country, is under the government of Adda Rajah a Mahometan Malabar prince, who, upon occasion, can bring near 20,000 men into the field. His government is not absolute, nor is it hereditary, and, instead of giving him the trust of the treasury which comes by taxes and merchandize, they have chests made on purpose, with holes made in their lids, and their coin being all gold

gold, whatever is received by the treasurer, is put into those chests by these holes; and each chest has four locks, and their keys are put in the hands of the rajah, the commissioner of trade, the chief judge and the treasurer; and when there is occasion for money, none can be taken out without all these four be present, or their deputies.

In anno 1668, the prince came into the Dutch fort to pay a compliment to the captain. He had brought about 50 attendants with him. While the prince was complimenting the captain, the Malabars took the opportunity of the Dutch security, and killed the sentinel at the gate; but the Dutch soldiers being all in their barracks, and their arms ready made, a seasonable sally, and drove the Malabars out, with the loss of twenty of their number; and the Dutch shut their gate. The fort is large, and the governor's lodgings at a good distance from the gate, so that the fray was over before either the prince or the Dutch captain knew any thing of the matter; and an officer bringing the news, the prince ordered a search to be made for the ringleader, and being found, he sentenced him to be smeared over with honey, and made fast to a cocoa-nut tree in the sun till he died. Next morning the sentence was put in execution. These cocoa-nut trees producing a sweet liquor called toddy, bring vast numbers of wasps and large red ants to drink the liquor. Those ants bite as painfully as the stinging of wasps. When the sun begins to be hot, they leave the top of the tree, and burrow in holes about the root. In their passage downward they fixed on the carcase besmeared with the honey, and soon burrowed in the flesh. The poor miscreant was three days in that sensible torment before he expired. The Dutch captain begged every day for a pardon, or at least for a milder or quicker death; but the prince was inexorable.

In anno 1702, I hired a ship called the Albermarle, in service of the new established East-India Company, to serve me three months and an half on a voyage from Surat to the Malabar coast, and back, and having occasion to call at Cannanore, I accompanied the captain of the fort and an English factor from Tellicherry to the court of Omnitree, successor to the eldest son of the Samorin before mentioned, who died in his voyage towards Mecca.

Captain Beawes, who commanded the Albermarle, accompanied us also, carrying a drum and two trumpets with us, to make our compliment the more solemn. This was a visit paid him by all his tributaries and friends to wish him many happy years, it being his birth-day. We travelled eight or ten miles before we came to his palace, which was built with twigs, and covered with cadjans or cocoa-nut tree leaves woven together. We were admitted to his presence as soon as we arrived, in an open green, just by his palace window, which looks into it, where set his majesty, with his queen, and three or four of his children, pretty well grown up. We paid our compliment each with a zequeen in gold, and a few grains of rice laid on it, and so, by an interpreter we had some frivolous discourse. He treated us with toddy, some plantains, and young cocoa-nuts; and then after an hour's stay, we had audience of leave, and so departed.

Omnitree himself was a man of a good aspect, about forty years of age, of an olive colour. His dress was only a silk lungie or scarf made fast by a girdle of gold plate, about his middle, that reached to his knees, with great jewels of massy gold, set with rubies, emeralds and pearl, hanging at his ears, but no ornament on his head, but a very beautiful head of hair hanging over his shoulders. His queen and daughters were in the same habit, only their hair was tied up behind. They were all naked above the

the navel, and were bare-footed. The queen had a cheerful countenance, and very affable to us and others, who had the honour to ſtand near her, diſtributing beetle and arecka with her own royal hands, to ſtrangers, who came, as we did, to compliment the prince her huſband.

About the year 1680, there were three princes of the blood royal, who conſpired to cut him and his family off, to poſſeſs themſelves of the government of Calliſtree; but being detected, they were beheaded on altars built of ſtone. About two miles from Cannanore the altars were ſtanding when I was there. They were only ſquare piles of hewn ſtone, about three yards high, and four yards each ſide.

Adda Rajah's dominions reach but ten miles to the ſouthward of Cannanore, to Tellicherry river, near which he has an harbour called Dormepatam. Its paſſage inward is deep enough, but embarraſſed with rocks in its entrance. It has an iſland againſt its mouth, called Cacca Diva, about half a league from the ſhore, invironed with rocks.

Adda Rajah has alſo the dominion over the Lacca Diva iſlands, which lie about 40 leagues off the Malabar coaſt, between the latitudes of eight degrees and an half and twelve and an half. I have ſeen eighteen of them. They are all very low, and have many dangerous ſhoals among them, and to the northward of them. The channel between them and the Maldiva iſlands, is called the eight degree channel. There are no dangers in it, and ſometimes we paſs through without ſeeing either the Maldivas, or them. There is another channel through them in 11 degrees latitude.

Their product is only cocoa-nuts and fiſh. Of the cocoa-nut kernels they expreſs oil, which is fine and clear, fitting for lamps; and, when it is new, ſerves their kitchens. Of the rind of the nut they make cayar, which are the fibres of the caſk that environs the nut ſpun fit to make cordage and cables for ſhipping, and for ſeveral other uſes. Their fiſh they dry, and export to the continent. Sometimes in the ſouthweſt monſoons they find amber-greaſe floating on the ſea. I ſaw a piece in Adda Rajah's poſſeſſion, as big as a buſhel, and he valued it at 10,000 rupees, or 1250 pounds ſterling. What religion they have is Mahometan, for no other reaſon but becauſe their prince is ſo, which complaiſance may teach others a leſſon of conformity.

The next province to Adda Rajah's dominions is Tellicherry, where the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company has a factory, pretty well fortified with ſtone walls and cannon. The place where the factory now ſtands belonged to the French, who left the mud-walls of a fort built by them, to ſerve the Engliſh when they firſt ſettled there, and for many years they continued ſo, but of late no ſmall pains and charge have been beſtowed on its buildings; but for what reaſons I know not, for it has no river near it that can want its protection, nor can it defend the road from the inſults of enemies, unleſs it be for ſmall veſſels that can come within ſome rocks that lie half a mile off, or to protect the company's warehouſe, and a punch houſe that ſtands on the ſea-ſhore a ſhort piſtol-ſhot from the garriſon.

The town ſtands at the back of the fort, within land, with a ſtone wall round it, to keep out enemies of the chief's making, for in 1703, he began a war that ſtill continues, at leaſt there were folks killed in 1723, when I was there; and I was informed by a gentleman of judgment there, that the war and fortifications had taken double the money to maintain them that the Company's inveſtments came to.

The occaſion of the war, as I was informed began about a trifle. The Nayer, that was lord of the manor, had a royalty, for every veſſel that unladed at Tellicherry paid

paid two bales of rice duty to him. There was another royalty of every tenth fish that came to the market there, and both together did not amount to 20*l.* sterling per annum. The chief either appropriated these royalties to his own, or the Company's use, and the Nayer complained of the injustice, but had no redress. These little duties were the best part of the poor Nayer's subsistence which made it the harder to bear, so his friends advised him to repel force by force, and disturb the factory what he could, which he accordingly did (by the secret assistance of his friends) for above 20 years. The Company are the best judges whether the war is like to bring any profit to their affairs there, or no.

The established religion of this country is Paganism; but there are a few black Christians that live under the protection of the factory, and some of them serve for soldiers in the garrison. They have a little church standing within the outward wall of the factory, served by a Portuguese priest or two, who get their subsistence by the alms of the parish. And the English have punch-houses, where the European soldiers make oblations to Bacchus, and if they want devotion, which their accounts can certify at pay-day, they are forced to commute with their officer, or undergo some wholesome discipline or chastisement.

About four miles to the southward of Tellicherry, is a small French factory lately settled at the mouth of a small river, but for what end I know not, but I believe more to employ a little stock for the gentlemen of Calecut factory's account, than for the French Company's.

And eight or ten miles farther to the southward is Burgara, a sea-port in the dominions of Ballanore Burgarie, a formidable prince. His country produces pepper, and the best cardamums in the world. I once called at his port, and bought about 40 tuns of cardamums for the Surat market. My ship was large and of good force, so he sent me a present of poultry and fruits, and sent me word, that he had a mind to see me on board my ship. I returned answer, that his visit would do me great honour, and I sent my barge to wait on him. He came on board in her, and brought about 100 attendants in other boats, along with him. I carried him to the great cabin, and would have treated him with coffee, tea and wine, or spirits, but he would taste none, telling me, that my water was polluted by our touch, but he thanked me. He desired to see the ship every where, and I ordered he should have free liberty, and went for an hour to and again, making his observations; and, when he had seen what he thought fit, he told me, that he would build a ship of the same dimensions, but there wanted water enough in his rivers to float her.

This prince, and his predecessors, have been lords of the seas, time out of mind, and all trading vessels between Cape Comerin and Damaan, were obliged to carry his passes. Those of one mast paid for their passes about eight shillings yearly, and those with three paid about sixteen, but when the Portuguese settled in India, then they pretended to the sovereignty of the seas, which occasioned a war between him and them, that has lasted ever since. He keeps some light gallies that row and sail very well, which cruize along the coast, from October to May, to make prize of all who have not his pass. In our discourse, I asked him if he was not afraid to venture his person on board of a merchant ship, since he himself was an enemy to all merchants that traded on these coasts. He answered, that he had heard of my character, and that made him fearless, and that he was no enemy to trade, but only vindicated his sovereignty of those seas before mentioned, and that our own king was invested with the like sovereignty not only on his own coasts, but on those of France, Holland and Denmark, and could have no greater right than he had, only he was in a better condition to

 oblige

oblige the tranfgreffors of his laws to obedience than he was: however he would maintain his claim and right the beft way he could, and whoever loft their fhips or veffels for contempt of his authority, might blame their own obftinacy or folly, and not him.

He ftayed about three hours on board, and, at his going away, I prefented him with five yards of fcarlet cloth, a fmall carpet, a fowling-piece and a pair of piftols finely gilt, which prefent he feemed highly pleafed with; and he took a manila, or wrift-jewel off from his left arm, on which was engraven fomething of their language, in their own characters, and putting it on my left arm, declared me a free denizen in all his territories; and all his attendants paid their compliments to me with profound refpect. At his going over the fide, he gave the boatfwain ten zequeens for waiting on him while he viewed the fhip, and ten more for the feamen to make a feaft, and when my barge landed him, he gave the cockfwain five zequeens, and loaded her back with poultry and fruit. He was a very well fhaped man, about 40 years of age, of a very dark colour, but not quite black, his eyes very lively and fparkling, and fomething of a majeftick air in his deportment.

Next day I waited on him afhore, and he carried me to his palace, which was very meanly built of reeds, and covered with cocoa-nut leaves, but very neat and clean. He had two rows of bettle trees, which are very tall and ftraight, fet in order about fifty yards from the door of his palace, for it was not large enough to be called a gate, and there he treated me with rice, fowl and frefh fifh dreft after their way; and, after dinner, he fhewed me feveral warehoufes like barns, full of black pepper and cardamums; and he told me, he wondered why the Englifh did not fettle a factory in his dominions rather than at Calecut or Tellicherry, for he fupplied both thefe countries with his commodities, and, confidering the cuftoms paid to him were but five per cent. and what was carried into their countries muft pay other cuftoms to the princes, the company would find pepper and cardamums much cheaper in his dominions, than they could poffibly have them at their factories where they were fettled. I told him, that fending his veffels to cruize on merchant fhips had blafted the reputation of his country. He anfwered, that if the Company would make a trial of a few years in trading with him, they would be convinced of his fair dealings, or, if I would come and ftay in his country, he would build a good ftone houfe at his own charge, and make a fortification round it, in any place that I fhould choofe in his dominions, and that I fhould be fuperintendant of all the commerce and trade in his country. I told him, that I could not accept of his favours without the approbation of our Company, and that would require time to be got. This happened in January 1703.

In 1707, he built a new fhip, which I had a mind to buy. I was then at Couchin, and fent him word, that I defigned him a vifit. He returned an anfwer, that I was a freeman in his country, and might be affured of an hearty welcome. About ten days after I came in a fmall boat, to a place belonging to him, called Mealie. When news of my arrival were carried to him, he fent a perfon of diftinction, with twenty armed men, to receive me, and ordered me to be lodged in a ftone houfe, the common place for ambaffadors to lodge in, when any had bufinefs to come to him. The bedding was only fome mats fpread on a couch; but it is the common bedding of the country, and his highnefs has no better. Before I was conducted to my lodgings, there was a prefent of rice, butter, hens, fruits and roots put into a pantry for me, and my retinue and guard, for fupper. Next morning he fent a compliment, that he defired to fee me at his palace. I went accordingly, and he received me very gracioufly, with many proteftations of his friendfhip, and told me, he would make

good

good all that he had promised before, if I would continue in his country. I returned his compliment in the properest terms I could, and told him, I came to kiss his hand, and to buy his new ship, if he and I could agree. He told me, that I should have her at a very reasonable price, but that his religion forbid him to sell any ship that he either built or bought, till he had first employed her in one voyage himself. I stayed seven days in his country, and he treated me after the same manner as if I had been an ambassador, in defraying all my charges, and allowing his own servants to attend me.

When I went to his palace the first time, I was innocently guilty of ill manners; for, walking with him near his lodgings, I chanced to touch the thatch with my hat, which polluted it so much, that, as soon as I went away, he stript it of its covering, because religion forbad him to sleep under it when it was thus polluted; but it was soon re-sanctified by a new thatching. If any of his own subjects had been guilty of the same fault, they might have run in danger of losing their lives for the offence.

I daily received for my table six hens, two pounds of butter, five and twenty pounds weight of rice, a quarter of a pound of pepper, and some salt, some bettle leaves, and green arecka, with twenty young, and ten old cocoa-nuts, but no fish, which was a favourite dish of mine. I sent my own servants to the fishing-boats, when they came from fishing, to buy some, but the poor fellows durst not take a penny of money, yet supplied me with what fish I wanted, and my servants took their opportunity to pay for them, when none of the prince's servants were present.

When I took leave to depart, he seemed to be sorry that I stayed so short a time with him, and ordered two days' provisions to be put into my boat, and I presented the officer that waited on me to the sea-side with five zequeens for a feast of bettle to him and his companions. I do not certainly know how far southerly this prince's dominions reach along the sea-coast, but I believe to Tecorie, about 12 miles from Mealie, and the half way is Cottica, which was famous formerly for privateering on all ships and vessels that traded without their lord's pass.

There is a rock lies off Cottica about eight miles in the sea, which bears the name of Sacrifice Rock. There are no dangers near it for ships to be afraid of. How it came by its name is uncertain; but common tradition tells us, that when the Portuguese settled first at Calecut, which lies about seven leagues south-east of this rock, the Cottica cruizers surprised a Portuguese vessel, and sacrificed all their prisoners on that rock, which gave name to it. It is observable, that though the Protuguese got footing in all the dominions of the princes whose lands reach to the sea-shore of Malabar, yet they never could get a foot of ground in the Balanores country, though many trials have been made, and fair means used to effect it.

Chap. XXV. — *Observations on the Samorin and his Country, their Religion, Laws, and Customs; Product of the Country and its Commerce, an Account of their War with the Dutch, begun in Anno* 1708 *and the Consequences of it.*

THE Samorin's country reaches along the sea-coast from Ticori to Chitwa, about 22 leagues. His chief city (if it may be called one) is Calecut, where he generally resides. His place is built of stone, and there is some faint resemblance of grandeur to be seen about his court. He is reckoned the most powerful king on the sea-coast of Malabar, and has the best trade in his country, which makes both himself and people richer than their neighbours. The English had a factory there many years, but now

now the chief and the factors are removed to Tellicherry, and what quantities of pepper they procure there by their black servants, is sent by sea to Tellicherry. The French have a small factory settled in anno 1698: but they are not in a condition to carry on a trade for want of money and credit: and the Portuguese have a church, but poorly decorated, and pitifully endowed, for Christian charity is much decayed there as well as in other places; and the priests' perquisites are but small by converts.

The product of the Samorin's country is pepper in abundance, bettle-nut and cocoa-nut, and that tree produceth jaggery, a kind of sugar, and copera, or the kernels of the nut dried, and out of those kernels there is a very clear oil exprest; also sandel-wood, iron, cassia-lignum and timber for building, all which commodities they export to the great benefit of the inhabitants.

Many strange customs were observed in this country in former times, and some very odd ones are still continued. It was an ancient custom for the Samorin to reign but twelve years, and no longer. If he died before his term was expired, it saved him a troublesome ceremony of cutting his own throat, on a publick scaffold erected for that purpose. He first made a feast for all his nobility and gentry, who are very numerous. After the feast he saluted his guests, and went on the scaffold, and very decently cut his own throat in the view of the assembly, and his body was, a little while after, burned with great pomp and ceremony, and the grandees elected a new Samorin. Whether that custom was a religious or civil ceremony I know not, but it is now laid aside.

And a new custom is followed by the modern Samorins, that jubilee is proclaimed throughout his dominions, at the end of twelve years, and a tent is pitched for him in a spacious plain, and a great feast is celebrated for ten or twelve days, with mirth and jollity, guns firing night and day, so at the end of the feast any four of the guests that have a mind to gain a crown by a desperate action, in fighting their way through 30 or 40,000 of his guards, and kill the Samorin in his tent, he that kills him, succeeds him in his empire.

In anno 1695, one of those jubilees happened, and the tent pitched near Pennany, a sea-port of his, about fifteen leagues to the southward of Calecut. There were but three men that would venture on that desperate action, who fell in, with sword and target, among the guard, and, after they had killed and wounded many were themselves killed. One of the desperados had a nephew of fifteen or sixteen years of age, that kept close by his uncle in the attack on the guards, and, when he saw him fall, the youth got through the guards into the tent, and made a stroke at his majesty's head, and had certainly dispatched him, if a large brass lamp which was burning over his head, had not marred the blow; but, before he could make another, he was killed by the guards; and, I believe, the same Samorin reigns yet. I chanced to come that time along the coast and heard the guns for two or three days and nights successively.

When the Samorin marries, he must not cohabit with his bride till the Nambourie or chief priest has enjoyed her, and, if he pleases, may have three nights of her company, because the first fruits of her nuptials must be an holy oblation to the god she worships: and some of the nobles are so complaisant as to allow the clergy the same tribute; but the common people cannot have that compliment paid to them, but are forced to supply the priests places themselves. Any women, except the first quality, may marry twelve husbands if they please, but cannot have more at one time, and they must all be of her own cast or tribe, under pain of excommunication and degradation of honour, if she marries into a lower tribe; and the men are under the same

penalty if they transgress that law, but they are not confined to a set number of wives, as the women are to husbands.

When a woman is married to the first of her husbands, she has an house built for her own conveniency, and that husband cohabits with her till she takes a second, or so many as she is prescribed by law, and the husbands agree very well, for they cohabit with her in their turns, according to their priority of marriage, ten days, more or less, according as they can fix a term among themselves, and he that cohabits with her, maintains her in all things necessary, for his time, so that she is plentifully provided for by a constant circulation.

When the man that cohabits with her goes into her house, he leaves his arms at the door, and none dare remove them, or enter the house, on pain of death; but, if there are no arms to guard the door, any acquaintance may freely visit her. And all the time of cohabitation she serves her husband as purveyor and cook, and keeps his clothes and arms clean.

When she proves with child, she nominates its father, who takes care of its education, after she has suckled it, and brought it to walk or speak; but the children are never heirs to their fathers' estates, but the father's sister's children are, and if there are none, then to the nearest in consanguinity from his grandmother. And this custom is also practised among the Mahometan Malabars.

There are many degrees or dignities in the church as well as in the state. The Nambouries are the first in both capacities of church and state, and some of them are popes, being sovereign princes in both. The Brahmans or Bramanies are the second in the church only. The Buts or magicians are next to them, and are in great veneration. The Nayers or gentlemen are next, and are very numerous. The Teyvees are the farmers of cocoa-nut trees, and are next to the gentry. Merchants are of all orders, except Nambouries, and are in some esteem. The Poulias produce the labourers and mechanicks. They may marry into lower tribes without danger of excommunication, and so may the Muckwas or fishers, who, I think, are an higher tribe than the Poulias, but the Poulichees are the lowest order of human creatures, and are excluded from the benefit of human and divine laws.

If a Poulia or Teyvee meet a Nayer on the road, he must go aside to let his worship pass by, lest the air should be tainted, on pain of a severe chastisement, if not of death, but the Poulichees are in a much worse state, for, by the law, they are not permitted to converse with any other tribe, nor can they wear any sort of cloth, but only a little straw made fast before their privities, with a line round their middle. They are not permitted to build houses or huts on the ground, nor to inhabit the plains where there is corn ground, but must dwell in woods, and build on the boughs of trees, like birds, with grass and straw. If accidentally they see any body coming towards them, they will howl like dogs, and run away, lest those of quality should take offence at their breathing in the same air that they do. They are not permitted to till and sow the ground, only in obscure places of the woods; they plant fruits and roots, whose seeds they steal from their neighbouring gardens in the plains, in the night, and if they are caught stealing, death is their punishment on the spot where they are taken, without any form or process of law. When they want food, they come to the skirts of their woods, and howl like foxes, and the charitable Poulias and Teyvees relieve them with rice boiled or raw, and some cocoa-nuts and other fruits, which they lay down in a convenient place, and when their benefactors come within twenty paces of them with their alms, they walk off, and let the Poulichees come to their food, which they forthwith carry into the woods. They are very swift in running

ing, and running in catching wild beaſts and fowls, but they have few or no fiſh among the mountains.

The inferior tribes have liberty of conſcience in fancying their deities, and worſhipping them. I have ſeen at many Muckwas' houſes a ſquare ſtake of wood, with a few notches cut about it, and that ſtake drove into the ground, about two feet of it being left above, and that is covered with ſome cadjans or cocoa-nut tree leaves, and is a temple and a god to that family. Some worſhip the firſt animal they ſee in the morning, let it be cat, dog or ſerpent, and they pay their adorations to it the whole day. Others chooſe a tree of their father's or ſome dear friend's planting, and that he gets conſecrated, and it then becomes his god; but they all believe the immortality of the ſoul and tranſmigration, and the adoration of the great god, of whom they have many wild opinions.

The great god's image they can neither fancy nor make, but believe, that he ſent an huge large fowl from heaven, that laid a ſwinging egg in the ſea, and, in proceſs of time, it was hatched by the ſun, and forth came the world, with all animals, vegetables, &c. that inhabit it and now, that poor Adam was ſet alone on the top of an high mountain in Zealoan, which is called this day, Baba Adam, from that tradition; but, being tired of ſo loneſome a life, he deſcended into the plain, and there he met with Hevah, whom he preſently knew to be his kinſwoman, and they ſtruck hands, and were there married.

The great men of the clergy build temples, but they are neither large nor beautiful. Their images are all black, and deformed, according as they fancy the infernal gods to be ſhaped, who, they believe, have ſome hand in governing the world, particularly about the benign or malignant ſeaſons that happen in the productions or ſterility of the earth, for which reaſon they pay a lateral adoration to them. Their images are all placed in dark temples, and are never ſeen but by lamp-light, that burns continually before them.

When criminal caſes are brought before the magiſtrate, that want the evidence of witneſſes to ſupport them, the trial of truth is by ordeal. The accuſed perſon is obliged to put his bare hand into a pot of boiling oil, and if any bliſter appears, the party is found guilty; and I have been credibly informed, both by Engliſh and Dutch gentlemen, as well as natives, that had ſeen the trial, that the innocent perſon has not been in the leaſt affected with the ſcalding oil, and then the puniſhment due to the crime is inflicted on the accuſer.

The Samorin entered into a war with the Dutch Eaſt-India Company in anno 1714; and the chief of the Engliſh factory, who was a privy counſellor to the Samorin, had a great hand in promoting it. The quarrel began about a ſmall fort that the Dutch were building at Chitwa. The ground whereon it ſtood was a deſert moraſs by the river's ſide, and was claimed both by the King of Couchin and the Samorin. The King of Couchin made over his claim to the Dutch, who made ſmall account who had the beſt title, but carried on their work with diligence. The Samorin, with and by the advice of his council, got ſome of his ſoldiers to be entered into the Dutch ſervice, under the diſguiſe of daily labourers to carry ſtones, mortar, &c. for building the fort, and to take their opportunity to lie in ambuſcade in a moraſs overgrown with reeds near the fort.

Two Dutch lieutenants, who had the overſeeing of the work, were one evening diverting themſelves with a game at tables in a guard room about half a mile from the fort. They had let ſome of their Dutch ſoldiers go ſtraggling abroad, and the centinels were careleſs under the ſecurity of friendſhip, which gave the diſguiſed workmen an opportunity to kill the ſentinels, and make their ſignal for the ambuſcade, who,

in a few minutes, took the half-built fort. The lieutenants came presently after, with what forces they had, to retake it, but one being killed in advancing, the other thought it impracticable to attack greater forces within than he had without, and so embarked, with his men, on board small boats for Couchin, about 10 leagues from Chitwa.

I fortuned to be at Couchin when he and his men arrived, and, by a court martial, he was sentenced to be shot to death, which sentence I saw executed. The Samorin's people next day erected a flag-staff, and hoisted the English flag, which the English chief had sent by the ambuscade, and immediately after set about demolishing the walls, that where built, of the fort, and carried off some great guns belonging to the Dutch. And this was the prelude of the war.

I knew pretty well the strength of the antagonists, what power the Samorin had, and what powers the Kings of Couchin, Paaru and Porcat could assist the Dutch with, and I wrote to the chief the resolutions of the Dutch, and advised him not to embark himself or his masters in that affair, because war was a different province from his. He took my advice so ill, that he wrote to Bombay, that I was in the Dutch interest, opposite to the right honourable Company, and also to his masters in England, as if the Dutch Company could need my interest, advice or assistance; but, as I had forewarned him, he found the Samorin was forced, after three years war, to conclude a dishonourable and disadvantageous peace, wherein he was obliged to build up the fort he had demolished, to pay the Dutch Company seven per Cent. on all the pepper exported out of his dominions for ever, and to pay a large sum towards the charges of the war. Some part of the money, I believe, he borrowed.

Whether our East-India Company got or lost by that war, I know not, nor will I pretend to pass judgment on their affairs, but this I know that the chief lost a good milk cow, for the chiefs of Calecut, for many years, had vended between 500 and 1000 chests of Bengal opium yearly up in the inland countries, where it is very much used. The water carriage up the river being cheap and secure, the price of opium high, and the price of pepper low, so that their profits were great both ways; for, if I mistake not, the Company paid the highest prices for their pepper, and the Nayres in the Company's pay, were employed about the chief's affairs; and by the unexpected turn of affairs caused by the war, that trade is fallen intirely into the Dutch Company's hands, and it will be a very difficult task to get it out again.

The English company were formerly so much respected at Calecut, that if any debtor went into their factory for protection, none durst presume to go there to disturb them, but that indulgence has been sometimes made an ill use of, to the detriment of English private traders.

They have a good way of arresting people for debt, viz. There is a proper person sent with a small stick from the judge, who is generally a Brahman, and when that person finds the debtor, he draws a circle round him with that stick, and charges him, in the King and judge's name, not to stir out of it till the creditor is satisfied either by payment or surety; and it is no less than death for the debtor to break prison by going out of the circle.

They make use of no pens, ink and paper, but write on leaves of flags or reeds that grow in morasses by the sides of rivers. They are generally about 18 inches long, and one and an half broad, tapering at both ends, and a small hole at one end for a string to pass through. It is thicker than our royal paper, and very tough. They write with the point of a bodkin made for that purpose, holding the leaf athwart their left

left thumb end over the foremoſt finger, and what they have to write is indented, or rather engraven into the leaf, but it does not pierce the leaf above half way through. And on two or three of theſe leaves they will write as much as we can on a ſheet of ſmall paper. All their records are written ſo on leaves, and they are ſtrung and rolled up in a ſcroll, and hung ſome time in ſmoke and then locked up in their cabinets. And I have ſeen ſome ſuch leaves ſmoke-dried, that, they told me, were above 1000 years old.

In anno 1703, about the middle of February, I called at Calecut in my way to Surat, and ſtanding into the road, I chanced to ſtrike on ſome of the ruins of the ſunken town built by the Portugueze in former times. Whether that town was ſwallowed up by an earthquake, as ſome affirm, or whether it was undermined by the ſea I will not determine; but ſo it was, that in ſix fathoms at the main maſt, my ſhip, which drew 21 feet water, ſat faſt a-fore the cheſs-tree. The ſea was ſmooth, and in a ſhort time we got off without damage.

The unfortunate Captain Green, who was afterwards hanged in Scotland, came on board of my ſhip at ſun-ſet, very much overtaken with drink, and ſeveral of his men came in the ſame condition. He told me, that he had ſome ſmall arms, powder, ſhot and glaſs-ware to diſpoſe of, and aſked me if I would take them off his hands at a very reaſonable rate. I told him, that next morning I would ſee them, and perhaps be a merchant for them. He told me, that the arms and ammunition were what was left of a large quantity that he had brought from England, but had been at Don Maſcherenas and Madagaſcar, and had diſpoſed of the reſt to good advantage, among the pirates, and had carried ſome pirates from Don Maſcherenas to St. Mary's.

I told him, that, in prudence, he ought to keep theſe as ſecrets, leſt he might be brought in trouble about them. He made but little account of my advice, and ſo departed.

About ten in the night his chief mate Mr. [illegible]ther came on board of my ſhip, and ſeemed to be very melancholy. He aſked [illegible], if I thought one of my mates would be induced to go with Captain Green, that he might be cleared of his ſhip, and he would give that mate that would accept of his poſt, a very conſiderable gratuity. I told him, that ſuch a good poſt as he had on board the Worceſter was not eaſily procured in India, for we ſeldom preferred ſtrangers before we had a trial of them.

He burſt out in tears, and told me, he was afraid that he was undone. I aſked his reaſon for his melancholy conjecture. He anſwered, that they had acted ſuch things in their voyage, that would certainly bring them to ſhame and puniſhment, if they ſhould come to light, and he was aſſured, that ſuch a company of drunkards as their crew was compoſed of, could keep no ſecret, though the diſcovery ſhould prove their own ruin. I told him, I was ſorry for his condition, and that I had heard at Coiloan, that they had not acted prudently nor honeſtly in relation to ſome Moors ſhips they had viſited and plundered, and in ſinking a ſloop, with ten or twelve Europeans in her, off Coiloan. He aſked me if that was known at Coiloan. I told him, that the people there made no ſecret of it, but as long as you did them no harm, you are welcome to their trade. Next day I went aſhore, and met Captain Green and his ſupercargo Mr. Callant, who had ſailed a voyage from Surat to Sindy with me. Before dinner-time they were both drunk, and Callant told me, that he did not doubt of making the greateſt voyage that ever was made from England on

ſo

so small a stock as 500 pounds. I wished him joy and success, but told him, that we Indians understood none of those profitable voyages, but were well content with 30 or 40 per cent.

In the evening their surgeon accosted me in my walk along the sea side, and asked if I wanted a surgeon. I told him I had two, and both very good ingenious men. He said, he wanted to stay in India, for his life was uneasy on board of his ship, that though the captain was civil enough, yet Mr. Mather was unkind, and had treated him with blows for asking a pertinent question at some wounded men, who were hurt in the engagement they had with the aforementioned sloop. I heard too much to be contented with their conduct, and so I shunned their conversation for the little time I staid at Calecut. Whether Captain Green and Mr. Mather had justice impartially allowed them in their process and sentence, I know not. I have heard of as great innocents condemned to death as they were.

About two leagues to the southward of Calecut, is a fine river called Baypore, capable to receive ships of 3 or 400 tons. It has a small island off its mouth, about half a mile from the shore, that keeps it safe from the great seas brought on that coast by the south-west monsoons. Four leagues more southerly is Tannore, a town of small trade, inhabited by Mahometans. They are a little free state, but pay an acknowledgment to the Samorin. Five leagues to the southward of Tannore, is Pennany, mentioned before. It has the benefit of a river, and was formerly a place of trade. The French and English had their factories there, but were removed about the year 1670. And about four leagues more to the southward, is Chitwa River, which bounds the Samorin's dominions to the south.

CHAP XXVI. — *Gives an Account of Couchin; its Government and Strength, its ancient and present State, its Product and Commerce, with some Account of the Jews inhabiting there.*

THE King of Couchin's dominions are next in course along the sea-coast, and reach from Chitwa about 24 leagues to the southward. There are so many rivulets that run off the mountains of Gatti, that they reckon above 1000 islands made by their streams. The mountains come within eight leagues of the sea, and the rivulets join their stores at Cranganore, and make one great outlet to the sea, and another great outlet is at Couchin city. Cranganore is about five leagues to the south of Chitwa. The Dutch have here a small fort, which retains the name of Cranganore. It lies about a league up the river from the sea. In times of old it bore the name of a kingdom, and was a republic of Jews, who were once so numerous, that they could reckon about 80,000 families, but, at present, are reduced to 4000. They have a synagogue at Couchin, not far from the King's palace, about two miles from the city, in which are carefully kept their records, engraven on copper-plates in Hebrew characters; and when any of the characters decay, they are new cut, so that they can shew their own history from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to this present time.

Myn Heer Van Reede before mentioned, about the year 1695, had an abstract of their history translated from the Hebrew into low Dutch. They declare themselves to be of the tribe of Manasseh, a part whereof was, by order of that haughty conqueror Nebuchadnezzar, carried to the eastermost province of his large empire, which, it seems reached

reached as far as cape Comerin, which journey 20,000 of them travelled in three years from their ſetting out of Babylon.

When they arrived in the Malabar country, they found the inhabitants very civil and hoſpitable to ſtrangers, giving them liberty of conſcience in religious matters, and the free uſe of reaſon and induſtry in economy. There they increaſed, both in numbers and riches, till in proceſs of time, either by policy or wealth, or both, they came to purchaſe the little kingdom of Cranganore. And there being one family among them much eſteemed for wiſdom, power and riches, two of the ſons of that family were choſen by their elders and ſenators, to govern the common-wealth, and reign jointly over them. Concord, the ſtrongeſt bonds of ſociety, was in a ſhort time broken, and ambition took place, for one of the brothers inviting his colleague to a feaſt, and picking a quarrel with his gueſt, baſely killed him, thinking, by that means, to reign alone; but the defunct leaving a ſon of a bold ſpirit behind him, revenged his father's death, by killing the fratricide, and ſo the ſtate fell again into a democracy, which ſtill continues among the Jews here, but the lands have, for many ages, recurred back into the hands of the Malabars, and poverty and oppreſſion have made many apoſtatize.

Between Cranganore and Couchin, there is an iſland called Baypin, that occupies the ſea-coaſt. It is four leagues long, but no part of it is two miles broad. The Dutch forbid all veſſels or boats to enter at Cranganore: and at Couchin the channel is about a quarter of a mile broad, but very deep, though the bar has not above 14 feet water at ſpring tides.

The firſt Europeans that ſettled in Couchin were the Portugueze, and there they built a fine city on the river's ſide, about three leagues from the ſea; but the ſea gaining on the land yearly, it is not now above 100 paces from it. It ſtands ſo pleaſantly, that the Portugueze had a common ſaying, that China was a country to get money in, and Couchin was a place to ſpend it in, for the great numbers of canals made by the rivers and iſlands, made fiſhing and fowling very diverting, and the mountains are well ſtored with wild game.

On the inſide of Baypin iſland, there is an old fort built by the Portugueze, called Palliapore, to inſpect all boats that go between Cranganore and Couchin. And five leagues up the rivulets is a Romiſh church called Verapoli, ſerved by French and Italian prieſts; and when a biſhop comes into thoſe parts, it is the place of his reſidence. The Padre ſuperior of Varapoli, can raiſe, upon occaſion, 4000 men, all Chriſtians of the church of Rome, but there are many more St Thomas's Chriſtians that do not communicate with thoſe of Rome, and ſome Portugueze, called Topaſes, that communicate with neither, for they will be ſerved by none but Portugueze prieſts, becauſe they indulge them more in their villainy, and abſolutions from crimes are eaſier purchaſed from the Portugueze than from the French or Italians, who are generally much more polite and learned than the Portugueze, who are permitted to take the habit of ſome order, without being examined whether the novice has the common qualifications of ſchool learning.

About two leagues farther up towards the mountains, on the ſide of a ſmall, but deep river, is a place called Firdalgo, where the inhabitants of Couchin generally aſſemble to refreſh themſelves in the troubleſome hot months of April and May. The banks and bottom of the river is clean ſand, and the water ſo clear, that a ſmall pebble ſtone may be ſeen at the bottom in three fathoms water. Every company makes choice of a place by the river's ſide, and pitch their tents, and drive ſome ſmall ſtakes before their tents,

in

in the river, on which they hang up clothes for blinds, to hide the ladies when they bathe; but most of them swim dextrously, and swim under water through the stakes, into the open river, where the men are diverting themselves, and there they dive, and play many comical mad tricks, till breakfast or supper call them ashore, for it is in mornings and evenings that they bathe and swim; for in the heat of the day the sun scorches. Very often the ladies lay wagers of treats with the gentlemen, about their swiftness and dexterity in swimming, but generally the ladies win the wagers, though, I believe, if the men would use their art and strength, they might win the prize. The heat of the day they pass with a game at cards or tables for treats, by which means they fare sumptuously every day, sometimes in one tent, and sometimes in another, and, at night, every family sleeps in their own tent, on the soft clean sand, males and females promiscuously.

There is a place on the side of that river, called Hell's Mouth. It is a subterraneous cave about four yards broad, and three high, hewn out of a spungy iron-coloured rock. I went into it with a lantern, and passed straight forward about 200 yards, but saw no end to it. It is an habitation for snakes and bats, who were frightened by the light of our candle and noise. As we were tired with their company, so we returned back. They have no tradition why it was made, or by whom.

The water of this country near the sea-coast, from Cranganore to St. Andreas, which is about 12 leagues, has a bad quality of making the constant drinkers of it have swelled legs. Some it affects in one leg, and some in both. I have seen legs above a yard about at the ancle. It causes no pain, but itching; nor does the thick leg seem heavier than the small one to those who have them: but the Dutch at Couchin, to prevent that malady, send boats daily to Verapoli, to lade with small portable casks of 10 or 12 English gallons, to serve the city. The company's servants have their water free of charges, but private persons pay sixpence per cask, if it is brought to their houses, and yet, for all that precaution, I have seen both Dutch men and women troubled with that malady. And no cure has been yet found to heal or prevent it.

The old Romish legendaries impute the cause of those great swelled legs to a curse St. Thomas laid upon his murderers and their posterity, and that was the odious mark they should be distinguished by, but St. Thomas was killed by the Tillnigue priests at Malliapore on Chormandel, about 400 miles distant from this coast, and the natives there know none of that malady.

Couchin is washed by the greatest outlet on this coast, and being so near the sea, makes it strong by nature, but art has not been wanting to strengthen it. The city built by the Portugueze was about a mile and an half long, and a mile broad. The Dutch took it from the Portugueze about the year 1660, when Heitloff Van Ghonz was general of the Dutch forces by land, and commodore of a fleet by sea. The insolence of the Portugueze had made several neighbouring princes become their enemies, who joined with the Dutch to drive them out of their neighbourhood, and the King of Couchin particularly assisted with 20,000 men. The Dutch had not invested the town long before Van Ghonz received advice of a peace concluded between Portugal and Holland; but that he kept a secret to himself. He therefore made a breach in the weakest part of the wall, and made a furious assault for three days and nights, without intermission, and relieved his assailants every three hours, but the Portugueze keeping their men continually fatigued in duty all the while, and finding danger of being taken by storm, capitulated, and delivered up their city. In the town there were 400 Topases, who had done

done the Portugueze good ſervice in defending the city, but were not comprehended in the treaty. As ſoon as they knew of that omiſſion, and the cruelty and licentiouſneſs of the Dutch ſoldiery in India, they drew up in a parade, within the port that the Portugueze were to go out at, and the Dutch to enter in, and ſwore, that if they had not the ſame favours and indulgence that were granted to the Portugueze, they would maſſacre them all, and ſet fire to the town. The Dutch general knew his own intereſt too well to deny ſo juſt a demand, ſo he granted what they deſired, and moreover to take thoſe who had a mind to ſerve in the Dutch ſervice, into pay, which many of them did.

The very next day after the Dutch had poſſeſſion, came a frigate from Goa, with the articles of the peace made with Holland, and the Portugueze complained loudly of the general's unfair dealings, but were anſwered, that the Portugueze had acted the ſame farce on the Dutch, at their taking of Pharnabuke in Braſil, a few years before. The Engliſh had then a factory in the city of Couchin, but the Dutch ordered them to remove with their effects, which accordingly they did to their factory at Pennany.

As ſoon as the Dutch became maſters of the city, they thought it was too large, and ſo contracted it to what it now is, being hardly one tenth of what it was in the Portugueze time. It is about 600 paces long, and 200 broad, fortified with ſeven large baſtions, and curtains ſo thick, that two rows of large trees are planted on them, for ſhades in the hot times. Some ſtreets built by the Portugueze, are ſtill ſtanding, with a church for the Dutch ſervice, and a cathedral for a warehouſe. The commodore or governor's houſe, which is a ſtately ſtructure, is the only houſe built after the Dutch mode, and the river waſhes ſome part of its walls, and a canal cut from the river up to the middle of the city, that paſſes cloſe by the governor's houſe.

Their flag-ſtaff is placed on the ſteeple of the old cathedral, on a maſt of 75 feet high, and a ſtaff a-top of it about 60 feet, which is the higheſt I ever ſaw; and the flag may be ſeen above ſeven leagues off. The garriſon generally conſiſts of 300 effective men: and from cape Comerin upwards they are allowed, in all their forts and factories, 500 ſoldiers, and 100 ſeamen, all Europeans, beſides ſome Topaſes, and the militia. They have their ſtores of rice from Barſalore, becauſe the Malabar rice will not keep above three months out of the huſk, but in the huſk it will keep a year.

The country produces great quantities of pepper, but lighter than that which grows more northerly. Their woods afford good teak for building, and angelique and pawbeet for making large cheſts and cabinets, which are carried all over the weſt coaſts of India. They have alſo iron and ſteel in plenty, and bees wax for exporting. Their ſeas afford them abundance of good fiſh of ſeveral kinds, which, with thoſe that are caught in their rivers, make them very cheap.

The King of Couchin, who, at beſt, is but a vaſſal to the Dutch, has a palace built of ſtone about half a league from the Dutch city, and there is a ſtraggling village not far from the palace that bears the name of old Couchin. It has a bazaar or market in it, where all commodities of the country's product are ſold; but there are no curioſities to be found in it. The King's ordinary reſidence is at another palace ſix leagues to the ſouthward of Couchin, and two from St. Andrea; but he keeps but a very ſmall court.

Mudbay is a place, that, I believe, few can parallel in the world. It lies on the ſhore of St. Andrea, about half a league out in the ſea, and is open to the wide ocean, and has

has neither island nor bank to break off the force of the billows, which come rolling with great violence on all other parts of the coast, in the south-west monsoons, but, on the bank of mud, lose themselves in a moment, and ships lie on it, as secure as in the best harbour without motion or disturbance. It reaches about a mile along shore, and has shifted from the northward, in 30 years, about three miles. St. Andrea is only a village, with a church in it dedicated to St. Andrew, and is served by St. Thomas's priests, who generally are both poor and illiterate. About two leagues to the southward of St. Andrea begin the dominions of Porcat, or

Porkah. It is of small extent, reaching not above four leagues along the sea-coast. The prince is poor, having but little trade in his country, though it was a free port for pirates when Evory and Kid robbed on the coast of India, but, since that time, the pirates infest the northern coasts, finding the richest prizes amongst the Mocha and Persia traders. The Dutch keep a factory at Porkah, but of small consequence.

Coilcoiloan is another little principality contiguous to Porkah, where the Dutch keep also a factory And next to it is

Coiloan, another small principality. It has the benefit of a river, which is the southermost outlet of the Couchin islands, and the Dutch have a small fort within a mile of it, on the sea-shore, which they took from the Portugueze when they took Couchin. It keeps a garrison of 30 men, and its trade is inconsiderable.

Erwa lies two leagues to the southward of Coiloan, where the Danes have a small factory standing on the sea side. It is a thatched house of a very mean aspect, and their trade answers, every way, to the figure their factory makes.

Aujengo lies two leagues to the southward of Erwa, a fort belonging to the English, built at the Company's charge, in anno 1695. It stands on a sandy foundation and is naturally fortified by the sea on one side, and a little river on the other. It is in the dominions of the queen of Attinga, to whom it pays ground rent Before it was built, the English had two small factories in her country to the south of Aujengo. One was called Brinjan, the other Ruttera, but, being naked places, were subject to the insults of courtiers, whose avarice is seldom or never satisfied. but I wonder why the English built their fort in that place, for there is not a drop of good water for drinking within a league of it, and the road has a foul bottom for anchoring, and continually a great surf on the shore, when they might as well have built it near the red cliffs to the northward, from whence they have their water for drinking, and where there is good anchor-ground, and a tolerable good landing place for boats in the north-east monsoons. The country produces good quantities of pepper and long cloth, as fine as any made in India.

When our factories were at Ruttera and Brinjan, they sent a yearly present to the Queen of Attingen, whose court is about four leagues within land from Aujengo. In anno 1685, when the present was sent, a young beautiful English gentleman had the honour to present it to her black Majesty, and as soon as the Queen saw him, she fell in love with him, and next day made proposals of marriage to him, but he modestly refused so great an honour. however, to please her Majesty, he staid at court a month or two, and, it is reported, treated her with the same civility as Soloman did the Queen of Ethiopia, or Alexander the Great did the Amazonian Queen, and satisfied her so well, that when he left her court, she made him some presents.

About the year 1720, there were some civil broils in this country, and the annual present being demanded, the English chief refused to pay it to any but to the Queen herself.

herſelf, though thoſe that demanded it, aſſured him that they came to demand it by the Queen's order, and offered their receipt of it in her name; but he, being more poſitive than wiſe, continued obſtinate in his refuſal, upon which the Queen gave him an invitation to court; and he, to appear great there, carried two of his council, and ſome others of the factory, with moſt part of the military belonging to the garriſon, and by ſtratagem they were all cut off, except a few black ſervants, whoſe heels and language ſaved them from the maſſacre, and they brought the ſad news of the tragedy.

Tegnapatam, where the Dutch have a factory, lies about twelve leagues to the ſouthward of Aujengo. That country produces pepper, and coarſe cloth called catchas: but Colicha, which lies between the middle and weſt point of Cape Comerin, affords the beſt cloth of that ſort, beſides tamarinds in abundance; but the road is foul. It alſo produces ſalt; but neither the Engliſh nor the Dutch have any commerce or traffic there. And cloſe by Colicha, at the ſaid middle point, there is a ſmall cave or harbour that can ſecure ſmall veſſels from all winds and weather. It has a clean ſandy bottom, and three fathoms in it at low wather. Four leagues off the cape, in the ſea, there is a ſmall ſmooth rock bare at low water, and ſhews itſelf like the back of a whale About one hundred paces from it, on all ſides, there is twenty-eight fathom water; and the ſea ſeldom breaks on it, which makes it the more dangerous. I knew a ſhip that rubbed her ſide on it, before thoſe on board could diſcover it, though they looked out for it.

Manapaar lies to the north-eaſtward of Cape Comerin, about eight leagues diſtant, and the Dutch have a factory there, ſtanding on an high ground about a mile from the ſea. And about 10 leagues more northerly is Tutecareen, a Dutch colony, though but ſmall

Tutecareen has a good ſafe harbour, by the benefit of ſome ſmall iſlands that lye off it. That country produces much cotton cloth, though none fine, but they both ſtain and die it for exportation. This colony ſuperintends a pearl fiſhery, that lies a little to the northward of them, which brings the Dutch Company 20,000 l. yearly tribute, according to common report. There are ſeveral villages on the ſea-ſhore between Tutecareen and Coil, but none in any account for traffic. This Coil is a promontory that ſends over a reef of rocks to the iſland of Zeloan, called commonly Adam's Bridge.

That reef of rocks has ſo little water on them, that the ſmalleſt boats cannot paſs but at an iſland called Manaar, which lies almoſt mid-way between Zeloan and Coil, and that paſſage has not above ſix feet water on it, ſo that none but ſmall veſſels can paſs that way, and they muſt unlade, and pay cuſtoms to the Dutch who reſide at Manaar, and, after the veſſel is haled over the bridge, they take in their cargo again.

The Dutch have fortified Manaar, and make uſe of it for a priſon for Indian princes whom they can overpower or circumvene, when they are ſuſpected of making treaties contrary to their intereſt, or to ſuch as would willingly reaſſume their loſt freedom, by breaking the unjuſt yoke of the Company's tyranny, perhaps drawn on themſelves by too much faith or credulity; for that honeſt Company has always had a maxim, firſt to foment quarrels between Indian kings and princes, and then piouſly pretend to be mediators, or abitrators of their differences, and, always caſt in ſomething into the ſcale of juſtice to thoſe whoſe countries produce the beſt commodities for the Company's uſe, and lend the aſſiſtance of their arms to him who is ſo qualified by the product above mentioned, and, at the concluſion of the war, make

 the

and poor conquered prince pay their charges for affifting the conqueror; and, when all is made up, and treaties of peace ready to be figned, then the conqueror their dear ally and friend, muft fuffer them to poffefs the beft fea-ports, and fortify the moft proper and convenient places of his country, and muft forbid all nations traffick but their dear Dutch friends, under pain of having the Company's arms turned againft them, in conjunction with fome other potent enemy to the deluded conqueror.

The King of Charta Souri, on the ifland of Java, is a frefh inftance of the truth of what I relate. *In anno* 1704, I faw him at Samarang a fea-port on the faid ifland, in great fplendour, and in high efteem with the Dutch commodore; but in anno 1707, he fell under the difpleafure of the general and council of Batavia, and in 1708, falling into their hands, he was brought their prifoner to Manaar, and cooped up on that fmall ifland, there to fpend the remainder of his days in contemplation or comments on the deceit of worldly grandeur, and of the power and pleafure of fovereignty, or in humble thoughts on confinement, exile and poverty. And here I leave him, and pafs over the reft of Adam's Bridge, (called by the natives Ramena Coil) and pay a fhort vifit to Zeloan, beginning at the bridge, and travelling to the fouthward, eaft and northward, till I reach back again to the north fide of the bridge.

CHAP. XXVII.—*Treats of the Ifland of Ceylon or Zeloan, its Product and Commerce, Religion and Cuftoms, the Portugueze Pride and Folly the Caufe of its falling into the Dutch Company's Hands, with other hiftorical Remarks and Obfervations, both ancient and modern.*

ZELOAN is an ifland famous in many hiftories for its fertility, particularly in producing the cinnamon tree, whofe bark is fo much efteemed all over Afia and Europe, befides the precious ftones that grow in it, viz. the emerald, fapphire and catfeye being all valuable ftones, though foft.

The firft place, in courfe, to the fouthward of the bridge, is a long ifland that lies clofe to the fhore, and reaches about 12 leagues foutherly, called Calpetine. It produces only timber for building: but Negombo, that lies near the fouth end of it, has a fmall fort, and a Dutch garrifon to forbid all trade to ftrangers on that part of the coaft. And feven leagues from Negombo, to the fouth ftands the city of Colombo, which was at firft built by the Portugueze, about the year 1638, but, by their pride and infolence, had made the King of Candia (who was, at firft, fovereign of the whole ifland) their enemy. The Dutch, taking that opportunity, made a league with the king offenfive and defenfive, and firft attacked and carried Galle or Ponto de Galle in anno 1658, which is a fort and harbour on the fouth-weft point of the ifland about 20 leagues from Colombo. When they had fettled affairs at Galle, they embarked, to the number of 3000 foldiers, and failed to Pantera, a fmall river about 4 leagues fouth of Colombo, and were joined by 2 or 3000 of the King of Candia's men. The Portugueze having information of the Dutch landing, and the fmall affiftance of the natives, contemned their forces, and raifed an army of 10,000 men to chaftife their folly in coming with fo few forces. The Portugueze army was commanded by a fidalgo, called Antonio de Figuera, a frefh-water foldier, but a great braggadocio and promifed to bring all the Dutch that did not fall by his fword, into Colombo in chains; and the Portugueze ladies were fo fure of his performances, that they fent

to compliment him, and beg the favour that he would pick them out ſome luſty Dutchmen to carry their palanqueens and ſomereras or umbrellas, which he promiſed to do on honour, and ſo went to meet his enemies.

The Dutch advancing towards the city, met the Portugueze unexpectedly, and there being a little ſhallow river between them, the Portugueze pretended to ſtop the Dutch there, and began to fire very briſkly, though at too great a diſtance, but did not advance towards their enemy. Upon which the Dutch paſt the river, and advanced till they came within piſtol-ſhot, and then fired on the Portugueze with ſo good ſucceſs, that they preſently broke, and betook them to their heels, and the Dutch kept a running march after them, and being nimbler than the Portugueze, entered the city with them, and made themſelves maſters of it, wherein they found immenſe treaſures but the poor Portugueze ladies were ſtrangely diſappointed to find the Dutch were become their bed-fellows inſtead of their ſlaves.

The Dutch had one game more to play before they had done with that expedition. They knew that reinforcements were ſent from Goa, who came in ſight two or three days after the city was taken, and the Dutch fleet, which then lay in the road, pretended fear, weighed their anchors on ſight of the Portugueze fleet, and feigned a flight, while the Dutch, in the city, hoiſted Portugueze colours, and fired ſome guns towards the ſea, to make thoſe in the Portugueze fleet believe, that the firing was at the Dutch fleet The ſtratagem took, and the Portugueze came and anchored in the road about a mile from the city, and ſent their boats aſhore, where they were detained, and the Dutch fleet being in the offing, came in with the ſea winds, and fell on the Portugueſe fleet, which ſoon yielded to them, for which piece of civility they had good quarter.

Upon the conqueſt of Colombo, followed all the other forts on the iſland, viz. Calkiſſic and Barbarin, between Colombo and Galle, and, on the ſouth end, Valta and Matura; on the eaſt ſide Batacola and Trankamalaya, and, on the north end, Jaſnapatam, with a fort four leagues from Galle, within land, called Biblegam, and Tutecareen and Negapatam on the main continent, yielded

The Dutch were no ſooner maſters of the ſea-coaſts of Ceyloan, but they began to give laws to their ally the King of Candia forbidding him to trade with any foreign nation but theirs, which mirage the King could not well digeſt, whereupon a war broke out, that continued many years, but, in the end, the Dutch made a peace upon very advantageous conditions And Colombo being too large to be defended with a few forces, they have contracted it into one quarter of its ancient bounds, and have fortified it ſtrongly with a wall and baſtions It is now about a mile in length, and three quarters of a mile in breadth, and the Chriſtians and other natives inhabit a part of the old town, without the walls of the new. The ſtreets of the new town are wide and ſpacious, and the buildings after the new mode. The governor's houſe is a noble fabrick, and ſeveral other houſes are beautiful. It wants the benefit of a river, but has a ſmall deep bay capable to receive ſmall ſhips, and ſhelter them in the ſouth-weſt monſoons.

Ponto de Galle, I have mentioned before, is a bay with a dangerous entrance for ſhipping, but is capable to receive ſhips of the greateſt burden. About the year 1670, Lewis XIV. of France had a great mind for a ſettlement on Zeloan, and equipped ſeven or eight ſail of ſhips for that enterprize, and when they came to ſea and opened their orders, they found Galle was the place they were to take and fortify, and the management of that affair intruſted to one Mr. de l'Haye, which one Mr. Jean Martin, who had ſerved the Dutch many years in good poſts in India, and who had laid down that

project

project, was fo chagrined with the difappointment of another having the firft poft in that affair, that when they came to Galle they had but bad fuccefs. They expected the Portugueze there before them to affift, but none came, but foon after Hitlof Van Gouze was with them, whom the French not caring to engage with, being equal in number of fhips, and fuperior in force, the French fled, and left their project on Galle unattempted.

They went then to Trankamalaya, and anchored in that bay, defigning to force that fmall garrifon to a furrender, but that vigilant Dutch man was foon after them with his fleet, and forced them to fight difadvantageoufly in Trankamalaya bay, wherein the French loft one half of their fleet, being either funk or burnt. With the reft they fled to St. Thomas, on the coaft of Cormandel, defigning to fettle there, but Van Gouze was foon there alfo, and feized their fhips, many of their guns being difmounted and carried afhore: but they finding they could do no good againft fo powerful and vigilant an enemy, treated and capitulated with the Dutch to leave India, if they might be allowed fhipping to carry them away, which the Dutch agreed to, and allowed them their admiral's fhip, called the Grand Britton, and two more, to tranfport themfelves whither they pleafed, but Mr Martin was carried to Batavia, and there confined for his lifetime, with a penfion of a rix dollar per day.

Zeloan is fruitful in rice, pulfe, fruits, herbage and roots And Jafnapatam exports great quantities of tobacco and fome elephants. Thofe of this ifland's brood are reckoned the moft docile of any in the world, but they are not large, few of them exceeding three yards in height. They catch them wild by ftratagem, and foon make them tame after they are caught.

The way they catch them, as they told me, is they drive large ftakes into the ground for 2 or 300 paces, in a plain, and about 100 paces diftant, they begin another row of ftakes, that almoft meets one of the ends of the firft row, only leaving feven or eight foot open between them, for a door, and farther out from the door-place, are fome ftakes driven thicker than in the rows, like a fquare chamber. In the door-place is a wooden portcullis or trap-door, fitted to pull up or let down at pleafure. When all is ready, they bring a female elephant trained up for a decoy, and fhe is put into the chamber, and the trap-door kept open. There are men placed in a little clofe place built on the top of the ftakes at the trap-door, and the female elephant makes a loud doleful moan. If a male elephant is near, he prefently approaches the chamber, on the outfide; but finding no entrance there, he walks along the outfide, till he finds the end, then walking back on the infide of the ftakes, he finds the door and enters. As foon as he is in, the watchmen let fall the
trap-door, and go and bring two tame elephants to accompany him that is decoyed
to their ftables. When they come near the trap-door, it is pulled up and th ces
enter, and place themfelves one on each fide. If he proves furly, they bang 'as a
heartily with their trunks, and the female beftows fome blows on him too. Whe ld not
is tired with their treatment, and finds no other remedy but patience, he ever I faw
tame, and walks very orderly between his two guards, whitherfoever the er I faw in
conduct him, and continues very fociable ever after, except when rutting t
and then, if he be young, he becomes very rude and troublefome. ig them near
known by a great fweating in his head, fo they have ftrong fetters ready to y go deeper,
legs, and faftened to a great tree for eight or ten days that his madnefs cont the furface
There are feveral dangers, and rocks above water, on all the coafts o rain water
The great Baxias are above water on its eaft fide, not far from the fouth er of iflands.
that

Island; and the small Baxias are under water about three leagues to the north of the other, and dangerous banks of sand within them. To the northward of Triankamalaya there are some rocks high above water, and some also under water; and several spits of of sand jetting a pretty way into the sea from points of lands. I knew a gentleman that run his ship on one spit near point Pedro, by too much confidence of his own knowledge of that coast, for his mate told him, that, in his opinion they kept too near the shore. His captain answered, that his knowledge of that coast was so good, that if a single shovel-full of sand was carried off the sea-shore, he would infallibly miss it; but a few minutes after, this ship was fast on a bank, and he and his crew deserted her, and went ashore, and the ship found the way off again of her own accord, which when the captain heard of, he, with some of the crew, returned, and took possession of her again.

Point Pedro has the most dangerous bank off it, for they lie above four leagues from the shore, and the land being very low, makes those banks the more dangerous. I have known several ships lost there, and, *in anno* 1723, one Williams lost his ship there, and he and all his crew were seized by the natives, and carried to the King at Candia, and, I am afraid, will be forced to end their days there.

The religion of Zeloan is Paganism, and, for want of a better image or relict to adore, they worship a monkey's tooth. When the Portugueze were settled there, the priests lost their adorable tooth, and a *sly* fellow, who had accompanied a Portugueze ambassador there from Colombo, pretended he had found it three years after it was missing. He had, it seems, seen it, and got one as like it as was possible. The priests were so overjoyed that it was found again, that they purchased it of the fellow for a round sum, reported to be above 10,000 pounds sterling.

All the natives of this island believe, that Adam was created on this spot, and there is the shape of a man's foot cut out of a rock on the top of the high hill (called Adam's Peak by the English) about five or six ordinary feet long. This opinion is also spread over many provinces on the continent, which brings many pilgrims to visit the footstep. And they also believe, that on Adam's transgression, the bridge before spoken of, was made by angels to carry him over to the main land, whither I am obliged to follow him, having no more of Zeloan to treat you with, but some of the best arecka in the world that grows there.

CHAP. XXVIII. — *Treats of the Countries on the Sea-coast, from Adam's Bridge at Zeloan, to Fort St. George, with an Account of St. Thomas's Martyrdom, according to the Portugueze Legend.*

THE first place of note, to the northward of Adam's Bridge, on the continent, is apatam a Dutch colony and fortress taken from the Portugueze. It has the benefit river, which formerly bounded the dominions of Malabar, though their lan- was, and is used farther northward. The river washes the fort walls, and its reckoned very unhealthful; but about the year 1693, by the ingenuity and yn Heer Van Reede, whom I have formerly mentioned, that cause of a dy was removed, for he built some water boats, and sent them four leagues ther river, whose waters were reckoned very healthful, and by these boats the garrison with good water. In a short time there was a visible alteration etter in the state of the inhabitants' health; and making an estimate of the of those water boats, and the usual charges of the hospital, the Company found

found that they gained by the water boats. This colony produces very little besides tobacco and long cloth. The natives are heathens.

Having thus run along the sea-coast of Malabar, from Decully to Nagapatam, I must visit the Maldiva islands, which lie off this coast and that of Zeloan, about 60 leagues distant from the nearest part of them.

This cluster of islands, which reaches from seven degrees twenty minutes north latitude into one degree south, are all low, sandy and sterile, bearing no sort of corn, and their only product is cocoa-nut. Their trees are not so high nor gross bodied as those which grow on the continent, or on Zeloan, but their fruit is pleasanter. Of that tree they build vessels of 20 or 30 tuns. Their hulls, masts, sails, rigging, anchors, cables, provisions and firing are all from this useful tree. It also affords them oil for their kitchen and lamps, sugar and candid sweat-meats, and pretty strong cloth. Their seas produce abundance of fish, but their trade is chiefly from a small shell-fish called courie and the bonetta.

The couries are caught by putting branches of cocoa-nut trees with their leaves on, into the sea, and in five or six months the little shell-fish sticks to those leaves in clusters, which they take off, and digging pits in the sand, put them in, and cover them up, and leave them two or three years in the pit, that the fish may putrify, and then they take them out of the pit, and barter them for rice, butter and cloth, which shipping bring from Ballasore in Orixa, near Bengal, in which countries couries pass for money from 2500 to 3000 for a rupee, or half a crown English.

The bonnetta is caught with hook and line, or with nets. They come among those islands in the months of April and May, in shoals, as our herrings do. They cut the fish from the back-bone on each side, and lay them in a shade to dry, sprinkling them sometimes with sea-water. When they are dry enough to put in the sand, they wrap them up in leaves of cocoa-nut trees, and put them a foot or two under the surface of the sand and, with the heat of the sun, they become baked as hard as stock-fish, and ships come from Atcheen on the island of Sumatra, and purchase them with gold dust. I have seen comelamash (for that is their name after they are dried) sell at Atcheen, for eight pounds sterling per 1000.

Their religions are Paganism and Mahometism, and their language Chingulay, or the Zeloan language. The King resides on an island in the latitude of four degrees north, and his island, which bears the name of the King's Island, is fortified with a stone wall, without lime or mortar, and has a great many small cannon for his defence, and his reign is arbitrary.

The islands are so many, and, in most places, so near to one another, that they could never yet be numbered. They are most part inhabited; but the inhabitants very poor. None of them dare wear any clothing above their girdle, but a turban on their head, without a special warrant from the King. He sets governors of provinces over such a number of islands, and they lord it over the poor subjects as much as a dragoon does over an Hugonot in France. They give burial to their dead, and not burning. And, at the island of Hammandow, which lies in seven degrees, I saw carving on some tomb-stones, as ingeniously cut with variety of figures as ever I saw in Europe or Asia.

Their wells furnish them with all the fresh-water they use, and they dig them near the depth of high-water mark, which is about five or six foot; and if they go deeper, it becomes brackish, because there being no substance of solid earth under the surface of the sand, the sea-water percolates through the sand, and mixes with the rain water that supplies the springs. So having given the best account I can of a parcel of islands that

that cannot be counted, I return back to Nagapatam, from whence I took my departure, and ſtretch along the coaſt of Chormondel.

I begin at the river of Nagapatam, becauſe it is the ſouthermoſt bounds of Golcondah, and coaſt along ſhore to Trincumbar a fortreſs and colony belonging to the Danes. The fort is ſtrong, the ſea waſhing one half of its walls, but the colony is miſerably poor. *In anno* 1684, they were ſo diſtreſſed with poverty, that they pawned three baſtions of their fort to the Dutch, for money to buy proviſions, which then was very ſcarce and dear in that country, but next year they redeemed all again, paying their debts by an unknown fund, which ſtill remains a ſecret but that the Engliſh had a ſhip called the Formoſa, which, in her paſſage home to Surat, called at Calecut for water, wood and other ſtores. The Danes, at that time, had two ſhips cruizing between Surat and Cape Comerin, upon what account none could tell but themſelves. The Formoſa left Calecut at midnight, and ſtood to ſea, in order to proceed on her voyage, and being out of ſight of land, about 11 in the forenoon, thoſe aſhore heard a great firing of cannon from the ſea, and the Formoſa, nor none of her crew were ever heard of ſince that time They ſtill keep their fort, but drive an inconſiderable tradé either to and from Europe, or in India, for what they have to live by, is the hire that they freight their ſhips for to Atcheen, Malacca and Johore, and ſometimes, but rarely, to Perſia, by which they keep up the name of a company, but reſemble one no more than that of the Miſſiſſipi does in France.

They have a ſet of clergy there lately come as miſſioners from Denmark, to teach the natives Chriſtianity, which deſerves both commendation and encouragement, but what proſelytes they make, I cannot tell, though I ſaw ſome of the poorer ſort become diſciples. The product of the country is cloth, white and dyed

The next place of commerce is Porto Novo, ſo called by the Portugueze, when the ſea-coaſts of India belonged to them, but when Aurengzeb ſubdued Golcondah, and the Portugueſe affairs declined, the Mogul ſet a Fouzdaar in it, and gave it the name of Mahomet Bander. The Europeans generally call it by its firſt name, and the natives by the laſt. The country is fertile, healthful and pleaſant, and produceth good cotton cloth of ſeveral qualities and denominations, which they ſell at home, or export to Pegu, Tanaſereen, Quedah, Johore, and Atcheen on Sumatra. The bulk of the people are Pagans.

Fort St. David is next, a colony and and fortreſs belonging to the Engliſh. About the year 1686, a Moratta prince ſold it to Mr. Elihu Yale, for 90 000 pagodoes, for the uſe and behoof of the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company. The fort is pretty ſtrong and ſtands cloſe to a river, and the territories annexed to the fort by agreement were as far as any gun the Engliſh had, could fling a ſhot, every way round the fort, but whether the buyer or gunner were conjurers or no, I cannot tell, but I am ſure that the Engliſh bounds reach above eight miles along the ſea-ſhore, and four miles within land. The country is pleaſant, healthful and fruitful, watered with ſeveral rivers that are as good as ſo many walls to fortify the Engliſh colony. And ever ſince the time that Aurengzeb conquered Viſapore and Golcondah, there are great numbers of malcontents and freebooters that keep on the mountains, and often fall down into the open country, and commit depredations, by ravaging and plundering the villages; and all the Mogul's forces cannot ſuppreſs them.

When the Engliſh bought Fort St. David, the Dutch had a little factory there, about a mile from the fort, and the good-natured Engliſh ſuffer them ſtill to continue a few ſervants in it. Our company did not find ſo much grace from the Dutch at Couchin, nor the gentlemen of Bantam and Indrapoura, when the Dutch ſeized thoſe places.

places. It is true, the Dutch can drive no open trade there, but what they muſt pay the Engliſh company cuſtoms for.

About the year 1698, the freebooters aforementioned had almoſt made themſelves maſters of the fort by ſtratagem and ſurprize. They pretended, that they had been ſent from the Mogul's viceroy at Viſapore, to take charge of the revenue collected at Porto Novo, and to carry it to the treaſury at Viſapore, and deſired leave to put their feigned treaſure into the fort for a few days, to ſecure it from the Moratta freebooters aforementioned, who, they ſaid, were plundering the open country, which favour Mr. Frazer, governor at that time, granted, ſo they brought into the fort ten or twelve oxen loaded with ſtones, and each ox had two or three attendants, and about 200 more of that gang, who came along with the carriage beaſts as a guard, lodged themſelves in a grove near the fort gate, to be ready, on a ſignal given, to enter the Fort The freebooters within took an opportunity the very next morning, and killed the ſentinel and a few more that were aſleep in the gateway next to the grove; but, before they could break the gate open, the garriſon was alarmed, and killed all their treacherous gueſts, and the ambuſh without being come into the parade before the gate, met with ſo warm a reception, that they retreated in confuſion, and the Engliſh purſuing them, killed ſeveral, but loſt ſome of their own men.

Mr Frazer ordered directly the grove to be cut down, for fear of future danger from it, but Fort St David being ſubordinate to Fort St. George, the governor and council there called Mr Frazer to their court, and fined him for preſumption, in cutting down ſo fine a grove for enemies to ſculk in, without leave aſked and given in due form, but their right honourable maſters adjuſted all that matter, and ordered the fine to be refunded, with the intereſt, but governors of different views and humours ſeldom agree.

This colony produces good long cloths in large quantities either brown, white, or blue dyed, alſo Sallampores, Morees, Dimities Ginghams, Succatoons, and ſteel. And, without the aſſiſtance of this colony, that of Fort St George would make but a ſmall figure in trade to what it now does.

The river is but ſmall, though very convenient for the import and export of merchandize. And Cuddelore, that lies about a mile to the ſouthward, is capable to receive ſhips of 200 tuns in the months of September and October. The rivers have both of them bars, but are very ſmooth, whereas Fort St. George is always dangerous in going aſhore and coming off

The company has a pretty good garden and ſummer-houſe, where generally the governor reſides, and the town extending itſelf pretty wide has gardens to moſt of their houſes Their black cattle are very ſmall, but plentiful and cheap. And their ſeas and rivers abound in good fiſhes.

Puntichery is the next place of note on this coaſt, a colony ſettled by the French. It lies about five leagues to the northward of Fort St. David. The fortifications are fine, regular and ſtrong, but its trade is very ſmall, though the country produces the ſame commodities that cauſe the trade circulate in Fort St. David. About the year 1690, the Dutch brought forces from Batavia, and beſieged it, and being then very ſcarce in men, magazines and money, the French were forced to capitulate, and ſurrender on pretty honourable terms, but, in the concluſion of King William's war, the Dutch were obliged to return it by the articles of peace, which verified the fable of the cuckow in ſeizing of other birds neſts weaker than herſelf, in the ſpring, and quitting them again in autumn.

Connymere or Conjemeer is the next place, where the English had a factory many years, but, on their purchasing Fort St. David, it was broken up, and transferred thither. At present its name is hardly seen in the map of trade.

Near Connymere are the seven pagods, one of which, whose name I have now forgot, is celebrated among the Pagans for sanctity, and is famous for the yearly pilgrimages made there. The god was very obscene, if his image rightly represents him, and his nymphs as lewd as any in Drury-lane, if their postures were really figured and carved as they are to be seen on the outside of the temple. Here it was that St. Thomas's persecution first began, because he could draw a short tree to a great length, as wiredrawers do metals, and the Pagan priests being ignorant of such pieces of art, made them cry out, that St. Thomas was an arrant conjurer; for as the Romish story goes, the freshes coming down in rivulets, had made some of them pretty deep to what they used to be, and a lady going to church, could not get over one of them, because a tree, that was laid for a common bridge, was too short at that time, and St. Thomas, who preached in the country villages, a doctrine opposite to the established church, accidentally being there, drew the tree to such a length, that the lady could pass without wetting her foot, upon which she became a convert, to the great dissatisfaction of the established clergy, who lost a devout and charitable benefactress by that trick of St. Thomas.

The priests, as is usual in such cases, cried out, that the church was in danger, and so inflamed the minds of the populace, that St. Thomas, finding himself in greater danger than the church, thought it best to get out of harm's way, and so marched to the northward, whither I must follow him to.

Saderass, or Saderals Patam, a small factory belonging to the Dutch to buy up long cloth. The country is healthful, and the ground fertile, which make them capable of assisting their neighbours at Fort St. George with sallading and pot herbs, the ground there being very sterile.

Cabelon is next, where the Ostenders have settled a factory. There is nothing remarkable there, but a point of rocks that runs about half a mile into the sea, and those make a smooth landing-place in the southwest monsoons.

St. Thomas is next, which lies about three miles to the southward of Fort St. George. The city was built by the Portugueze, and they made the apostle its godfather; but, before that, it was called Malliapore. There is a little dry rock on the land, within it, called the Little Mount, where the apostle designed to have hid himself, till the fury of the Pagan priests his persecutors had blown over. There was a convenient cave in that rock for his purpose, but not one drop of water to drink, so St. Thomas cleft the rock with his hand, and commanded water to come into the clift, which command it readily obeyed; and, ever since, there is water in that clift, both sweet and clear. When I saw it, there were not above three gallons in it. He staid there a few days, but his enemies had an account of his place of refuge, and were resolved to sacrifice him, and, in great numbers, were approaching the mount. When he saw them coming, he left his cave, and came down in order to seek shelter some where else; and, at the foot of the mount, as a testimony that he had been there, he stampt with his bare foot, on a very hard stone, and left the print of it, which remains there to this day, a witness against those persecuting priests. The print of his foot is about sixteen inches long, and, in proportion, narrower at the heel and broader at the toes than the feet now in use among us. He, fleeing for his life to another larger mount, about two miles from the little one, was overtaken on the top of it,

 before

before he was sheltered, and there they run him through with a lance; and, in the same place where he was killed, he lies buried.

When the Portuguese first settled there, they built a church over the cave and well on the little mount, and also one over his grave on the great one, where the lance that killed the apostle, is still kept there as a relict, but how the Portuguese came by that lance is a question not yet well resolved. In that church there is a stone tinctured with the apostle's blood, that cannot be washed out. I have often been at both mounts, and have seen those wonderful pieces of antiquity.

At the foot of the great mount the company has a garden, and so have the gentlemen of figure at Fort St George, with some summer-houses where ladies and gentlemen retire to in the summer, to recreate themselves, when the business of the town is over, and to be out of the noise of spungers and impertinent visitants, whom this city is often molested with.

The city of St. Thomas was formerly the best mart town on the Chormondel coast, but, at present has very little trade, and the inhabitants, who are but few, are reduced to great poverty. The English settling at Fort St George were the cause of its ruin, and there is little prospect of its recovery.

CHAP. XXIX.—*Gives a short Description of Fort St. George, its first Settlement and and Rise, its Situation and Sterility, and some Remarks on its Government, and the Actions of some of its Governors.*

FORT St. George or Maderass, or, as the natives call it, China Patam, is a colony and city belonging to the English East-India Company, situated in one of the most incommodious places I ever saw. It fronts the sea, which continually rolls impetuously on its shore, more here than in any other place on the coast of Chormondel. The foundation is in sand, with a salt-water river on its back side, which obstructs all springs of fresh-water from coming near the town, so that they have no drinkable water within a mile of them, the sea often threatning destruction on one side, and the river in the rainy season inundations on the other, the sun from April to September scorching hot, and if the sea-breezes did not moisten and cool the air when they blow, the place could not possibly be inhabited. The reason why a fort was built in that place is not well accounted for; but that tradition says, that the gentleman who received his orders to build a fort on that coast, about the beginning of King Charles II.'s reign after his restoration, for protecting the Company's trade, chose that place to ruin the Portugueze trade at St. Thomas. Others again alledge, and with more probability, that the gentleman aforesaid, which I take to be Sir William Langhorn, had a mistress at St. Thomas he was so enamoured of, that made him build there, that their interviews might be the more frequent and uninterrupted, but whatever his reasons were, it is very ill situated. The soil about the city is so dry and sandy, that it bears no corn, and what fruits, roots and herbage they have, are brought to maturity by great pains and much trouble. If it be true, that the Company gave him power to settle a colony in any part of that coast that pleased him best, I wonder that he choosed not Cabelon, about six leagues to the southward, where the ground is fertile, and the water good, with the conveniency of a point of rocks to facilitate boats landing, or why he did not go nine leagues farther northerly, and settle at Policat on the banks of a good river, as the Dutch have done since, where the road for shipping is made

made easy by some sand-banks, that reach three leagues off shore, and make the turbulent billows that come rolling from the sea, spend their force on those banks before they can reach the shore. The soil is good, and the river commodious, and convenient in all seasons. Now whether one of those places had not been more eligible, I leave to the ingenious and those concerned to comment on.

However, the war carried on at Bengal and Bombay, by the English against the Mogul's subjects, from 1685 to 1689, made Fort St. George put on a better dress than he wore before; for the peaceable Indian merchants, who hate contention and war, came flocking thither, because it lay far from those incumberers of trade, and near the diamond mines of Golcondah, where there are, many times, good bargains to be made, and money got by our governors. The black merchants resorting to our colony, to secure their fortunes, and bring their goods to a safe market, made it populous and rich, notwithstanding its natural inconveniences. The town is divided into two parts. One where the Europeans dwell is called the White Town. It is walled quite round, and has several bastions and bulwarks to defend its walls, which can only be attacked at its ends, the sea and river fortifying its sides. It is about 400 paces long, and 150 paces broad, divided into streets pretty regular, and Fort St. George stood near its center. There are two churches in it, one for the English, and another for the Romish service. The governor superintends both, and, in filling up vacancies in the Romish church, he is the Pope's legate *a latere* in spiritualities. There is a very good hospital in the town, and the Company's horse-stables are neat; but the old college, where a great many gentlemen factors are obliged to lodge, is ill kept in repair.

They have a town-hall, and underneath it are prisons for debtors. They are, or were a corporation, and had a mayor and aldermen to be chosen by the free burgers of the town; but that scurvy way is grown obsolete, and the governor and his council or party fix the choice. The city had laws and ordinances for its own preservation, and a court kept in form, the mayor and aldermen in their gowns, with maces on the table, a clerk to keep a register of transactions and cases, and attornies and solicitors to plead in form, before the mayor and aldermen; but, after all, it is but a farce, for, by experience, I found, that a few pagodas rightly placed, could turn the scales of justice to which side the governor pleased, without respect to equity or reputation.

In smaller matters, where the case, on both sides, is but weakly supported by money, then the court acts judiciously, according to their consciences and knowledge; but often against law and reason, for the court is but a court of conscience, and its decisions are very irregular; and the governor's dispensing power of nulling all that the court transacts, puzzles the most celebrated lawyers there to find rules in the statute laws.

They have no martial law, so they cannot inflict the pains of death any other ways than by whipping or starving, only for piracy they can hang; and some of them have been so fond of that privilege, that Mr. Yale hanged his groom (Cross) for riding two or three days journey off to take the air; but, in England, he paid pretty well for his arbitrary sentence. And one of a later date, viz. the orthodox Mr. Collet hanged a youth who was an apprentice to an officer on board of a ship, and his master going a pirating, carried his servant along with him; but the youth ran from them the first opportunity he met with, on the island of Jonkceyloan, and informed the master of a sloop, which lay in a river there, that the pirates had a design on his sloop and cargo, and went armed, in company with the master, to hinder the approach of the pirates, and was the first that fired on them, yet that merciful man was inexorable, and the youth was hanged.

That

That power of executing pirates, is so [illegible] stretched, that if any private trader, is injured by the tricks of a governor, and can find no redress, if the injured person is so bold as to talk of *Lex talonis*, he is infallibly declared a pirate.

In *anno* 1719, I went on a trading voyage to Siam, on the foundation of a treaty of commerce established in *anno* 1684, between King Charles and the King of Siam's ambassador at London; but, in *anno* 1718, Mr. Collet sent one Powney his ambassador to Siam, with full power to annul the old treaty, and to make a new one detrimental to all British subjects, except those employed by Collet himself. It was stipulated, that all British subjects that had not Collet's letter, should be obliged to pay eight per cent, new customs, and measurage for their ship, which come to about 500l. for a ship of 300 tuns, to sell their cargoes to whom they pleased, but the money to be paid into the King's cash, that he might deliver goods for it at his own prices, whether proper for their homeward markets, or no. I coming to Siam, sent my second supercargo up to the city, with orders to try the market, and hire an house for the use of the cargo and ourselves. He could not get a boat to bring him back, before the ship arrived at Bencock, a castle about half-way up, where it is customary for all ships to put their guns ashore, so then being obliged to proceed with the ship to the city, I understood the conditions of the new treaty of commerce, which I would, by no means, adhere to, but desired leave to be gone again. They used many persuasions to make me stay, but to no purpose, unless I might trade on the old and lawful treaty. They kept me from the beginning of August to the latter end of December, before they would let me go, and then I was obliged to pay measurage before they parted with me.

I wrote my grievance to Mr. Collet, complaining of Powney's villainous transactions, not seeming to know that they were done by Collet's order, and let some hints fall of *Lex talionis*, if I met with Powney conveniently, which so vexed Mr. Collet, that he formally went to the town-hall, and declared me a rank pirate, though I and my friends came off with above 3000l. loss.

I should not have been so particular, but that I saw some printed papers at London, in *anno* 1725, that extolled his piety, charity and justice in very high encomiums; but it must have been done by some mercenary scribbler that did not know him; but now he is dead, I will say no more of him.

The black town is inhabited by Gentows, Mahometans and Indian Christians, viz. Armenians, and Portugueze, where there are temples and churches for each religion, every one being tolerated; and every one follows his proper employment. It was walled in towards the land, when governor Pit ruled it. He had some apprehension, that the Mogul's generals in Golcondah might, some time or other, plunder it, so laying the hazard and danger before the inhabitants, they were either persuaded or obliged to raise subsidies to wall their town, except towards the sea and the white town.

The two towns are absolutely governed by the governor Sola, in whose hands the command of the military is lodged; but all other affairs belonging to the Company, are managed by him and his council, most part of whom are generally his creatures. And I have been and am acquainted with some gentlemen, who have been in that post, as well as some private gentlemen, who resided at Fort St. George, men of great candor and honour, but they seldom continued long favourites at court.

One of the gates of the white town looks towards the sea, and it is, for that reason, called the sea-gate. The gate-way being pretty spacious, was formerly the common exchange, where merchants of all nations resorted about Eleven o'clock, to treat of

 business

business in merchandize; but that custom is out of fashion, and the consultation chamber, or the governor's apartment, serves for that use now, which made one Captain Hart, a very merry man, say, that he could never have believed that the sea-gate could have been carried into the consultation room, if he had not seen it.

The Company has their mint here for coining bullion that comes from Europe and other countries, into rupees, which brings them in good revenues. The rupee is stamped with Persian characters, declaring the Mogul's name, year of his reign, and some of his epithets. They also coin gold into pagodas of several denominations and value. There are also schools for the education of children, the English for reading and writing English, the Portugueze for their language and latin, and the Mahometans, Gentows, and Armenians, for their particular languages. And the English church is well endowed, and maintains poor gentlewomen in good housewifery, good clothes and palankines.

The diamond mines being but a week's journey from Fort St. George, make them pretty plentiful there, but few great stones are now brought to market there, since that great diamond which governor Pit sent to England. How he purchased it Mr. Glover, by whose means it was brought to the governor, could give the best account, for he declared to me, that he lost 3000 pagodas by introducing the seller to Mr. Pit, having left so much money in Arcat as security, that if the stone was not fairly bought at Fort St. George, the owner should have free liberty to carry it where he pleased for a market: but neither the owner nor Mr. Glover were pleased with the governor's transactions in that affair.

Some customs and laws at the mines are, when a person goes thither on that affair, he chooses a piece of ground, and acquaints one of the King's officers, who stay there for that service, that he wants so many covets of ground to dig in, but whether they agree for so much, or if the price be certain, I know not. however, when the money is paid, the space of ground is inclosed, and some sentinels placed round it. The King challenges all stones that are found above a certain weight, I think it is about 60 grains, and if any stones be carried clandestinely away above the stipulated weight, the person guilty of the theft, is punished with death. Some are fortunate, and get estates by digging, while others lose both their money and labour.

The current trade of Fort St. George runs gradually slower, the trader meeting with disappointments, and sometimes with oppressions, and sometimes the liberty of buying and selling is denied them, and I have seen, when the governor's servants have bid for goods at a publick sale, some who had a mind to bid more, durst not; others who had more courage and durst bid, were browbeaten and threatened. And I was witness to a bargain of Surat wheat taken out of a gentleman's hands, after he had fairly bought it by auction, so that many trading people are removed to other parts, where there is greater liberty and less oppression.

The colony produces very little of its own growth or manufacture for foreign markets. They had formerly a trade to Pegu, where many private traders got pretty good bread by their traffic and industry; but the trade is now removed into the Armenians, Moors and Gentows hands, and the English are employed in building and repairing of shipping. The trade they have to China, is divided between them and Surat, for the gold, and some copper, are for their own markets, and the gross of their cargo, which consists in sugar, sugar-candy, allom, China ware and some drugs, as china root, Galingal, &c. are all for the Surat market.

Their

Their trade to Perfia muft firft come down the famous Ganges, before it can come into Fort St. George's channels to be conveyed to Perfia. They never had any trade to Mocha in the product and manufactories of Chormondel before the year 1713, and Fort St. David fupplies the goods for that port, fo that Fort St. George is an emblem of Holland in fupplying foreign markets with foreign goods.

The colony is well peopled, for there is computed to be 80,000 inhabitants in the towns and villages; and there are generally about 4 or 500 Europeans refiding there, reckoning the gentlemen, merchants, feamen and foldiery. Their rice is brought, by fea, from Ganjam and Orixa, their wheat from Surat and Bengal, and their fire-wood from the iflands of Diu, a low point of land that lies near Matchulipatam, fo that any enemy that is fuperior to them in fea forces, may eafily diftrefs them.

CHAP. XXX.—*Gives an Account of the Coaft of Chormondel from Fort St. George to Ganjam, the eaftermoft Town in the ancient Kingdom of Golcondah, with Obfervations on their Pagan Worfhip, and fome Occurrences that happened to the Englifh Factory at Vizagapatam while I was there.*

POLICAT is the next place of note to the city and colony of Fort St. George, and as I obferved before, is a town belonging to the Dutch. It is ftrengthened with two forts, one contains a few Dutch foldiers for a garrifon, the other is commanded by an officer belonging to the Mogul. The country affords the fame commodities that Fort St. George doth, and the people are employed moftly in knitting cotton ftockings, which they export for the ufe of all the European factories in India.

There are feveral places along the coaft to the northward, which, in former times, had commerce abroad, but now are neglected and unfrequented. Armagun is one, and Kifnipatam is another, that brought good ftore of cloth, of feveral forts, to the Englifh factories. Kifnipatam has the benefit of a good large river, that has a bar of 15 foot water on it. Carrera has the benefit of a large river, that reaches a great way into the country. Pettipoli had once Englifh and Dutch factories fettled in it, but they were withdrawn many years ago, becaufe the inland Rajahs difturbed commerce by their impofitions and exactions.

Matchulipatam, being the next place of figure, lies in the way along the fea-coaft. It ftands on the north-eaft fide of Diu point, about five leagues diftant from it. In the latter part of the laft century this town was one of the moft flourifhing in all India, and the Englifh company found it to be the moft profitable factory that they had. They had a large factory built of teak timber, but now there are no Englifh there, though the Dutch continue their factory ftill, and keep about a dozen of Hollanders there to carry on the chintz trade, for that commodity is not, as yet, forbid to appear in Holland.

The town is but fmall, built on a little ifland, and is much ftronger by nature than art. Towards the continent fide, there is a deep morafs, over which is a wooden bridge about half a league long, and on breaking a part of that bridge, the town is fecured from enemies on the land fide.

The Mogul has his cuftom-houfe here, and the commiffioner of the cuftom-houfe is governor of the town. The country and adjacent iflands are fruitful in grain, timber for building, and tobacco the beft in India. The iflands of Diu produce the

famous dye called Shai. It is a shrub growing in grounds that are overflown with the spring-tides. It stains their calicoes in the most beautiful and lively colours in the world; and I have seen butter from thence of as good a colour and taste as ever I saw in Europe.

A few years ago, the Nabob or vice-roy of Chormondel, who resides at Chickacul, and who superintends that country for the Mogul, for some disgust he had received from the inhabitants of Diu islands, would have made a present of them to the colony of Fort St. George, and the inhabitants were very willing to change their masters; but certain reasons, that I am unacquainted with, made the governor and his council reject the present, and the viceroy and the islanders became friends again; but, after a year or two, the English having considered better of the matter, would accept of the viceroy's proffer, and sent some ships, with men and ammunition, to fortify a factory, but the inhabitants took arms, and forbad them to land, so they returned as they went abroad.

Next to Matchulipatam is Narsipore, where the English had a factory for long cloth, for the use of their factory of Matchulipatam, when they manufactured chintz there. It alsso affords good teak timber for building, and has a fine deep river, but a dangerous bar, which makes it little frequented. And passing round Corrango Point, a little way up in Corrango Bay, is Angerang, that has the benefit of a large deep river, that penetrates far up into the continent. It has a bar soft at the bottom, and three and an half fathoms on it at high water. Here the best and finest long cloth is made that India affords, and is sold cheap, but the inland countries lying near the river, are in the hands of different Rajahs, and each being sovereign in his own small dominions, makes such impositions and exactions on the cloth that comes down the river, that they ruin that beneficial trade of Angerang, and make it little frequented.

In anno 1708, the English, from Vizagapatam settled there; but whether the factory was starved for want of money, or whether the constituent and constituted chiefs of the factories disagreed about dividing the bear's skin, I know not, but the factory was soon withdrawn, and the project lost

Coasting along shore, there are several little ports between Matchulipatam and Vizagapatam, besides Narsipore and Angerang, but Watraw is the most noted, for it produces rice for exportation, besides some long cloth, but it is not frequented by Europeans, and therefore I proceed to

Vizagapatam, a fortified factory belonging to the English. It is regularly fortified with four little bastions, and has about 18 guns mounted in it. It has the advantage of a river, but a dangerous bar to pass over before we get into it. The country about affords cotton cloths, both coarse and fine, and the best dureas, or striped muslins, in India; but the factory is generally heart-sick for want of money to refresh it.

In anno 1709, the factory drew a war on themselves from the Nabob of Chickacul, for one Mr. Simeon Holcomb, who had been chief at Vizagapatam, had borrowed considerable sums of the Nabob, and affixed the Company's seal to the bonds he gave for them. Mr. Holcomb dying, the Nabob demanded his money from the succeeding chief, who would not pay him, alleging, that Holcomb had borrowed it for his own private use, and not for the Company's, and that he must get payment out of Holcomb's private estate, if there was enough found to pay the debt, otherwise he might get his money from some inland Rajahs, who stood indebted to Holcomb, by his books of accounts, in a greater sum than would pay his principal and interest;

and

and that he being the Mogul's general, could compel those Rajahs to pay their just debts, which they would make over to him; but the Nabob, not caring to enter into a war with his countrymen on such a foundation, sent agents to acquaint the governor and council of Fort St. George, with his affairs at Vizagapatam. They proved deaf to all the agent's propositions and arguments, and hardly treated him civilly, so he went back to his master, with the account of his ill success. Upon which the Nabob came to a garden about half a league from Vizagapatam, accompanied with 500 horse, and 3500 foot, to demand his money. I being accidentally there in a small Dutch-built ship, that I had bought from the French, on my credit, at Fort St. George, and the factory being but ill manned, Mr. Hastings, who was then chief, and my friend, desired the assistance of my arms and counsel in that juncture of affairs, which I very freely gave him; and my opinion being asked in council, what I thought about the affair, I advised him and his council to compound the matter as well as they could, and spin out time, that we might better fortify the avenues to the factory. My advice of compounding the matter was rejected, but the other part we followed, so, with seven Europeans that belonged to the factory, and twelve that were with me, and twenty Topases, and two hundred and eighty natives, most of them fishers, that lived under the Company's protection, we fortified some rocks that the enemy was obliged to pass within pistol-shot of, if they had a mind to attack us. We threw up breast-works between the rocks, and moored my ship within pistol-shot of the shore, and had eight minion guns to scour the sands, if they had attempted to come that way, and, for six weeks we continued on our guard, and were often alarmed in the night, but finding us always ready to receive them, thay did not think it proper to force an entry into the town.

I had the honour to command all the out-guards, and the chief, with eight Europeans and twenty blacks, kept the fort. Thus we continued in perpetual watchings and alarms, till reinforcements arrived from Fort St. George, and then I left them, and proceeded on a voyage to Pegu. Both parties being very busy, one striving to get his money by compulsion, and the other, to save the Company's money on any terms, right or wrong. The war being drawn to a greater length than was imagined at first, and charges rising higher than was expected, inclined them to make all up amicably, which was at last effected by the Company's paying near the sum that was at first demanded.

The Nabob, whose name was Fakirly Cawn, would hear of no peace, without the Company's merchant, who was a Gentow, called Agapa, and a subject of the Mogul's, who was very active in the war, in encouraging the town's people to defend themselves and the Company's interest, and who also had wrote to some neighbouring Rajahs, to embroil the Nabob's affairs in his absence, in order to divert him from pursuing his demands on Vizagapatam, should be delivered up to him, which, at last, he was, and was put to a very cruel death. He was set in the hot scorching sun three days, with his hands fastned to a stake over his head, and one of his legs tied up till his heel touched his buttock, and, in the night, put into a dungeon, with some venomous snakes to bear him company, and this was repeated till the third night, when he ended his miserable life; but the Company's merchants, for the future, will be cautious how they espouse the Company's interest again.

There was one Baily, a recruit from Fort St. George, on some discontent, deserted the Company's service, and entered into the Nabob's; but falling into an ambush, was taken prisoner by our men, and was sent to Fort St. George, where, for his desertion, he was deservedly whipped out of this world into the next, and there I leave him.

 After

After the war was ended, and all quiet, the Nabob returned to Chickacul, but could neither forget nor forgive his treatment at Fort St. George and Vizagapatam, but finding by force he could not get the factory into his hands, without great loss of men and money, he had recourse to stratagem, by surprising it. He came into the town one day with one hundred horse, and some foot, without advertising of his coming, as was usual, at the town gate, and before the chief could have notice, he was got into the factory, with twenty or thirty of his attendants. The alarm being given, a resolute bold young gentleman, a factor in the Company's service, called Mr Richard Horden, came running down stairs, with his fuzee in his hand, and bayonet screwed on its muzzle, and presenting it to the Nabob's breast, told him in the Gentow language, (which he was master of,) that the Nabob was welcome, but if any of his attendants offered the least incivility, his life should answer for it. The Nabob was surprisingly astonished at the resolution and bravery of the young gentleman, and sat down to consider a little, Mr. Horden keeping the muzzle of his piece still at his breast, and one of the Nabob's servants standing all the while behind Mr. Horden, with a dagger's point close to his back, so they had a conference of half an hour long, in those above mentioned postures, and then the Nabob thought fit to be gone again, full of wonder and admiration of so daring a courage.

There are many ancient pagods or temples in this country, but there is one very particular that stands upon a little mountain near Vizagapatam, where they worship living monkeys, and, by report, many hundreds breed there, which are nourished by the zealous priests, whose devotion consists mostly in boiling rice and other food for their comical little gods, which, at meal times, assemble at the pagod, and eat what is prepared for them, and retire again in good order, but it is less dangerous to kill a man near that temple than a monkey. I wont venture to be a judge, to determine whether the priest or the god is the most ridiculous brute, and yet I think the priest has some advantage of those on Zeloan, who worship a monkey's tooth only.

Bimlipatam lies about four leagues to the north-east of Vizagapatam The Dutch keep a small factory there, consisting of four Europeans. The country people manufacture cloth, both coarse and fine, which the Dutch buy up for Batavia About four miles off shore, at Bimlipatam, there are some rocks that appear above water, called Sancta Pilla. A ship may pass between them and the shore without danger. And that is all worth observation there.

There are no European factories to the eastward on the coast of Chormondel, but Ganjam. It is kept for the chief of Vizagapatam's use, though a company might find their account there better than in many places that they keep factories in. It lies about fifty-five leagues to the north-eastward of Vizagapatam, but there are several other places between them on the coast, that drive a small trade in corn. Pondee, Callingapatam, and Sunapore, are the most noted, but are not frequented by Europeans.

The country about Ganjam is fruitful in rice and sugar-cane, and they make pretty good sugars, both white and brown. It has the benefit of a river, but not navigable, nor the bar passable for ships, till the month of September, that the freshes from the mountains open it, and then there are three fathoms on it, but it shuts again about the beginning of November, and in the other months, there are not above seven or eight feet at high water.

The town stands about a mile within the bar, on a rising ground, and is governed by a chowdrie, an officer deputed by the Nabob. And there is a pagod in it, dedicated

cated to an obſcene god, called Gopalſami. He is carried ſometimes in proceſſion through the ſtreets, and ſometimes into the fields near the town. They allow him a coach, becauſe he cannot walk, and he has always above a dozen of clergymen to accompany him in his coach. Around his temple, and on the coach, are carved figures of gods and goddeſſes, in ſuch obſcene poſtures, that it would puzzle the Covent-garden nymphs to imitate. One of his company in the coach has a ſtick about two feet in length, and one end is carved in ſhape of a Priapus. The ſtick is placed between his legs, and the end ſticking out before him, and all virgins and married women that never had children, come and worſhip the ſtick, and the prieſts beſtow bleſſings on them to make them fruitful. The woods produce timber for building. It is very heavy, but the ſtrongeſt wood I ever ſaw, though not laſting. They alſo produce bees-wax and ſticklack, and pretty good iron And the inland countries manufacture cotton into ſeveral ſorts of cloths, both fine and coarſe, all fit for exportation. The ſeas produce many ſorts of excellent fiſhes, and the rivers the beſt mullets ever I ſaw. In November and December they have great plenty of ſeer-fiſh, which is as ſavoury as any ſalmon or trout in Europe. I have ſeen them bought for three halfpence per piece, each above 20 lb. weight. Wild geeſe and ducks are plentiful and good here, and antelopes are ſold for fifteen pence per piece.

CHAP XXXI —*Treats of the Sea-coaſt and ſome inland Countries in the ancient Kingdom of Orixa, by the natives called Oria, with an Account of the famous Temple of Jagarynat.*

IN the year 1708, I had occaſion to travel from Ganjam to Ballaſore, by land' which gave me an opportunity to ſee more of the countries through which I travelled, than moſt others could have who travelled by ſea. About three miles to the eaſtward of Gangam is Illure, at the end of a ridge of mountains, that divide the ancient kingdom of Golcondah from Orixa. Its end runs within piſtol-ſhot of the ſea, and there were three or four ſentinels to demand a tax on every head that paſt out of or into Orixa. I had ſeventeen ſervants to carry my palanqueen and baggage, and all the tax amounted to about three ſhillings ſterling. Proceeding farther, I came to Manikapatam, where there is a great inlet from the ſea, but about a mile from its mouth, it divided itſelf into many channels, which made many ſmall iſlands. The Mogul had an officer there, who examined from whence we came, and whither we were bound. Our anſwers were ſatisfactory, and he preſented us with ſome poultry, rice, and butter, and gave us a place to lodge in. And, although we ſaw plenty of fiſh in the rivers, yet money could not purchaſe one of them, becauſe there is a pagod on a little hill built of iron-coloured ſtone, where all the animals of the watery element are worſhipped. And water-fowls are ſo ſacred, that they muſt not be killed.

Our next ſtage was to the famous temple of Jagarynat, which, in clear weather, may be ſeen from Manikapatam. In our way we ſaw great numbers of deer and antelopes, ſo tame that they would not move out of our way, till we approached within five or ſix yards of them. Water wild fowl were alſo numerous and fearleſs, for none dares kill them under pain of excommunication, which cannot be removed but by round ſums to the church. Poultry there is plentiful, but cannot be killed by the Pagans, becauſe they worſhip them; nor can ſtrangers purchaſe them, only the Mahometans, who make no account of their canon laws, make bold to ſacrifice them, and fiſh too, as we do in Great Britain.

In all this tract between Ganjam and Jagarynat, the visible god in most esteem is Gopalsami, whose temples, as I said before, are decorated with obscene representations of men and women in indecent postures, also of demons and caco-demons, whose genitals are of a prodigious size in proportion to their bodies. The filthy image is worshipped by all the Heathens of both sexes; but barren women are his greatest devotees, and bring him the best oblations.

Jagarynat has vast crowds of pilgrims to visit him from all parts of India. His temple stands in a plain about a mile from the sea, and no mountains nor outlets of rivers near it. It is built of a free hard stone, the pedestal of large square stone, and close by it is a cistern built about with large oblong square stones of different colours, viz. brick-colour, light blue, gray and white. The cistern has steps that run the whole length of the cistern, which is about 40 or 50 yards, and, at the end opposite to the pagod, steps of the whole breadth of it, which is about 25 or 30 yards, each step about a foot deep, descending by gradation, under the surface of the water, which did not seem to be clear, but, they say, is three fathoms deep in the middle. This cistern, or tank, is walled round with a stone wall about five feet high, with two iron gates to let in pilgrims, and keep out unsanctified pesons, as Christians, Mahometans, &c.; for all pilgrims, are obliged to wash in that tank before they go into the temple to worship. The temple is built in the shape of a Canary pipe set on end, about 40 or 50 yards high; about the middle is the image of an ox cut in one entire stone, bigger than a live one. He looks towards the south-east, and his hinder parts are fixed in the wall. The fabrick is crowned with a top about the same diameter that it is in the middle, and the temple being exactly round, makes no contemptible figure in architecture. On the west side of the pagod, there is a large chapel that joins it, wherein sermons are daily preached, and there are some convents at a little distance for the priests to lodge in, who daily officiate. There are, in all, about 500 of them that belong to the pagod, who daily boil rice and pulse for the use of the god. They report, that there are five candies daily drest, each candy containing 1600 lb. weight. When some part has been carried before the idol, and the smoke had saluted his mouth and nose, then the remainder is sold out, in small parcels, to those who will buy it, at very reasonable rates, and the surplus is served out to the poor, who are ever attending the pagod out of a pretended devotion: and this food, that is drest for the pagod, has a particular privilege above other eatables, that the purified heathen is not contaminated by eating out of the same dish with polluted Christians or Mahometans, though, in another place, it would be reckoned a mortal sin.

I staid there one day and two nights, and my lodgings were in an house very near the pagod. The nights were spent in beating on tabors and brass cymbals, with songs of praises on Jagarynat, who is only a stone god, not carved into a figure, but an irregular pyramidal black stone of about 4 or 500lb. weight, with two rich diamonds placed near the top, to represent eyes, and a nose and mouth painted with vermillion, to shew his devotees that he can both smell and taste. There are no windows in the temple to give light, so that he has use for about 100 lamps continually burning before him. He is railed about, that none may approach near him but his priests, and only those of the first quality dare enter into the Sanctum sanctorum.

I would fain have gone into the temple, but could not be admitted, though I proffered the value of three guineas for admittance, but I sent one of my servants, who was a Gentow, to observe what he could, and he brought me the foregoing account.

He

He is never removed out of the temple, but his effigy is often carried abroad in proceſſion, mounted on a coach four ſtories high. It runs on eight or ten wheels, and is capable to contain near two hundred perſons. It is drawn through a large ſtreet about fifty yards wide, and half a league long, by a cable of fourteen inches circumference, and at convenient diſtances, they faſten ſmall ropes to the cable, two or three fathoms long, ſo that upwards of two thouſand people have room enough to draw the coach, and ſome old zealots, as it paſſes through the ſtreet, fall flat on the ground, to have the honour to be cruſhed to pieces by the coach wheels, and if they meet with that good fortune, to be killed outright, the prieſts make the mob believe, that the defunct's ſoul is much in favour with the idol, but if only a leg, a thigh, or an arm are cruſhed, then the devotee is not ſanctified enough to be taken notice of, however, if they die of their bruiſes, their bodies are burned as well as the others, and their ſouls go into paradiſe, or a place very near it, without ſtopping at the half-way houſe to be purged from their ſins, as others leſs pure are obliged to do.

They have a tradition, that this famous idol was not originally of the country he now ſtays in, but 3 or 4000 years ago, he ſwimmed over the ſea, and ſome fiſhers ſeeing him lie at high-water mark, went near him, and to their great aſtoniſhment heard him ſay in their own vernacular language, "that he came out of pure charity to reſide among them, and deſired that he might have a good lodging built for him, on that ſame ſpot of ground that he now dwells on." The fiſhers told this ſtory to their ghoſtly fathers, who came in troops to ſee the ſtone that could talk ſo prettily, and would have excuſed themſelves of the trouble of building an houſe fit to entertain his godſhip, but he would not be denied, and though their are no ſtone-quarries nor mountains to be ſeen within reach of the eye, he promiſed to furniſh them with good ſtone and lime to build his houſe, if they would but take the trouble, and ſo, every night, materials were brought as there was need, and, in a ſhort time, his houſe was built, as it now is. And there are reckoned, in the ſame town, no leſs than 400 temples built in honour to Jagarynat and his relations.

Had Jagarynat ſtaid but twenty or thirty centuries, and ſwimmed to the ſhore of ſome Chriſtian Catholick country, he would have found an hearty welcome, and would not have been obliged to confine himſelf to one houſe without windows, but would have had an hundred palaces built for him, with ſwinging great windows for to give him day-light, and hundreds of good wax-candles burning before him night and day, inſtead of lamps, whoſe charge is much leſs than virgin wax, and their light much dimmer.

Whether this ſtory of Jagarynat, or thoſe of the miraculous adventures of Xavier, and the ſhip that run from Cape Bona Eſperanza to Goa in one night, are moſt to be credited, I leave to the determination of the unprejudiced judges of controverſy in points polemical.

The prince of this country is an Heathen, and pays a tribute to the Mogul of a lack of rupees yearly, or 12,500l. ſterling, which is paid into the exchequer at Cattack. And the Prince exacts a tax of half a crown per head on every pilgrim that comes to the pagod to worſhip, which generally amounts to 75,000l. per annum.

This country abounds in corn, cloth, cattle, deer and antelopes. Bears and monkies are very numerous and fearleſs. There is alſo plenty of water-fowl, partridge and pheaſant, all tame, becauſe none dares kill them but the prince, except thoſe whom he gives written licences to, and they are but ſeldom obtained. The country is watered with many ſmall rivers, whoſe outlets to the ſea are at Manikapatam and Arſipore, and

 there

there are many bridges of ſtone over thoſe little rivers, and great numbers of beggars near thoſe bridges aſking alms in the name of Jagarynat.

The prince who reigned in anno 1708, had a peculiar eſteem for Europeans in general, for, one day as he was a hunting, his horſe fell, and the prince broke his thigh-bone, and accidentally an European ſurgeon being in the town, ſet the bone, and made a perfect cure, and was rewarded with 45l. ſterling for it.

When I was there, he was abroad a hunting, and he ſent me a compliment, that he deſired to ſee me; but I excuſed myſelf on account of my having a fit of the gout, and he was ſatisfied with the excuſe, and ſent me a good fat buck for my ſupper; and ſeveral of the beſt gentlemen in town came, with their compliments, next morning, to invite me to ſtay a few days till his highneſs returned from hunting, but my buſineſs being preſſing, I returned their civilities in the propereſt terms I could, and took leave to proceed on my journey.

When I had travelled three or four leagues from Jagarynat, I left the ſea-ſhore, and took my way towards Cattack, on a very fine road, where I ſaw many droves of cattle and wild game, and ſeveral monuments of zealous pilgrims, who had ſignalized themſelves by ſevere penances, and one particularly, that about three months before I was there, had, out of zeal, built a tomb for himſelf, and, when it was finiſhed, took his leave of his friends in form, and entered into his new cell, and ſtaid till he died for want of ſuſtenance. I challenge any Chriſtian penitents to do more, in acts of ſupererogation, than this blind Heathen did.

CHAP. XXXII. — *Is an Account of the maritime Towns on the Coaſt of Orixa, which terminates at Ballaſore, alſo of ſome inland Places through which I travelled.*

FROM the dominions of Jagarynat, I came into thoſe of Arſipore. The town, where the Rajah reſided, is named after the province, and there is a fine river that invites ſtrangers to frequent it for cotton cloth and rice, that this country affords in great plenty. And, in ſixſcore miles that I travelled between Jagarynat and Cattack, I found little elſe worth noticing but numbers of villages interſperſed in the plain countries, and, at every ten or twelve miles end, a fellow to demand junkaun or poll-money for me and my ſervants, which generally came to a penny or three half-pence a-piece, ſo that, in the whole, it coſt me about one pound ſterling for paſſage-gilt.

The next place to Arſipore, on the ſea-coaſt, is Raypore, that ſtands on the banks of the river of Cattack, where it diſembogues into the ſea, about mid-way between Point Falſo and Point Palmeira It has a fine bar, affording ſeveral fathoms water on it in ſpring-tides. It is not frequented by Europeans, though, no doubt, it was before Aurengzeb conquered the country, for it produceth corn, cloth very fine, butter and oil in great abundance. The city of Cattack ſtands on an iſland of this river, about 25 leagues from the ſea.

When I came to the river of Cattack, I eſpied a ſmall pagod, built in form of a cupola; the outſide had holes in it, like the holes of a pigeon-houſe, placed in order, and in each hole was a man's ſkull. Enquiring the reaſon why ſuch a number of ſkulls were put there, I was informed, that when Aurengzeb's army came to beſiege Cattack, there was a conſpiracy in the town to betray it, but being detected, above five hundred that were concerned in it, were, by order of the King of Orixa, who was then in

the city, condemned to be beheaded, and their heads to be placed in thoſe holes, and there they have continued ever ſince. Cloſe by that temple, we took boat to carry us to the city, the river, on that ſide, being about a mile broad, and ſounding it in the middle, I found ſix fathoms. The river water is very clear, and wholeſome to drink, and deſcends with a ſlow ſtream.

The ſprings of the river are from the mountains of Gatti, within 40 leagues of Goa, and, in its paſſage, waſhes part of the kingdoms of Talinga, Viſapore, Golcondah, and Orixa, bleſſing all the countries that it paſſes through with fertility of corn, even to the place where it loſes itſelf, and there it is alſo benificent, in affording a convenient harbour for ſhipping, though it is not much frequented by ſtrangers, and not at all by Europeans. I believe the reaſon is, that many Rajahs, of different intereſts, have their countries on the ſides of the river, and they load the trade with ſo many taxes and impoſitions, that the induſtrious merchant cannot get any profit by his labour, and the reins of the Mogul's government being ſo ſlack in thoſe parts, the Nabob of Orixa is not capable to keep the contentious Rajahs in better order.

Cattack is ſtill a large city, walled round, and a good many cannon planted on its walls, but neither the wall nor artillery are kept in good order. The town is not one quarter part inhabited; but the ruins of many large buildings ſhew ſufficiently its ancient grandeur, when Kings kept their courts there. Its figure is an oblong for a league long, and a mile broad. It is garriſoned with 5000 foot, and 500 horſe.

The Engliſh Company had once a fine factory in Cattack Moſt of its walls were ſtanding in anno 1708, and a garden that belonged to the factory, was then in good repair, kept by a perſon of quality in the town. The country about abounds in corn and cattle, and tame and wild fowl are very plentiful and good. Their manufactory is in cotton cloths, coarſe and fine of all ſorts, and very cheap, and ſo are butter and oil. I bought a few ſeerbands and ſannoes there, to know the difference of the prices between Cattack and Ballaſore markets, and I found Cattack ſold them about 60 per cent. cheaper than Ballaſore; but, on the road, which is about 35 leagues long, we paid ſeven or eight times toll for our heads and goods, which made them come out about 28 per cent better than Ballaſore market.

That part of the river, on the north ſide of Cattack, is very ſhallow. When I paſſed it, there were not above three feet water in it. They have a cuſtom in this town, that, when any ſtranger travels through it, he muſt find ſurety, that he will carry none of the inhabitants off with him, without the Nabob's permiſſion, and if the ſtranger can find no ſecurity, the Nabob's ſecretary becomes bound for paying him ten rupees for the danger he runs. Two Dutch renegadoes, who were in the Nabob's ſervice as gunners, came to wait on me, with a preſent of mutton, fowl and fiſh, and proffered to be my ſureties. I rewarded them with the uſual perquiſite due to the ſecretary, and gave them a bottle of French brandy, which they ſet a great value on.

When I left Cattack, I travelled about 50 miles in two days, and came to Badruck, which ſtands on the ſide of a river that runs into the ſea at Cunnaca, about 20 miles below Badruck. There are about 1000 houſes in it, and a ſmall mud-wall fort, but never a gun in it. The inhabitants are moſtly employed in huſbandry, ſpinning, weaving, and churning, and butter here is pretty cheap, being accounted dear at a penny per pound weight. In two days I travelled from Badruck to Ballaſore, and ſaw nothing in the way, but things common and indifferent, the product of the country being

[illegible] and cloth, iron, [illegible] and cummin seeds, oil and bees-wax. Iron is so [illegible] that they cast anchors for ships in moulds, but they are not so good as those made in Europe.

I must now return back to Raypore, and travel along the sea-coast. Four leagues from Raypore is the island of Palmeira, which lies about a mile from the shore, and has a channel of two fathoms deep between them. The country is here very low, but the island lower, and it sends off a very dangerous sand-bank so far into the sea, that the island can scarcely be seen till a ship is aground. Within 50 paces of the bank are sixteen fathoms water, which sudden shallowings make it the more dangerous.

Three leagues to the northward of the Point Palmeira, is Cunnaca, which river is capable to receive a ship of 200 tons. It has a bar, but not dangerous, because the sea is smooth, and the bottom soft. The Nabob of Cattack commands the north side of the river, and a Rajah the other, which makes them both court the merchant that comes to trade there, for he pays custom only to the sovereign whose side of the river his ship lies on. The produce and manufactories of the country I mentioned already.

About 12 leagues to the northward of Cunnaca, is the river's mouth of Ballasore, where there is a very dangerous bar, sufficiently well known by the many wrecks and losses made by it. Between Cunnaca and Ballasore rivers there is one continued sandy bay, where prodigious numbers of sea tortoises resort to lay their eggs, and a very delicious fish called the pamblee, comes in shoals, and are sold for two pence per hundred. Two of them are sufficient to dine a moderate man.

The town is but four miles from the sea by land, but, by the river, twenty. The country is fruitful to admiration, producing rice, wheat, gram, doll callavances, several sorts of pulse, annise, cummin, coriander and caraway seeds, tobacco, butter, oil and bees-wax. Their manufactories are of cotton in sannis, cassas, demeties, mulmuls, silk, and silk and cotton romals, gurrahs and lungies; and of herba (a sort of tough grass) they make ginghams, pinascos, and several other goods for exportation.

The English, French, and Dutch have their respective factories here, but at present, are of little consideration, though in former times, before the navigation of Hughly river was cultivated, they were the head factories in the bay or gulf of Bengal.

The town of Ballasore drives a pretty good trade to the islands of Maldiva. Those islands, as I observed before, have no rice or other grain of their own product, so that Ballasore supplies them with what necessaries they want, and, in return, bring cowries and cayer for the service of shipping. The sea-shore of Ballasore being very low, and the depths of water very gradual from the strand, make ships, in Ballasore road, keep at a good distance from the shore, for, in four or five fathoms, they ride three leagues off.

From April to October is the season for shipping to come into the bay of Bengal. [illegible] lie ready at Ballasore to carry them up the river Hughly, which is a small branch of the famous Ganges. The European companies, before mentioned, keep theirs [illegible] pay; but, when none of their own shipping is there, their pilots have the liberty to serve other ships, which is no small advantage to them.

The people about Ballasore have one particular custom that I never heard of in any other country, viz. they take a piece of soft clay, and make it in the form of a large suppository, and they harden it in the sun, till it comes to the consistence of soft wax,

and,

and, when they think it fit for uſe, they put it into the right inteſtine, immediately after exoneration. This, they allege, keeps them cool, though, after it has been in uſe a day and a night, it becomes hard, but every morning they have a new one ready for uſe.

There is a report current among the Engliſh in India, that the old Eaſt-India Company deſired one Captain Goodlad, who was going in their ſervice commander of a ſhip to Bengal, that he would bring them home ſome Indian rarity that had never been ſeen in England before. And being lodged in the factory at Ballaſore, looking out of his window one morning, he ſaw ſome people making uſe of their ſuppoſitories, and leaving the old hard baked ones behind them. He immediately bethought himſelf of the commiſſion he had from his maſters, and judged that they might be rarities never ſeen in Europe before, and ordered a ſmall keg to be filled with them. When he brought them to England, they proved to be ſuch as they had never ſeen. Some gentlemen, more curious than the reſt, ſcraped ſome of them to try the taſte, but they ſtill continued in the dark, till the comical captain gave them an account of their uſe and virtue.

The ſides of the river are overgrown with buſhes, which give ſhelter to many fierce and troubleſome tigers, who do much miſchief. I knew an Engliſhman that was in a ſhip's boat laden with freſh water, lying in the river, waiting the tide to carry her over the bar, and this man had the curioſity to ſtep aſhore, and being a little way from the boat, had a call to exonerate, and had no ſooner put himſelf in a poſture near the buſhes, but out leaps a tiger, and caught both his buttocks in his mouth, and was for carrying him away, but one of the ſeamen in the boat ſeeing the tragedy took up a muſket, and placed a bullet in the tiger's head, while the man was in his mouth helpleſs. The tiger immediately let him fall, and ſculked in among the buſhes, and the wounded man was carried on board of his ſhip, and the ſurgeon made a perfect cure of the wounds I ſaw the marks of the wounds three or four years after the accident happened to him.

And now having led you as far eaſtward as Alexander the Great led his army, even to the famous river Ganges, which put a ſtop to his travels, I will venture farther, and viſit both the banks of that river, upwards and downwards, and then march as far eaſt as our European navigation has as yet diſcovered.

CHAP. XXXIII —*Treats of the Towns, Cities, Country and Cuſtoms of Bengal, particularly of thoſe near the famous Ganges, with ſome Hiſtorical Accounts, ancient and modern, of Fort William.*

PIPLY lies on the banks of a river, ſuppoſed to be a branch of the Ganges, about five leagues from that of Ballaſore; formerly it was a place of trade, and was honoured with Engliſh and Dutch factories The country produces the ſame commodities that Ballaſore does, at preſent it is reduced to beggary by the factory's removal to Hughly and Calcutta, the merchants being all gone It is now inhabited by fiſhers, as are alſo Ingellie, and Kidgerie, two neighbouring iſlands on the weſt ſide of the mouth of Ganges. Theſe iſlands abound alſo in tame ſwine, where they are ſold very cheap, for I have bought one-and-twenty good hogs, between 50 and 80 pounds weight each, for 17 rupees, or 45 ſhillings ſterling. Thoſe iſlands ſend forth dangerous ſand-banks, that are both numerous and large, and make the navigation out and in to Hughly river, both troubleſome and dangerous, and after we paſs thoſe iſlands, in going up the

the river, the channel for shipping is on the east-side, and several creeks run from the channel among a great number of islands, formed by different channels of Ganges, two of which are more remarkable than the rest, viz. Coxes and Sagor islands, where great ships were obliged to anchor to take in part of their cargoes, because several places in the river are too shallow for great ships to pass over, when their whole cargoes are a-board.

There are no inhabitants on those islands, for they are so pestered with tigers, that there could be no security for human creatures to dwell on them, nay, it is even dangerous to land on them, or for boats to anchor near them, for in the night they have swimmed to boats at anchor, and carried men out of them, yet among the Pagans, the island Sagor is accounted holy, and great numbers of Jougies go yearly thither in the months of November and December, to worship and wash in salt-water, though many of them fall sacrifices to the hungry tigers.

The first safe anchoring place in the river, is off the mouth of a river about twelve leagues above Sagor, commonly known by the name of Rogues river, which had that appellation from some banditti Portugueze, who were followers of sultan Sujah, when Emirjemal, Aurengzeb's general, drove that unfortunate prince out of his province of Bengal; for those Portugueze having no way to subsist, after their master's flight to the kingdom of Arackan, betook themselves to piracy among the islands, at the mouth of Ganges, and that river having communication with all the channels from Xatgam to the westward, from this river they used to sally out, and commit depredations on those that traded in the river of Hughly.

About five leagues farther up, on the west side of the river of Hughly, is another branch of the Ganges, called Ganga, it is broader than that of Hughly, but much shallower, and more encumbered with sand-banks, a little below the mouth of it the Danes have a thatched house, but for what reasons they kept an house there, I never could learn.

Along the river of Hughly there are many small villages and farms, interspersed in those large plains, but the first of any note on the river's side, is Culculla, a market town for corn, coarse cloth, butter, and oil, with other productions of the country; above it is the Dutch Bankshall, a place where their ships ride when they cannot get farther up for the too swift currents of the river. Culculla has a large deep river that runs to the eastward, and so has Juanpardoe, and on the west side there is a river that runs by the back of Hughly Island which leads up to Radnagur, famous for manufacturing cotton cloth, and silk romaals, or handkerchiefs. Bussundri and Tresindi, or Gorgat and Cottrong, are on that river, which produce the greatest quantities of the best sugars in Bengal.

A little higher up on the east side of Hughly river, is Ponjelly, a village where a corn mart is kept once or twice in a week, it exports more rice than any place on this river; and five leagues farther up on the other side, is Tanna Fort, built to protect the trade of the river, at a place convenient enough, where it is not above half a mile from shore to shore; but it never was of much use, for in anno 1686, when the English Company quarrelled with the Mogul, the Company had several great ships at Hughly, and this fort was manned in order to hinder their passage down the river. One 60 gun ship approaching pretty near the fort, saluted it with a broad-side, which so frightened the governor and his myrmidons, that they all deserted their post, and left their castle to be plundered by the English seamen. About a league farther up on the other side of the river, is Governapore, where there



there is a little pyramid built for a land-mark, to confine the Company's colony of Calcutta, or Fort William. On that side, and about a league farther [illegible] Fort William.

The English settled there about the year 1690, after the Mogul had pardoned all the robberies and murders committed on his subjects. Mr. Job Channock being then the Company's agent in Bengal, he had liberty to settle an emporium in any part on the river's side below Hughly, and for the sake of a large shady tree chose that place, though he could not have chosen a more unhealthful place on all the river; for three miles to the north-eastward, is a salt-water lake that overflows in September and October, and then prodigious numbers of fish resort thither, but in November and December, when the floods are dissipated, those fishes are left dry, and with their putrefaction affect the air with thick stinking vapours, which the north-east winds bring with them to Fort William, that they cause a yearly mortality. One year I was there, and there were reckoned in August about 1200 English, some military, some servants to the Company, some private merchants residing in the town, and some seamen belonging to shipping lying at the town, and before the beginning of January there were four hundred and sixty burials registered in the clerk's book of mortality.

Mr. Channock choosing the ground of the colony, where it now is, reigned more absolute than a Rajah, only he wanted much of their humanity, for when any poor ignorant native transgressed his laws, they were sure to undergo a severe whipping for a penalty, and the execution was generally done when he was at dinner, so near his dining-room that the groans and cries of the poor delinquent served him for musick.

The country about being overspread with Paganism, the custom of wives burning with their deceased husbands, is also practised here. Before the Mogul's war, Mr Channock went one time with his ordinary guard of soldiers, to see a young widow act that tragical catastrophe, but he was so smitten with the widow's beauty, that he sent his guards to take her by force from her executioners, and conducted her to his own lodgings. They lived lovingly many years, and had several children, at length she died, after he had settled in Calcutta, but instead of converting her to Christianity, she made him a proselyte to Paganism, and the only part of Christianity that was remarkable in him, was burying her decently, and he built a tomb over her, where all his life after her death, he kept the anniversary day of her death by sacrificing a cock on her tomb, after the Pagan manner this was and is the common report, and I have been credibly informed, both by Christians and Pagans, who lived at Calcutta under his agency, that the story was really true matter of fact

Fort William was built an irregular tetragon, of brick and mortar, called Puckah, which is a composition of brick-dust, lime, molasses, and cut hemp, and when it comes to be dry, is as hard and tougher than firm stone or brick; and the town was built without order, as the builders thought most convenient for their own affairs, every one taking in what ground best pleased them for gardening, so that in most houses you must pass through a garden into the house, the English building near the river's side, and the natives within land

The agency continued till the year 1705, that the old and new Companies united, and then it became a split government, the old and new Companies servants governing week about, which made it more anarchical than regular. Sir Edward Littleton was agent and consul for the new company at Hughly, when this union of the Companies was made,

made, and then he was ordered to remove his factory to Calcutta, and being of an indolent disposition, had let his accounts with the company run behind. He was suspended, but lived at Calcutta till 1707, that he died there; he was the only president or precedent in the Company's service, that lost an estate of 700 pounds per annum in so profitable a post in their service.

This double-headed government continued in Calcutta, till January 1709, that Mr. Weldon arrived with the Company's commission to settle it at Bombay and Fort St. George, which were under the management of a governor and council, which those of the direction in England took to be a better way to promote their own creatures, as well as their own interest. His term of governing was very short, and he took as short a way to be enriched by it, by harassing the people to fill his coffers. There was one singular instance of it. A poor seaman had got a pretty Mustice wife, a little inclined to lewdness in her husband's absence. She entertained two Armenians, who where like to quarrel about sharing her favours, which coming to the governor's ears, he reprimanded them: however, by the strong persuasion of 500 rupees paid in hand by one of them, he awarded him to have the sole right to her, and he carried her to Hughly, and bragged openly what his purchase had cost him, to the great credit and praise of the governor; and when the poor husband returned, he was forced to submit to lose his mare, under the pain of flagellation: yet he was very shy in taking bribes, referring those honest folks, who trafficked that way, to the discretion of his wife and daughter, to make the best bargain they could about the sum to be paid, and to pay the money into their hands. I could give many instances of the force of bribery, both here and elsewhere in India, but am loth to ruffle the skin of old sores.

About fifty yards from Fort William, stands the church built by the pious charity of merchants residing there, and the Christian benevolence of sea-faring men, whose affairs call them to trade there, but ministers of the gospel being subject to mortality, very often young merchants are obliged to officiate, and have a salary of 50l. per annum added to what the company allows them, for their pains in reading prayers and sermons on Sundays.

The governor's house, in the Fort, is the best and most regular piece of architecture that I ever saw in India. And there are many convenient lodgings for factors and writers, within the Fort, and some store-houses for the Company's goods, and the magazines for their ammunition.

The Company has a pretty good hospital at Calcutta, where many go in to undergo the penance of physick, but few come out to give account of its operation. The company has also a pretty good garden, that furnishes the governor's table with herbage and fruits; and some fish-ponds to serve his kitchen with good carp, calkops, and mullet.

Most of the inhabitants of Calcutta that make any tolerable figure, have the same advantages; and all sorts of provisions, both wild and tame, being plentiful, good and cheap, as well as clothing, make the country very agreeable, notwithstanding the above mentioned inconveniencies that attend it.

On the other side of the river are docks made for repairing and fitting their ships bottoms, and a pretty good garden belonging to the Armenians, that had been a better place to have built their fort and town in, for many reasons. One is, that, where it now stands, the after-noon's sun is full in the fronts of the houses, and shines hot on the streets, that are both above and below the fort; the sun would have sent its hot rays on the back of the houses, and the fronts had been a good shade for the streets.

Most

Moſt gentlemen and ladies in Bengal live both ſplendidly and pleaſantly, the forenoons being dedicated to buſineſs, and after dinner to reſt, and in the evening to recreate themſelves in chaiſes or palankins in the fields, or to gardens, or by water in their budgeroes, which is a convenient boat, that goes ſwiftly with the force of oars; and, on the river, ſometimes there is the diverſion of fiſhing or fowling, or both; and before night, they make friendly viſits to one another, when pride or contention do not ſpoil ſociety, which too often they do among the ladies, as diſcord and faction do among the men. And although the conſcript fathers of the colony diſagree in many points among themſelves, yet they all agree in oppreſſing ſtrangers, who are conſigned to them, not ſuffering them to buy or ſell their goods at the moſt advantageous markets, but of the governor and his council, who fix their own prices, high or low, as ſeemeth beſt to their wiſdom and diſcretion: and it is a crime hardly pardonable for a private merchant to go to Hughly, to inform himſelf of the current prices of goods, although the liberty of buying and ſelling is intirely taken from him before.

The garriſon of Fort William generally conſiſts of two or three hundred ſoldiers, more for to convey their fleet from Patana, with the Company's ſaltpetre, and piece goods, raw ſilk, and ſome opium belonging to other merchants, than for the defence of the fort, for, as the Company holds their colony in fee tail of the Mogul, they need not be afraid of any enemies coming to diſpoſſeſs them. And if they ſhould, at any time, quarrel again with the Mogul, his prohibiting his ſubjects to trade with the Company, would ſoon end the quarrel

There are ſome impertinent troubleſome Rajahs, whoſe territories lie on the banks of the Ganges, between Patana and Caſſembuzaar, who, pretend a tax on all goods and merchandize, that paſs by, or through their dominions on the river, and often raiſe forces to compel payment, but ſome forces from Fort William in boats, generally clear the paſſage, though I have known ſome of our men killed in the ſkirmiſhes.

In Calcutta all religions are freely tolerated, but the Presbyterian, and that they brow-beat. The Pagans carry their idols in proceſſion through the town. The Roman Catholicks have their church to lodge their idols in, and the Mahometan is not diſcountenanced; but there are no polemicks, except what are between our high-church men and our low, or between the governor's party and other private merchants on points of trade.

The colony has very little manufactory of its own, for the government being pretty arbitrary, diſcourages ingenuity and induſtry in the populace; for, by the weight of the Company's authority, if a native chances to diſoblige one of the upper-houſe, he is liable to arbitrary puniſhment, either by fine, impriſonment, or corporal ſufferings. I will give one inſtance, out of many, that I knew of the injuſtice of a governor of the double-headed government in *anno* 1706.

There was one captain Perrin, maſter of a ſhip, who took up about 500l on reſpondentia from Mr. Ralph Sheldon, one of the governors, on a voyage to Perſia, payable at his return to Bengal. Perrin having diſpatched his affairs in Perſia ſooner than he expected, called at Goa in his way home, and bought a Surat-built ſhip very cheap, and carried her to Calecut, and took in a quantity of pepper for the Bengal market; and having brought in his other ſhip good ſtore of Perſia wines, called at Fort St. George to diſpoſe of what he could there, but finding no encouragement from that market, carried it to Bengal On his arrival he complimented Mr. Sheldon with the offer of his pepper and wine; but he declined meddling with that bargain, farther than

than with as much of the pepper, at the current price, as would balance his account of principal and respondentia. Accordingly Perrin delivered so much pepper, and, on the delivery, required his bond up; but the governor told him, that he being a fellow troubled with the spirit of interloping in buying goods, and taking freight where he could best get them, he would keep that bond as a curb on him, that he would not spoil his markets for the future. Poor Perrin used all his rhetoric to get his bond up, but to no purpose; and the governor moreover gave his wine a [illegible] name, so that he could not dispose of that either, and all this oppression was in order to straiten him, that he might be obliged to sell his new purchased ship, at a low price, to him and his associates, which, at last, he was obliged to do, holding a quarter part in his own hands, to secure the command of her to himself, which, after all, he could hardly do. Perrin made his complaint to me, but I was in no condition to assist him, because I, having three or four large ships at Bengal, was reckoned a criminal guilty of that unpardonable sin of interloping; however, I advised Perrin to comply with his inexorable master, on any terms of agreement whatsoever, which he endeavoured to do, that he might, at least, keep the command of his ship, where he was so much concerned, and had hardly done it, but by accident. One day meeting me on the green near the fort, he stopped me to relate his grievances, and begged, that, if he was turned out of his own ship, he might have an employ in one of mine, which I promised he should.

Sheldon espied us, out of a window, holding a long confabulation, and being impatient to know about what, sent a servant to call Perrin, and he, obeying the summons, was interrogated about what our discourse was; and he told the promise I had made him. Sheldon told him, that he was as capable to employ him, as I could be. Perrin answered, that he knew that, but wished that he would be as willing too, so Sheldon promised that he should command his own ship to Persia.

But the wine still lay unsold, though it was scarce then in Bengal; but the name that it got, first at Fort St. George, and afterward in Fort William, stuck so fast to it, that none of it would go off at any price, so I advised him to carry it off in the night, in my boats, on board of one of my ships, and I would try if I could serve him in selling it, which accordingly he did; and two gentlemen of the council, being that season bound for England, coming one day to dine with me, I treated them, and the rest of my company, with that Persia wine, which they all praised, and asked me where I got it. I told them, that, knowing that good wines would be scarce in Bengal that year, I had provided a good quantity at Surat, from whence I came that season. Every one begged that I would spare them some chests, which I condescended to do as a favour, and next day sent them what they wanted, at double the price the owner demanded for it, while he had it, and so got off above [illegible] chests, which enabled Mr. Perrin to satisfy most of his creditors.

Sheldon provided a stock and freight for Perrin to Persia, and put on board some rotten long pepper, that he could dispose of no other way, and [illegible]ed gunnies, which are much in use in Persia for emba[illegible]ood in their hand; but, *nolens volens*, Perrin must take them [illegible]ing for good well conditioned goods; and yet, after he was [illegible]d been stopped, if he could not raise the sum of 2500 ru[illegible] at that time, became due, and was indorsed to Sheldon [illegible]hat difficulty, and took his bond for the sum, bearing [illegible] current interest of one per cent. per mensem, [illegible] Persia," but





but called at Calcutta in his way home again, and laid up his ſhip there, and took protection of a Rayer, with the full ſum of 11,000l. ſterling of Bengal money, and wrote to Mr. Sheldon, that he might keep his former bond, and he would take care of his part of the ſtock in his hands. He alſo wrote to me, that he would take particular care to reimburſe me; but, in a ſhort time after, he died, and his effects came into the English chief's hands, who detained them ſeveral years, denying that ever he had any, till governor Boone came to the government of Bombay in 1715, and then he made a ſame account. I have been ſo prolix and particular in this ſtory, that it may form an idea of the deformity and diſmal image of tyranny and villany ſupported by a power, that neither divine nor human laws have force enough to bridle or re[illegible].

The Company's colony is limited by a land-mark at Governapore, and another near Barnagul, about ſix miles diſtant; and the ſalt-water lake bounds it on the land ſide. It may contain, in all, about 10 or 12,000 ſouls, and the Company's revenues are pretty good, and well paid. They riſe from ground-rents and conſulage on all goods imported and exported by Britiſh ſubjects, but all nations beſides are free from taxes.

CHAP. XXXIV. — *Is a Continuation of the Deſcription of Bengal.*

BARNAGUL is the next village on the river's ſide, above Calcutta, where the Dutch have an houſe and garden; and the town is famouſly infamous for a ſeminary of female lewdneſs, where numbers of girls are trained up for the deſtruction of unwary youths, who ſtudy more how to gratify their brutal paſſions, than how to ſhun the evil conſequences that attend their folly, notwithſtanding the daily inſtances of [illegible] and mortality that happen to thoſe who moſt frequent thoſe ſchools of [illegible]. The Dutch ſhipping anchors there ſometimes, to take in their cargoes for Batavia. And thoſe are all that are remarkable at Barnagul or [illegible].

There are ſeveral other villages on the river's ſides, in the way to [illegible], which [illegible] miles above Barnagul, but none remarkable, till we come to the Danes factory, which ſtands about four miles below Hughly, but the poverty of the Danes has made them deſert it, after having robbed the Mogul's [illegible] of [illegible] ſhipping, to keep themſelves from ſtarving.

Almoſt oppoſite to the Danes factory is Bankebankſal, a place where the Oſtend Company ſettled a factory; but, in *anno* 1723, they quarrelled with the [illegible] governor of Hughly, and he forced the Oſtenders to quit their factory, and [illegible] protection from the French at Charnagur, where their [illegible], but, for want of money are not in a capacity to trade. They have a few [illegible] the factory, and a pretty little church to hear maſs in, which is the [illegible] of the French in Bengal.

About half a league farther up is the Chinchura, where [illegible] lands. It is a large factory, walled high with brick [illegible] many good houſes ſtanding pleaſantly on the river's ſide, and [illegible] gardens to their houſes. The Chinchura is wholly under the [illegible] Company's government. It is about a mile long, and about the ſame breadth, [illegible] by [illegible] and the natives. It is contiguous to Hughly, and [illegible]

many poor natives, when they are in danger of being oppreffed by the Mogul's governor, or his harpies.

Hughly is a town of a large extent, but ill built. It reaches about two miles along the ri[illegible] tot he Bandel, a colony formerl[illegible]'s Fouzdaar governs both at prefent. This [illegible] becaufe all foreign goods are brought thithe[illegible] product of Bengal are brought hither for exporta[illegible]-houfe is at this place. It affords rich cargo[illegible] befides what is carried to neighbouring countries in fm[illegible] veffels that bring falt-petre from Patana, above fifty yards [illegible] and two and an half deep, and can carry above 200 tuns. They [illegible] of October, before the ftream of the river, but are obliged [illegible] with ftrength of hand, about 1000 miles. To mention all [illegible] of goods that this rich country produces, is far beyond my fk[illegible] India Company's fales, all the forts that are fent hence to Europ[illegible]; but opium, long pepper, and ginger are commodities that the tr[illegible]g in India deals in, befides tobacco, and many forts of piece goods, that a[illegible]antable in Europe.

Th[illegible] prefent, deals in no fort of commodities, but what are in requeft at the [illegible]us; and they have a church, where the owners of fuch goods and merch[illegible] to be met with, and the buyer may be conducted to proper fhops, where [illegible]dities may be feen and felt, and a prieft to be fecurity for the foundnefs of [illegible].

Now [illegible] my fartheft travels up the famous Ganges, I muft advance farther on the [illegible] of others, and fo I begin with Caffembazaar, about 100 miles above Hughly, where the English and Dutch have their refpective factories; and, by their companies orders, the feconds of council ought to be chiefs of thofe factories. The town is large, and much frequented by merchants, which never fails of making a place rich. The country about it is very healthful and fruitful, and produces induftrious people, who cultivate many valuable manufactories.

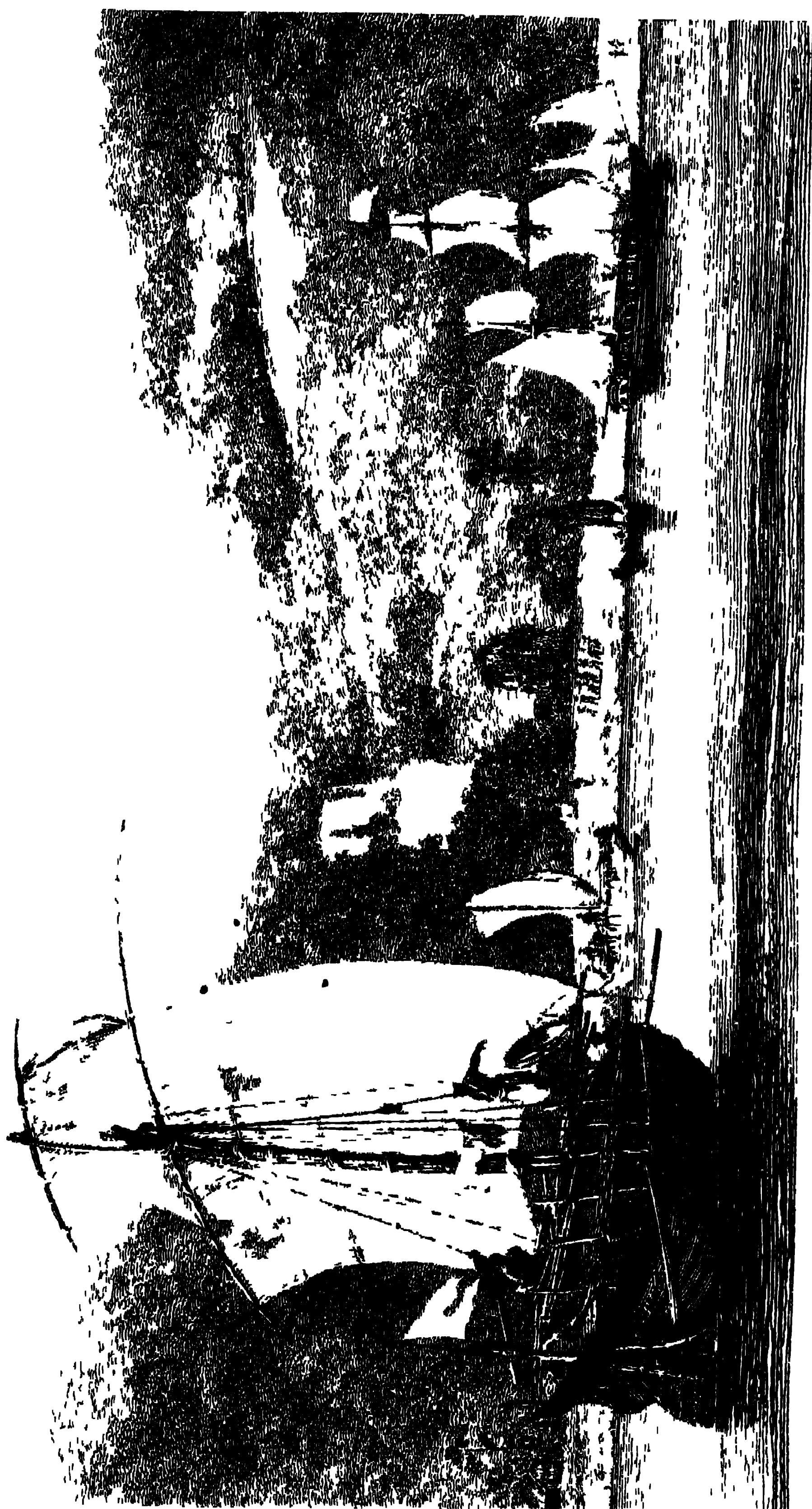
Muxadabaud is but 12 miles from it, a place of much greater antiquity, and the Mogul has a mint there; but the ancient name of Muxadabaud is changed for Rajahmal, for above a century. It was, in former times, the greateft place of trade and commerce on the Ganges, but now its trade and grandeur adorns Caffembazaar.

About forty or fifty miles to the eaftward of Rajahmal, on another channel of the Ganges, is Maldo, a large town, well inhabited and frequented by merchants, and the English and Dutch had factories there, but whether they are continued ftill, I know not.

Patana is the next town frequented by Europeans, where the Englifh and Dutch have factories for falt-petre and raw filk. It produces alfo fo much opium, that it ferves all the countries in India with that commodity. It is the place of refidence of the prince of Bengal, who is always of the blood royal. The town is large, but the houfes [illegible] diftance from one another. The country is pleafant and fruitful; and th[illegible] 26 degrees of latitude to the northward of the equator.

Ba[illegible] about 100 miles farther up the river, celebrated for its fanctity by all perfo[illegible] where Paganifm prevails. Here are feminaries and univerfities for th[illegible] youth, and [illegible] religion. Auren[illegible] for they found





found out fome weak dotards, who, for oftentation; would go to the top of an high tower, and leap down where divers pointed weapons were placed in the fpot they were to fall on, and among them they ended their filly lives. It is ftill in fo much veneration, that I have known young and old Banyans go from Surat thither over land, out of devotion, which is computed to be 400 miles. The priefts fill brafs and copper pots, made in the fhape of fhort-necked bottles, with Ganges water, which they confecrate and feal up, and fend thofe bottles, which contain about four Englifh gallons, all over India, to their benefactors, who make them good returns, for whoever is wafhed with that water juft before they expire, are wafhed as clean from their fins as a new-born babe.

I have ventured fo far into this Terra Incognita on the Ganges, that I dare venture no farther, but muft vifit Dacca, which lies under the tropic of Cancer, on the broadeft and eafternmoft branch of Ganges. The city is the largeft in Bengal, and it manufactures cotton and filk the beft and cheapeft. The plenty and cheapnefs of provifions are incredible, and the country is full of inhabitants, but it breeds none of tolerable courage, for five or fix armed men will chafe a thoufand: yet, about two centuries ago, Dacca had its own kings, but when Jehan Guire, the King of Mogul, over-ran Bengal with a victorious army, a detachment of 20,000 men was fent down to Dacca, on whofe approach the poor King furrendered his kingdom, without once drawing his fword in its defence, and fo it eafily became annexed to the Mogul's dominions.

That branch of the Ganges difembogues into the fea at Chittagoung, or, as the Portugueze call it, Xatigam, about 50 leagues below Dacca; and this place confines the Mogul's dominions to the eaftward. The diftance between Sagor, the wefternmoft channel of the Ganges, and Xatigam the eafternmoft, is about 100 leagues, the maritime coaft being divided into many fmall iflands made by the currents of the Ganges; but very few are inhabited, becaufe they are fo peftered with tigers, that there is little fafety for other inhabitants, and there are alfo many rhinocerofes on thofe iflands, but they are not fo dangerous neighbours as the tigers, yet, when provoked, they will affault any living thing. Nature has endued him with two particular rarities out of her ftores. One is a large horn placed on his nofe. The fecond is a coat of mail to defend him from the teeth or claws of other fierce animals. His tongue is alfo fomewhat of a rarity, for, if he can but get any of his antagonifts down, he will lick them fo clean, that he leaves neither fkin nor flefh to cover their bones; but he is feldom known to be an aggreffor, except when he meets with an elephant; then he fharpens his horn and affaults, though he is much inferior to the elephant in bulk and ftrength, being no bigger than a very large ox, yet he often overcomes in fpite of the elephant's teeth.

Sundiva is an ifland four leagues diftant form the reft, and fo far it lies in the fea, it is about 20 leagues in circumference, and has three fathoms water within a mile of the fhore, and it may ferve to fhelter fmall fhips from the raging feas, and winds of the fouth-weft monfoons. I was credibly informed by one that wintered there, that he bought 580 pound weight of rice for a rupee, or half a crown, eight geefe for the fame money, and fixty good tame poultry for the fame, and cloth is alfo incredibly cheap; it is but thinly inhabited, but the people fimple and honeft.

The religion of Bengal by law eftablifhed, is Mahometan, yet for one Mahometan there are above an hunared Pagans, and the publick offices and pofts of truft are filled promifcuoufly with men of both perfuafions.

The Gentiles are better contented to live under the Mogul's laws than under Pagan princes, for the Mogul taxes them gently, and every one knows what he must pay, but the Pagan kings or princes tax at discretion, making their own avarice the standard of equity, besides there were formerly many small Rajahs, that used, upon frivolous occasions, to pick quarrels with one another, and before they could be made friends again, their subjects were forced to open both their veins and purses to gratify ambition or folly.

And now having cursorily travelled over the most noted countries and towns in Bengal, with the best remarks I could of their government, only making a voluntary omission of many oppressions and other injustices that came within the reach of my own knowledge and experiments, I take leave of that earthly paradise, and proceed.

Chap. XXXV.—*Gives an Account of Xatigam, and the Kingdom of Arackan, some historical Observations on Sultan Sujah's Misfortunes there, and the Miseries that Country fell under by Civil Wars.*

XATIGAM is a town that borders on Bengal and Arackan, and its poverty makes it a matter of indifference whom it belongs to. It was here that the Portugueze first settled in Bengal, but the dangers their ships run in coming thither in the south-west monsoons, made them remove to the Bandel at Hughly. The Mogul keeps a cadjee or judge in it, to administer justice among the Pagan and Mahometan inhabitants, but the offspring of those Portugueze that followed the fortune of Sultan Sujah, when he was forced to quit Bengal, are the domineering lords of it.

It is not so fertile in corn as Bengal, and has but few cotton manufactories, but it affords the best timber for building of any place about it. The river has a deep enough entrance, but is pestered with sand banks, and some rocks within. I have known some English ships forced from Point Palmeira by stress of weather thither, and had safe riding till the north-east monsoons came to relieve them. The government is so anarchical, that every one goes armed with sword, pistol, and blunderbuss, nay, even the priests are obliged to go armed, and often use their arms to as bad ends as the licentious laity, and some of the priests have died martyrs to villainous actions.

Arackan is the next maritime country to the southward of Bengal, and in former times made some figure in trade. It was into this country that the unfortunate Sultan Sujah came a supplicant for protection, when Emirjemal chased him out of Bengal. He carried his wives and children with him, and about two hundred of his retinue, who were resolved to follow his fortune, and he carried six or eight camels load of gold and jewels, which proved his ruin, and in the end, the ruin of the kingdom of Arackan.

When Sultan Sujah first visited the King of Arackan, he made him presents suitable to the quality of the donor and receiver, the Arackaner promising him all the civilities due to so great a prince, with a safe asylum for himself and family. When Emirjemal knew where Sultan Sujah had taken sanctuary, he sent a letter to the King of Arackan, wherein he demanded the poor distressed prince to be delivered up to him, otherwise he threatened to bring his army into his country to take him by force. The threatening letter wrought so far on the base Arackaner, that he contrived ways and means

means to pick a quarrel with his gueſt, to have a pretext to oblige Emirjemal, at laſt he found a very fair one.

Sultan Sujah having a very beautiful daughter, the King of Arackan deſired her in marriage, but knew well enough that Sultan Sujah would never conſent to the match, he being a Pagan and ſhe a Mahometan. Her father uſed all reaſonable arguments to diſſuade the Arackaner from proſecuting his ſuit, but in vain, for the Arackaner grew daily more preſſing, and Sultan Sujah at laſt gave him a flat denial, on which the baſe King ſent him orders to go out of his dominions in three days, and forbad the markets to furniſh him any more with proviſions for his money. Sultan Sujah knowing it would be death for him to go back to Bengal, reſolved to paſs over ſome mountains overgrown with woods, into the King of Pegu's dominions, which were not above 100 miles off, and ſo next day after ſummons, with his family, treaſure, and attendants, Sultan Sujah began his march, but the barbarous Arackaner ſent a ſtrong party after him, who overtook him before he had advanced far into the woods, and killed moſt of Sultan Sujah's company, and ſeized the treaſure, and brought it back in an inglorious triumph. What became of Sultan Sujah and his fair daughter, none could ever give a certain account, whether they were killed in the ſkirmiſh, or whether they were deſtroyed by wild elephants and tigers in the woods, none ever knew, but the Arackaners alledge they were deſtroyed by the wild beaſts of the woods, and not by the more ſavage beaſts in human ſhape.

So much treaſure never had been ſeen in Arackan before, but to whom it ſhould belong cauſed ſome diſturbance. The King thought that all belonged to him, thoſe that fought for it claimed a ſhare, and the princes of the blood wanted ſome fine large diamonds for their ladies, but the tribe of Levi found a way to make up the difference, and perſuaded the King and the other pretenders, to dedicate it to the god Dagun, who was the titular god of the kingdom, and to depoſitate it in his temple, which all agreed to, now whether this be the ſame Dagun of Aſhdod, mentioned in the firſt book and fifth chapter of Samuel, I do not certainly know, but Dagun has a large temple in Arackan, that I have heard of, and another in Pegu that I have ſeen.

In 1690, a King of Arackan dying without iſſue, two princes of the blood quarrelled about filling up the vacancy, they both took arms, and both had an eye upon the treaſure, which ſo frightened the prieſthood, that they removed Sultan Sujah's treaſure to another place only known to themſelves; and thoſe two hot blades purſued their quarrel ſo warmly, that in one year themſelves and families were entirely cut off, and the kingdom has continued in anarchy ever ſince.

Arackan has the conveniency of a noble ſpacious river, and its mouth is both large and deep enough to accommodate ſhips of the greateſt burden into a ſpacious harbour, large enough to hold all the ſhips in Europe.

When the Engliſh left Bengal in anno 1686, Mr. Channock came thither with half a dozen of great ſhips, to paſs the ſouth-weſt monſoons away; the country aſſiſted them plentifully with proviſions, but they had no other commerce; they had no leſs than ſix fathoms water going in to the river, and in ſome places within, above twenty. The country produces timber for building, ſome lead, tin, ſtick-lack, and elephants teeth.

The ſea coaſt of Arackan reaches from Xatigam to Cape Negrais, about 400 miles in length, but few places inhabited, becauſe there are ſuch vaſt numbers of wild elephants and buffaloes, that would deſtroy the productions of the ground, and tigers to deſtroy the tame animals, that they think it impracticable to inhabit it, only ſome iſlands in the ſea are peopled with ſome poor miſerable fiſhers, who get their bread out of the water, to keep them from ſtarving, and they live out of the way of oppreſſion

There are fome of the Mogul's fubjects who trade to Arackan for the commodities above mentioned, and fometimes they meet with good bargains of diamonds, rubies, &c. precious ftones, and gold rupees, which are to be fuppofed are fome of Sultan Sujah's treafure, pilfered by the avaricious priefts.

There are abundance of iflands on the Arackan coaft, but they lie clofe to the fhore, only the Buffalo Iflands lie about four leagues off, and there is a rock that fhews its head above water about the middle of the channel, between thofe iflands and the continent. The channels among the Buffalo Iflands feem to be clear of danger, and above 20 fathoms water in them, but about eight leagues off the north end of the great ifland of Negrais, is a dangerous rock that only appears above water in the low ebbs of fpring tides; it lies in 15 fathoms water, and 20 yards off are 13 fathoms. The other ifland of Negrais, which makes the point called the Cape, is a fmall, low, barren rocky ifland, it is often called Diamond Ifland, becaufe its fhape is a rhombus About the year 1704, four French fhips went to careen at the great Negrais, and turning in between the iflands, one fhip of 70 guns, called l'Indien, run aground on fome rocks lying on the infide of Diamond Ifland, and was loft, but the reft faved the men, and all her portable furniture.

Three leagues to the fouthward of Diamond Ifland, lies a reef of rocks a league long, but they do not appear above water, though they are confpicuous at all times by the fea breaking on them. There is a good channel between the ifland and them, above a league broad, and 11 or 12 fathoms deep; the rocks are called the Legarti, or, in Englifh, the Lizard.

CHAP. XXXVI. — *Gives an Account of the famous Kingdom of Pegu, its Situation and Product, with its Laws, Cuftoms, and Religion, and fome hiftorical Accounts of their Temples and Gods, of Occurrences and Revolutions in the State, and how it became a Province of the Kingdom of Barma.*

THE fea-coaft from Negrais to Syrian Bar, is in the dominions of Pegu; there are fome of the mouths of Pegu river open on that coaft into the fea. Dolla is the firft, about fifty miles to the eaftward of Negrais. China Backaar is another, about forty miles to the eaftward of Dolla, and between thefe openings there is a dangerous bank of black fand, that runs four or five leagues out into the fea, and fo far off there are but 14 feet water. About 60 miles to the eaftward of China Backaar, is the bar of Syrian, the only port now open for trade in all the Pegu dominions.

If by accident a fhip bound to Syrian, be driven a league or two to the eaftward of that river's mouth, a ftrong tide carries her on hard fands till fhe fits faft on them, for anchors are of no ufe to ftop them, becaufe of the rapidity of the current; at low water the fhips are dry when on thofe fands, and the fea leaves them, and retires five or fix leagues, at which time the fhipwrecked men walk on the fands towards the fhore for their fafety, for the fea comes back with fo much noife, that the roaring of the billows may be heard ten miles off, for a body of waters comes rolling in on the fand, whofe front is above two fathoms high, and whatever body lies in its way it overturns, and no fhip can evade its force, but in a moment is overturned, this violent boer the natives call a mackrea.

About fix leagues from the bar of Pegu River, is the city of Syrian; it is built near A river's fide on a rising ground, and walled round with a ftone wall without mortar. ...governor, who is generally of the blood-royal, has his lodgings in it, but the ... are four times bigger than the city. It was many years in poffeffion of the ...e, till by their infolence and pride they were obliged to quit it.

The

The ancient city of Pegu ftands about forty miles to the eaftward of Syrian; the ditches that furrounded the city, which are now dry, and bear good corn, teftify that few cities in the world exceeded it in magnitude, for they are reckoned fix or feven leagues round their outward polygon.

Is was the feat of many great and puiffant Kings, who made as great a figure as any in the eaft, but now its glory is in the duft, for not one twentieth part of it is inhabited, and thofe are but the lower clafs of people who inhabit it. The caufe of the ruin of the kingdoms of Pegu, Martavan, and fome others under the dominions of Pegu, I had from fome Peguers, in feveral difcourfes with them about that revolution, which was thus:

There was great love and friendfhip between the Kings and fubjects of Pegu and Siam, being next neighbours to one another, and they had a good intercourfe of trade, both by land and fea, till in the fifteenth century, a Pegu veffel being at Odia, the chief city of Siam, and when ready to depart for Pegu, anchored one evening near a little temple a few miles below the city, and the mafter of the veffel, with fome of his crew, going to worfhip in that temple, feeing a pretty well-carved image of the god Samfay, about a covet high, fell in love with it, and finding his priefts negligent in watching, ftole him away, and carried him on board prifoner for Pegu. When the negligent priefts miffed their little god they were in a deplorable condition, lamenting their lofs to all their neighbouring priefts, who advifed them to complain to the King of Siam of the theft, which accordingly they did, imploring his good offices with the King of Pegu, to have their god fent back, and it happened that by the unfeafonable floods in the river that year, there came to be a great fcarcity of corn, which calamity was imputed by the priefts to the lofs of Samfay, upon which the pious Prince fent an embaffy to his brother of Pegu, defiring the reftitution of the image, whofe abfence had caufed fo great lofs and clamour in his country.

The King of Pegu being as great a bigot as his brother of Siam, would by no means deliver back a god who had fled from the impieties of his native land to him for protection, and with that anfwer fent back the Siam ambaffador, who was not a little mortified with the difappointment.

Since fair means could not perfuade the Peguer to fend back the little god, the Siamer was refolved to try what force would do, and accordingly raifed an army of two or three hundred thoufand men to invade the King of Pegu's dominions, and the firft fury of the war fell on the province of Martavan, being contiguous to the territories of Siam, and with fire and fword deftroyed the open country almoft to the gates of the city of Martavan, where often the King of Pegu kept his court, and was formerly the metropolis of an independent kingdom, before Pegu reduced that country by conqueft to be a province of theirs.

After the Siamer had fatiated his cruelty and rage, by the deftruction of many poor innocents, he retired back to his own country very much elevated with pride and vainglory, for his great achievements, but next year he was pretty well humbled, for the Peguer raifed a much greater army, and embarking them in fmall boats on the river Memnon, on which the city of Odia ftands in one of its iflands, his army was brought with fo much celerity and fecrecy, that the Peguer brought the firft news of his invafion, and pitching his tents round the city, foon brought it into great ftraits, by ftopping the daily provifions that fupported it; but unexpectedly the river bringing down great floods of waters fooner than their ordinary time, the country about the city overflowed, and fpoiled all the Peguer's provifions of corn, and drowned near the half of his army, which obliged him to raife the fiege, and retire to his own diminions.

Next year, the Siamer, to be revenged, levied another great army, with which he over-ran all the inland countries of Pegu that lay near him, and annexed them to his own dominions. The Peguer finding that he could not recover his lands without foreign aid and affiftance, invited the Portugueze, whofe name began to be dreadful in India, and by the great encouragement he gave them, got about 1000 volunteers into his fervice. Neither the Siamers nor the Peguers at that time underftood the ufe of fire-arms, and their noife and execution at fo great a diftance terrified them. With the Portugueze affiftance, the Peguer went with his army, which was very numerous, to find out the Siamer, and having found him, gave him battle, the Portugueze being in the front with their fire-arms, foon put the Siamer to flight before they could come to handy-blows, on which he left the Peguer's country in greater hafte than he came into it.

The King of Pegu was fo fenfible of the Portugueze fervice in gaining the battle, and driving the Siamers out of his conquered country, that he made one Senhor Thoma Pereyra (who commanded the Portugueze in the war) generaliffimo of all his forces, which preferment made the Portugueze fo infolent, that in a few years they became intolerable to all ranks and degrees of perfons in Pegu.

Both Kings grew tired of war, but both too proud to make advances towards peace, fo that for many years they had fkirmifhing with fmall parties, though no fet battles, and wherever the Portugueze arms went, they had victory to accompany them.

The King of Pegu, to have his forces nearer the borders of Siam, fettled his court at Martavan, and kept the Portugueze near him, to be ready on all occafions, either to repel or affault the Siam forces, as opportunity ferved, and Thoma Pereyra was the darling favourite at court, he had his elephants of ftate, and a guard of his own countrymen to attend him. One day as he was coming from court in ftate, on a large elephant, towards his own palace, he chanced to hear mufic in a burgher's houfe, whofe daughter being a very beautiful virgin, had been married that morning to a young man of the neighbourhood. The general went to the houfe and wifhed them joy, and defired to fee the bride. The parents took the general's vifit for a great honour done them, and brought their daughter to his elephant's fide, he being fmitten with her beauty, ordered his guard to feize her and carry her to his houfe.

His orders were but too readily obeyed, and the poor bridegroom not being able to bear his lofs, cut his own throat, and the difconfolate parents of their injured children, rent their clothes, and went crying and complaining through the ftreets towards the King's palace, imploring their gods and countrymen to avenge them on the infolent Portugueze, the common oppreffors of their country. Crowds of people came from all parts of the city to hear and fee the tragedy, their numbers grew fo great, that the ftreets were hardly big enough for them, and their noife fo loud that it reached the King's ears, who fent to know the caufe of their uproar. The meffenger returning, acquainted the King what had been tranfacted, and he, to appeafe the tumult, fent them word that he would punifh the criminal, and accordingly fent for his general, but he being much taken up with the enjoyment of his new purchafe, made an excufe that he was fo much out of order, that he could not then wait on His Majefty till he was better, which anfwer fo provoked the King, that he ordered the whole city to take arms, and to make a general maffacre on all the Portugueze wherefoever they could be found in city or country. The King's orders were put in execution fo fpeedily, that in a few hours all the Portugueze were flaughtered, and the guilty criminal was taken alive, and made faft by the heels to an elephant's foot, who dragged him through the ftreets till there was no fkin nor flefh left to cover his bones, which fpectacle appeafed the enraged populace.

populace. There were only three Portugueze faved, who were accidentally in the fuburbs next the river, who hid themfelves till night favoured their efcape in a fmall boat, in which they coafted along the fhore, feeding on what the woods and rocks afforded them, and at length arrived at Malacca, to give an account of the melancholy fcene.

Both kingdoms being much weakened with bloody wars, took reft for many years, but never entered on treaties of peace. So about the middle of the feventeenth century, the Siamer invaded the dominions of Pegu, and conquered all to the fouthward of Martavan, taking in the provinces of Tanacerin and Ligoire, who were tributaries to Pegu, and retains them ftill in his poffeffion.

The King of Pegu finding that the incroachments of Siam daily leffened his dominions, and his own forces were not able to protect what he had left, fent an embaffy to the King of Barma, a potent prince, whofe dominions lay about 500 miles up the river from Pegu, to beg his affiftance to ftop the Siamers in their courfe of conquefts, and he promifed to give good encouragement to the Barmaes. The embaffy was gracioufly received, and an army of an hundred thoufand was levied for that fervice, and fent in tranfport veffels to Pegu, and joined the Pegu army, who conjunctly marched againft the Siamer, and drove him quite out of his new conquefts; and when the Barmaes obferved the feeblenefs and bad difcipline of the Pegu army, they even killed the King of Pegu, and broke the Pegu army, and feized the kingdoms of Pegu and Martavan for their mafter, and in that family it continues to this time. The Barmaes ruined both the cities of Pegu and Martavan, and funk veffels in the mouth of the river Martavan, to make it unnavigable, and fo it continues. This account I had at Pegu in anno 1709, both from Peguers and Portugueze, who agreed in the hiftory as I have related it.

The dominions of Barma are at prefent very large, reaching from Moravi near Tanacerin, to the province of Yunan in China, about 800 miles from north to fouth, and 250 miles broad from weft to eaft. It has no fea-port but Syrian, and that river is capable to receive a fhip of 600 tuns. The town drives a good trade with Armenians, Portugueze, Moors and Gentows, and fome Englifh; their import is feveral forts of Indian goods, fuch as beteellas, mulmuls, coffas, fannis, orangfhays, tangebs, European hats, coarfe and fine, and filver. The cuftoms are eight and an half per cent. which with other charges, amount to about twelve in the hundred. The product of the country is timber for building, elephants, elephants teeth, bees-wax, ftick-lack, iron, tin, oil of earth, wood-oil, rubies, the beft in the world, diamonds, but they are fmall, and are only found in the craws of poultry and pheafants, and one family has only the indulgence to fell them, and none dare open the ground to dig for them. Saltpetre they have in abundance, but it is death to export it, plenty of ganfe or lead, which paffeth all over the Pegu dominions for money. About twenty fail of fhips find their account in trade for the limited commodities, but the Armenians have got the monopoly of the rubies, which turns to a good account in their trade, and I have feen fome blue fapphires there, that I was told were found on fome mountains of this country.

The country is very fruitful in corn, fruits, and roots, and excellent legumen of feveral fpecies, abundance of wild game either quadrupeds or winged. In the months of September and October, wild deer are fo plentiful, that I have bought one for three or four pence, they are very flefhy, but no fat about them. They have many forts of good fifh, and fwine's flefh and poultry are both plentiful and good.

They wear none of our European commodities but hats and ribbons, and the gentry will give extravagant prices for fine beaver hats, and rich ribbons flowered with filver and gold, and if it be never fo broad it is ftretched up the crown of the hat as far as it

can

can go, and they uſe no ſort of cock to their hats. Cotton cloths from Bengal and Chormondel, with ſome ſtriped ſilks, are beſt for their market, and ſilver of any ſort is welcome to them. It pays the King 8½ per cent. cuſtom, but in lieu of that high duty, he indulges the merchants to melt it down, and put what alloy they pleaſe in it, and then to paſs it off in payments as high as they can.

Rupee ſilver, which has no alloy in it, will bear 28 per cent. of copper alloy, and keep the Pegu touch, which they call flowered ſilver, and if it flowers, it paſſes current.

Their way to make flowered ſilver is, when the ſilver and copper are mixed and melted together, and while the metal is liquid, they put it into a ſhallow mould, of what figure or magnitude they pleaſe, and before the liquidity is gone, they blow on it through a ſmall wooden pipe, which makes the face, or part blown upon, appear with the figures of flowers or ſtars, but I never ſaw any European or other foreigner at Pegu, have the art to make thoſe figures appear, and if there is too great a mixture of alloy, no figures will appear.

The King generally adds 10 per cent. on all ſilver that comes into his treaſury, beſides what was put on at firſt; and though it be not flowered, it muſt go off in all his payments, but from any body elſe it may be refuſed if it is not flowered.

His government is arbitrary. All his commands are laws, but the reins of government are kept ſteady and gently in the King's own hand. He ſeverely puniſhes his governors of provinces or towns, if oppreſſions or other illegal practices are proved upon them; and to know how affairs paſs in the ſtate, every province or city has a mandereen or deputy reſiding at court, which is generally in the city of Ava, the preſent metropolis.

Every morning theſe mandareens are obliged to attend at court, and after His Majeſty has dreſſed and breakfaſted, which is generally on a diſh of rice boiled in fair water, and his ſauce is ſome ſhrimps dried and powdered, and ſome ſalt and cod-pepper mixed with thoſe two ingredients, and that mixture makes a very pungent ſauce, which they call prock, and is in great eſteem and uſe among the Peguers.

When his breakfaſt is over, he retires into a room ſo contrived that he can ſee all the attendants, but none can ſee him, and a page ſtands without to call whom the King would have give account of the current news of his province or city, which is performed with profound reverence toward the room where the King ſtays, and with a diſtinct audible voice, and if any particular matter of conſequence is forgot or omitted, and the King comes to hear of it by another hand, ſevere puniſhments follow, and ſo he paſſes his mornings in hearing the neceſſary caſes of his own affairs, as well as thoſe of his ſubjects.

If he is informed of treaſon, murder, or ſuch like heinous crimes, he orders the matter to be judicially tried before judges of his own chooſing, for that time and affair, and on conviction he ſigns the dead warrant, wherein he orders, that the wretch convicted ſhall trade no more on his ground, and execution preſently follows, either by beheading, or ordering them to be ſpoilt for his elephants, which is the crulleſt death. Sometimes he baniſhes them for a certain time to the woods, and if they are not devoured by tigers, or killed by wild elephants, they may return when their term is expired, and paſs the remainder of their days in ſerving a tame elephant; and for ſmaller crimes they are only condemned to clean his elephants ſtables for life.

His ſubjects, if they may be ſo called, treat him with fulſome adulation. When they ſpeak or write to him they call him their god, (or in their language Kiack,) and in his letters to foreign Princes, he aſſumes the title of King of Kings, to whom all other Kings

 ought

ought to be ſubject, as being near kinſman and friend to all the gods in heaven and on earth, and by their friendſhip to him all animals are fed and preſerved, and the ſeaſons of the year are regularly kept: the ſun is his brother, and the moon and ſtars are his near relations, Lord over the floods and ebbing of the ſea; and after all his lofty epithets and hyperboles, he deſcends to be King of the white elephant, and of the twenty-four white ſomereroes or umbrellaes. Theſe two laſt he may indeed claim with ſome ſhew of juſtice, for I have ſeen elephants of a light yellow colour both in Pegu and Siam, but who ought to be called their Lord is a queſtion not yet decided; and as King of the twenty-four white ſomereroes, I believe few Kings will much care to diſpute that glorious title with him, for thoſe ſomereroes are only common China umbrellaes, covered over with thin Chormondel beteellas, and their canes lackered and gilded, and becauſe his own ſubjects dare not uſe any ſuch umbrellaes, he wiſely lays his imperial commands on all other Kings to forbear wearing of them when they go abroad.

After His Majeſty has dined, there is a trumpet blown, to ſignify to all his ſlaves, as he terms other Kings, that they may go to dinner, becauſe their Lord has already dined. And when any foreign ſhips arrive at Syrian, the number of people on board, with their age and ſex, are ſent to him, to let him know that ſo many of his ſlaves are arrived to partake of the glory and happineſs of his reign and favour; and the higheſt title his own ſubjects aſſume, is the King's Firſt Slave.

The King's palaçe at Ava is very large, built of ſtone, and has four gates for its conveniencies. Ambaſſadors enter at the eaſt gate, which is called the Golden Gate, becauſe all ambaſſadors make their way to him by preſents. The ſouth gate is called the Gate of Juſtice, where all people that bring petitions, accuſations, or complaints, enter. The weſt is the Gate of Grace, where all that have received favours, or have been acquitted of crimes, paſs out in ſtate, and all condemned perſons carried out in fetters: and the north gate fronting the river, is the Gate of State, where His Majeſty paſſes through, when he thinks fit to bleſs his people with his preſence, and all his proviſions and water are carried in at that gate.

When pots of water, or baſkets of fruits, are carried through the ſtreets for the King's uſe, an officer attends them, and all the people that fortune to be near, muſt fall on their knees, and let it paſs by, as a good Catholic does when he ſees the hoſt.

When an ambaſſador is admitted to audience in the palace, he is attended with a large troop of guards, with trumpets ſounding, and heralds proclaiming the honour the ambaſſador is about to receive, in going to ſee the glory of the earth, His Majeſty's own ſweet face, and between the gate and the head of the ſtairs that lead to the chamber of audience, the ambaſſador is attended with the maſter of the ceremonies, who inſtructs him to kneel three times in his way thither, and continue ſo with his hands over his head, till a proclamation is read before he dare riſe. Some of his elephants are inſtructed to fall on their belly when the King paſſes by them.

This relation I had from one Mr. Roger Aliſon, who had been twice ambaſſador from the governor of Fort St. George, or his agents at Syrian, to the court of Ava, and though the palace is very large, yet the buildings are but mean, and the city though great and populous, is only built of bamboo canes, thatched with ſtraw or reeds, and the floors of teak-plank, or ſplit bamboos, becauſe if treaſon or other capital crimes be detected, the criminals may have no place of ſhelter, for if they do not appear on the firſt ſummons, fire will fetch them out of their combuſtible habitations.

His ſword-officers have no ſalary, nor his ſoldiers for their ſupport, but there is a province or a city given to ſome minion, who is to give ſuſtenance to ſuch a number of ſoldiers,

soldiers, and find the palace at Ava with such a quota of provisions as the providore thinks fit to appoint.

When there is a war, and parties are sent on expeditions, then the King allows them pay, clothes, arms, and provides magazines of provisions for them; but as soon as the war is at an end, then the clothes and arms are returned, by which means discipline is little known among them, and a man of a tolerable stock of courage may pass there for an hero.

The quality of an officer is known by his tobacco-pipe having an earthen or metallic head, with a socket to let in a jointed reed, that on its upper end has a mouth-piece of gold, jointed as the reed or cane is; and by the number of joints in the golden mouth-piece the quality of the officer is known, and respect paid him accordingly.

All cities and towns under this King's dominions are like aristocratical commonwealths. The prince or governor seldom sits in council, but appoints his deputy, and twelve counsellors or judges, and they sit once in ten days at least, but oftener when business calls them. They convene in a large hall, mounted about three feet high, and double benches round the floor for people to sit or kneel on, and to hear the free debates of council. The hall being built on pillars of wood, is open on all sides, and the judges set in the middle on mats, and sitting in a ring there is no place of precedence; there are no advocates to plead at the bar, but every one has the privilege to plead his own cause, or send it in writing to be read publicly, and it is determined judicially within the term of three sittings of council, but if any one questions his own eloquence, or knowledge of the laws of equity, he may empower a friend to plead for him, but there are no fees but what the town contributes for the maintenance of that court, which, in their language, is called the Rounday, and those contributions are very small. There are clerks set at the backs of the judges, ready to write down whatever the complainant and defendant has to say, and the case is determined by the prince and that council, very equitably, for if the least partiality is found awarded to either party, and the King is made acquainted with it by the deputies at court, the whole sentence is revoked, and the whole board are corrected for it, so that very few have occasion to appeal to court, which they may do if they are aggrieved; and if an appeal is made upon ill grounds, the appellant is chastised, which just rigour hinders many tedious suits that arise where there are no penalties annexed to such faults.

The judges have a particular garb of their own. Their hair being permitted to grow long, is tied on the top of their heads with cotton ribbon wrapped about it, and it stands upright in the form of a sharp pyramid. Their coat is of a thin betella, so that their skin is easily seen through it. About their loins they have a large lungee or scarf, as all other Peguers have, that reaches to their ancles, and against the navel a round bundle made of their lungee, as big as a child's head, but stockings and shoes are not used in Pegu.

The Bermaes wear the same habit, and imprint several devices in their skins, pricked with a bodkin, and powder of charcoal rubbed over the little wounds, while the blood continues wet in them, and the black marks remain ever after. The Peguers dare not paint their skins, so that the natives of each nation are easily known by the distinguishing mark of painting or plainness. There are few of their men fat, but plump, well shaped, of an olive colour, and well featured.

The women are much whiter than the men, and have generally pretty plump faces, but of small stature, yet very well shaped, their hands and feet small, and their arms and legs well proportioned. Their head-dress is their own black hair tied up behind; and when they go abroad, they wear a shawl folded up, or a piece of white cotton cloth lying loose

loose on the top of their heads. Their bodily garb is a frock of cotton cloth or silk, made meet for their bodies, and the arms of their frock stretched close on the arm; the lower part of the frock reaching half-thigh down. Under the frock they have a scarf or lungee doubled fourfold, made fast about their middle, which reaches almost to the ancle, so contrived, that at every step they make, as they walk, it opens before, and shews the right leg and part of the thigh.

This fashion of petticoats, they say, is very ancient, and was first contrived by a certain Queen of that country, who was grieved to see the men so much addicted to sodomy, that they neglected the pretty ladies. She thought that by the sight of a pretty leg and plump thigh, the men might be allured from that abominable custom, and place their affections on proper objects, and according to the ingenious Queen's conjecture, that dress of the lungee had its desired end, and now the name of sodomy is hardly known in that country.

The women are very courteous and kind to strangers, and are very fond of marrying with Europeans, and most part of the strangers who trade thither, marry a wife for the term they stay. The ceremony is, (after the parties are agreed) for the bride's parents or nearest friends or relations, to make a feast, and invite her friends and the bridegroom's, and at the end of the feast, the parent, or bride-man, asketh them both before the company, if they are content to cohabit together as man and wife, and both declaring their consent, they are declared by the parent or friend to be lawfully married: and if the bridegroom has an house, he carries her thither, but if not, they have a bed provided in the house where they are married, and are left to their own discretion how to pass away the night.

They prove obedient and obliging wives, and take the management of affairs within doors wholly in their own hands. She goes to market for food, and acts the cook in dressing his victuals, takes care of his clothes, in washing and mending them; if their husbands have any goods to sell, they set up a shop and sell them by retail, to a much better account than they could be sold for by wholesale, and some of them carry a cargo of goods to the inland towns, and barter for goods proper for the foreign markets that their husbands are bound to, and generally bring fair accounts of their negotiations. If she proves false to her husband's bed, and on fair proof convicted, her husband may carry her to the Rounday, and have her hair cut, and sold for a slave, and he may have the money; but if the husband goes astray, she will be apt to give him a gentle dose, to send him into the other world a sacrifice to her resentment.

If she proves prolific, the children cannot be carried out of the kingdom without the King's permission, but that may be purchased for 40 or 50l. sterling; and if an irreconcileable quarrel happen where there are children, the father is obliged to take care of the boys, and the mother of the girls. If a husband is content to continue the marriage, whilst he goes to foreign countries about his affairs, he must leave some fund to pay her about 6s. 8d. per month, otherwise at the year's end she may marry again; but if that sum is paid her on his account, she is obliged to stay the term of three years, and she is never the worse, but rather the better looked on, that she has been married to several European husbands.

Chap. XXXVII.—*Gives an Account of the Pegu Clergy; their Charity, &c.; their Temples, and the Reason why they are so numerous, and their Trials by Ordeal; the Fertility of the Country, and the Ceremony in burning the Corpse of an High Priest.*

THE Pegu clergy are the best observers of the rules of morality and charity that I have met with in my travels, and the people are pious and hospitable. There are vast

numbers of temples built in this country, but most of wood, because that material is plentifulest and cheapest, and takes varnish and gilding best, being gawdily painted both within and without. Every one has free liberty to build a baw or temple, and when it is finished, purchases or bestows a few acres of ground to maintain a certain number of priests and novices, who manure and cultivate the ground for their own sustenance, and in the garden the priests and novices have a convent built for their conveniency of lodgings and study, and those are their settled benefices; for they are no charge to the laity, but by their industrious labour in managing their garden, they have enough for themselves, and something to spare to the poor indigent of the laity; but if their garden is too small or sterile for the subsistence of their family, then they send some novices abroad with a large orange-coloured mantle about their bodies, with a basket hanging on their left arm, a little drum in the left hand, and a little stick in the right, and when they come to the people's doors they beat three strokes with the stick on the drum, and if none come to answer, they beat again, and so on to the third time, and then if none answer, they proceed to the next house without speaking a word; but they are seldom sent away without an alms of rice, pulse, fruits, or roots, which is their only food, and what they receive more than they have present occasion for, they distribute to the poor, for they never take care for to-morrow, living all their days in celibacy, they have none of the anxiety of thinking about provision for a widow and children. Their innocent exemplary lives procure them many free-will offerings from the well disposed laity, and what is saved after providing their convents, of eatables and clothing, returns to the maintenance of the distressed laity, who, through age, sickness, or other accidents, cannot maintain themselves by labour; but none who are able to work, partake of their charity.

They preach or lecture frequently, and have a numerous auditory. Their religion is Paganism, and their system of divinity Polytheism. They have images in all their temples or baws, of inferior gods, such as Somma Cuddom, Samsay, and Prawpout, but they cannot form an idea of the image of the great God, whose adoration is left to their tallapoies or priests.

Those tallapoies or priests, teach, that charity is the most sublime virtue, and therefore ought to be extensive enough to reach not only to the human species, but even to animals, wherefore they neither kill nor eat any, and they are so benevolent to mankind, that they cherish all alike without distinction, for the sake of religion. They hold all religions to be good that teach men to be good, and that the deities are pleased with variety of worship, but with none that is hurtful to men, because cruelty must be disagreeable to the nature of a deity: so being all agreed in that fundamental, they have but few polemicks, and no persecutions, for they say that our minds are free agents, and ought neither to be forced nor fettered.

The images in their temples are placed in domes, in a sitting posture, with their legs across, their toes all alike long, their arms and hands very small in proportion to their bodies, their faces longer than human, and their ears large, and the lappets very thick. The congregation bows to them when they come in and go out, and that is all the oblation they receive.

They never repair an old baw, nor is there any occasion for that piety or expence; for in every September there is an old custom for gentlemen of fortune to make sky-rockets, and set them a flying in the air, and if any fly any great height, that is a certain sign that the owner is in favour with the gods; but if it comes to the ground, and spends its fire without rising, the owner is much dejected, and believes that the gods are angry with him; but the happy man, whose rocket makes him in the gods favour, never fails

of

of building a new baw, and dedicates it to the god he adores; and some priests, whose temples are gone to decay, bring their images to adorn it, who have the benefice for their pains.

I have seen some of those rockets so large, that one of them could contain about five hundred weight of powder-dust and coal, which is their common composition. The carcase is the trunk of a great tree made hollow, leaving about two inches of solid wood without the cylinder, to strengthen it; the hollow they fill with the composition well rammed in, and after that is done, they make thongs of green buffaloes' hides, and haul tight round the carcase to keep it from splitting, and those thongs are put from one end to the other, in the place of hoops, and when they grow dry, they are as close on the carcase as so many hoops; then they secure the ends, that the composition may come gradually out, when fired. The carcase they place on a branch of a large high tree, which grows plentifully in their fields, and fix it in the position they would have it mount in when fired, and then they take a large bamboo for a tail to balance it. Some I have seen above 120 feet long. When the tail is made fast according to art, then the day of solemnity is proclaimed, and great numbers of people of all ranks, degrees and ages, assemble to see the rocket fly. When all are convened, the lashings that fastened it to the tree, are cut, except so many as can support it from falling, and there are men with hatchets ready to cut them when the fire is put to it, which is done by the owner, and then the rocket takes flight, and some fly a prodigious height, others come to the ground, and fly five or six hundred paces in an irregular motion, wounding or scorching all that comes in its way. The consequences of the high flier and the low, I have described at length above.

A little while after the rockets flying they have another feast, called the *collock, and some women are chosen out of the people assembled, to dance a dance to the gods of the earth. Hermaphrodites, who are numerous in this country, are generally chosen, if there are enough present to make a set for the dance. I saw nine dance like mad folks, for above half an hour, and then some of them fell in fits, foaming at the mouth for the space of half an hour, and, when their senses are restored, they pretend to foretel plenty or scarcity of corn for that year, if the year will prove sickly or salutary to the people, and several other things of moment, and all by that half hour's conversation that the furious dancer had with the gods while she was in a trance.

They have various sorts of music, but the pipe and tabor are esteemed the best, though their stringed instruments pleased my ears best. They have one sort in the shape of a galley, with about twenty bells of several sizes and sounds, placed fast on the upper part, as it lies along. The instrument is about three feet long, and eight or ten inches broad, and six inches deep. They beat those bells with a stick made of heavy wood, and they make no bad music.

There are two large temples near Syrian, so like one another in structure, that they seem to be built by one model. One stands about six miles to the southward, called Kiakiack, or, the God of Gods' Temple. In it is an image of twenty yards long, lying in a sleeping posture, and, by their tradition, has lain in that posture 6000 years. His doors and windows are always open, and every one has the liberty to see him; and when he awakes, this world is to be annihilated. The temple stands on an high champaign ground, and may easily be seen, in a clear day, eight leagues off. The other stands in a low plain, north of Syrian, about the same distance, called Dagun. His doors and windows are always shut, and none enters his temple but his priests, and they will not tell what shape he is of, only he is not of human shape. As soon as Kiakiack dissolves the being and frame of the world, Dagon or Dagun will gather up the

fragments,

fragments, and make a new one. There are yearly fairs held near thofe temples, and the free-will offerings arifing at thofe fairs, are for the ufe of the temples.

For finding out fecret murder, theft, or perjury, the trial of ordeal is much in cuftom in Pegu. One way is to make the accufer and the accufed take fome raw rice in their mouths, and chew and fwallow it; but he that is guilty of the crime alledged, or of falfe accufation, cannot fwallow his morfel, but the innocent chews and fwallows his eafily.

Another way they have by driving a ftake of wood into a river, and making the accufer and accufed take hold of the ftake, and keep their heads and bodies under water, and he who ftays longeft under water, is the perfon to be credited, and whofoever is convicted by this trial, either for the crime alledged, or for malicious flander, by accufation, muft lay on his back three days and nights, with his neck in a pair of ftocks, without meat or drink, and fined to boot. They have alfo the cuftom of dipping the naked hand in boiling oil, or liquid lead, to clear them from atrocious crimes, if accufed, and if the accufer fcalds himfelf in the trial, he muft undergo the punifhment due to the crime, which makes people very cautious how they calumniate one another; and if any one afperfe a woman with the name of whore, and cannot prove the afperfion to be true, they are fined feverely.

The country is fruitful and healthful, and the air fo good, that when ftrangers come hither in a bad ftate of health, they feldom fail of a fpeedy recovery; but the fmall pox is dreaded as peftiferous, and in the province of Kirian that diftemper is moft dangerous and moft infectious; fo that if any one is feized by that difeafe, all the neighbourhood removes to two or three miles diftance, and builds new houfes, which are eafily done with bamboos and reeds, which they have in great plenty. They leave with the difeafed perfon a jar of water, a bafket of raw rice, and fome earthen pots to boil it in, then they bid him farewel for twenty-one days. If the patient has ftrength enough to rife and boil rice, he may then recover, if not, he muft even die alone. And it is obfervable, that, while a perfon has that diftemper, the tiger, for all his voracioufnefs, will not touch him. If the patient dies within the term of twenty-one days, then the fmell certifies them on their approaching the houfe, and if he live, they carry him to their new built city, and make him a free burgefs.

I faw the ceremony of an high prieft's funeral, and was not a little pleafed with the folemnity. After the corpfe had been kept three or four months by fpirits or gums from putrefaction, there was a great maft fixed in the ground, fo faft, that it could be moved no way from its perpendicular pofition. Then, about fifty or fixty yards on each fide of that maft, four fmaller mafts were placed, and fixed perpendicularly in the ground. Around the great maft, in the middle, were erected three fcaffolds above one another, and the lowermoft bigger than the fecond, and the third fmaller than that, fo that it looked like a pyramid four ftories high. The fcaffolds were railed in on each fide, except an open place of three or four feet wide on each fide. All the fcaffolds, and the ground below them, were filled with combuftibles. From the maft in the middle four ropes were carried to the other four mafts, and hauled tight, and a fire-rocket on each rope was placed at the refpective fmall mafts. Then the corpfe was carried to the upper ftory of the pyramid, and laid flat on the fcaffold, and, after a great fhow of forrow among the people there prefent, a trumpet was founded, which was a fignal to fet fire to the rockets, which in an inftant, flew with a quick motion along the ropes, and fet fire to the combuftibles, and in a moment they were all in a flame, fo that in an hour or two all was confumed.

This high prieft was held in fo great veneration, that he was reckoned a faint among the people. He was in great efteem with the King, and when any nobleman fell into difgrace,

disgrace, he used his interest with the King to have him restored again to favour, unless they were guilty of atrocious crimes, and, in that case, he used his endeavours to have the rigour of the punishment extenuated.

All the Pegu clergy are mediators in making up cases of debate and contention that happen among neighbours. They never leave mediating till there be a reconciliation, and, in token of friendship, according to an ancient custom there, they eat champock from one another's hand, and that seals the friendship. This champock is tea of a very unsavoury taste; it grows, as other tea does, on bushes, and is in use on such occasions all over Pegu.

And now, since I must leave Pegu, I must not omit giving the clergy their due praises in another particular practice of their charity. If a stranger has the misfortune to be shipwrecked on their coast, by the laws of the country, the men are the King's slaves, but by the mediation of the church, the governors overlook that law; and when the unfortunate strangers come to their baws, they find a great deal of hospitality, both in food and raiment, and have letters of recommendation from the priests of one convent to those of another on the road they design to travel, where they may expect vessels to transport them to Syrian, and if any be sick or maimed, the priests, who are the Peguer's chief physicians, keep them in their convent, till they are cured, and then furnish them with letters, as is above observed, for they never enquire which way a stranger worships God, but if he is human, he is the object of their charity.

There are some Christians in Syrian of the Portugueze offspring, and some Armenians. The Portugueze have a church, but the scandalous lives of the priests and people, make them contemptible to all people in general.

I have only to add to my observations of Pegu, that, in former times, Martavan was one of the most flourishing towns for trade in the east, having the benefit of a noble river, which afforded a good harbour for ships of the greatest burden; but, after the Barmaes conquered it, they sunk a number of vessels full of stones, in the mouth of the river, so that now it is unnavigable, except for small vessels. They make earthenware there still, and glaze them with lead-ore. I have seen some jars made there, that could contain two hogsheads of liquor. They have also still a small trade in fish. Their mullet dried is the best dry fish I ever tasted, either in India or Europe

The islands off the coast of Pegu, are the Cocoes, uninhabited, but full of cocoa-nut trees. They lie about 20 leagues west-south-west from Cape Negrais: and the islands Perperies lie 36 leagues south of the said cape. They are high islands uninhabited, and so environed with rocks under water, that there is danger in landing on them. They seem to be overgrown with woods, and that is all that I could observe of them. There is another small island called Commoda, that lies about 10 leagues off the coast of Pegu, but is not inhabited.

CHAP. XXXVIII. — *Treats of Merjee and Tanacerin, and of the Sea-coast in the King of Siam's Dominions, of the Massacre there of the English in Anno 1687, also of Quedah, and the other maritime Countries and Islands as far as Malacca.*

THE next place on the continent, to the southward, is Merjee, a town belonging to the King of Siam, situated on the banks of the river of Tanacerin, lying within a great number of small uninhabited islands. The harbour is safe, and the country produces rice, timber for building, tin, elephants, elephants' teeth, and Agala wood. In former times a good number of English free merchants were settled at Merjee, and drove a good

good trade, living under a mild indulgent government; but the old East India Company envying their happiness, by an arbitrary command, ordered them to leave their industry, and repair to Fort St. George, to serve them, and threatened the King of Siam with a sea war, if he did not deliver those English up, or force them out of his country, and, in anno 1687, sent one Captain Weldon in a small ship, called the Curtany, to Merjee with that message. He behaved himself very insolently to the government, and killed some Siamers, without any just cause. One night when Weldon was ashore, the Siamers thinking to do themselves justice on him, got a company together, designing to seize or kill the aggressor, but Weldon having notice of their design, made his escape on board his ship, and the Siamers missing him, though very narrowly, vented their rage and revenge on all the English they could find. The poor victims being only guarded by their innocence, did not so much as arm themselves, to withstand the fury of the enraged mob, so that seventy-six were massacred, and hardly twenty escaped on board of the Curtany; so there was the tragical consequence of one man's insolence.

Before that fatal time, the English were so beloved and favoured at the court of Siam, that they had places of trust conferred upon them, both in the civil and military branches of the government. Mr. Samuel White was made shawbandaar or custom-master at Merjee and Tanacerin, and Captain Williams was admiral of the King's navy; but the troublesome company, and a great revolution that happened in the state of Siam, made some repair to Fort St. George, others to Bengal, and some to Atcheen.

The islands opposite to the coast of Tanacerin, are the Andemans. They lie about 80 leagues off, and are surrounded with many dangerous banks and rocks; they are all inhabited with cannibals, who are so fearless, that they will swim off to a boat if she approach near the shore, and attack her with their wooden weapons, notwithstanding the superiority of numbers in the boat, and the advantage of missive and defensive arms of iron, steel, and fire.

I knew one Fergusson, who commanded a ship from Fort St. George, bound from Malacca to Bengal, in company with another ship, going too near one of the Andeman islands, was driven, by the force of a strong current, on some rocks, and the ship was lost. The other ship was driven through a channel between two of the same islands, and was not able to assist the shipwrecked men, but neither Fergusson nor any of his people were ever more heard of, which gave ground to conjecture that they were all devoured by those savage cannibals.

I saw one of the natives of those islands at Atcheen, in anno 1694. He was then about 40 years of age. The Andemaners had a yearly custom to come to the Nicobar islands, with a great number of small praws, and kill or take prisoners as many of the poor Nicobareans as they could overcome. The Nicobareans again joined their forces, and gave the cannibals battle, when they met with them, and one time defeated them, and gave no quarter to the Andemaners. This man above-mentioned, when a boy of 10 or 12 years of age, accompanied his father in the wars, and was taken prisoner, and his youth recommending him to mercy, they saved his life, and made him a slave. After he had continued so three or four years, he was carried to Atcheen to be sold for cloth, knives, and tobacco, which are the commodities most wanting on the Nicobars. The Atcheeners being Mahometans, this boy's patron bred him up in that religion, and some years after, his master dying, gave him his freedom; he having a great desire to see his native country, took a praw, and the months of December, January, and February, being fair weather, and the sea smooth, he ventured to the sea, in order to go to his own country, from the islands of Gomus and Pullo-wey, which lie near Atcheen. Here the southermost of the Nicobars may be seen, and so one island may be seen from another, from the

southermost

ſouther-moſt of thoſe to Chitty-andeman, which is the ſouther-moſt of the Andemans, which are diſtant from Atcheen about an hundred leagues. Arriving among his relations he was made welcome, with great demonſtrations of joy to ſee him alive, whom they expected to have been long dead.

Having retained his native language, he gave them an account of his adventures; and, as the Andemaners have no notions of a deity, he acquainted them with the knowledge he had of a God, and would have perſuaded his countrymen to learn of him the way to adore God, and to obey his laws, but he could make no converts. When he had ſtaid a month or two, he took leave to be gone again, which they permitted, on condition that he would return. He brought along with him four or five hundred weight of quickſilver, and he ſaid, that ſome of the Andeman iſlands abound in that commodity. He had made ſeveral trips thither before I ſaw him, and always brought ſome quickſilver along with him. Some Mahometan fakires would fain have accompanied him in his voyages, but he would never ſuffer them, becauſe he ſaid, he could not engage for their ſafety among his countrymen. When I ſaw him he was in company with a Seid, whom I carried a paſſenger to Surat, and from him I had this account of his adventures.

The next place of any commerce on this coaſt, is the iſland of Jonkceyloan; it lies in the dominions of the King of Siam. Between Merjee and Jonkceyloan there are ſeveral good harbours for ſhipping, but the ſea-coaſt is very thin of inhabitants, becauſe there are great numbers of freebooters, called ſalleiters, who inhabit iſlands along the ſea-coaſt, and they both rob, and take people for ſlaves, and tranſport them for Atcheen, and there make ſale of them, and Jonkceyloan often feels the weight of their depredations.

The north end of Jonkceyloan lies within a mile of the continent, but the ſouth end is above three leagues from it. Between the iſland and the continent is a good harbour for ſhipping in the ſouth-weſt monſoons, and on the weſt ſide of the iſland Puton bay is a ſafe harbour in the north-eaſt winds. The iſlands afford good maſts for ſhipping, and abundance of tin, but few people to dig for it, by reaſon of the afore-mentioned outlaws, and the governors being generally Chineſe, who buy their places at the court of Siam, and, to reimburſe themſelves, oppreſs the people, in ſo much that riches would be but a plague to them, and their poverty makes them live an eaſy indolent life.

Yet the villages on the continent drive a ſmall trade with ſhipping that come from the Choromondel coaſt and Bengal, but both the buyer and ſeller trade by retail, ſo that a ſhip's cargo is a long time in ſelling, and the product of the country is as long in purchaſing.

The iſlands off this part of the coaſt are the Nicobars, and are about 90 leagues diſtant from the continent. The northmoſt cluſter is low, and are called the Carnicubars, and by their vicinity to the Andemans, are but thinly inhabited. The middle cluſter is fine champaign ground, and all but one, well inhabited. They are called the Somerera iſlands, becauſe on the ſouth end of the largeſt iſland, is an hill that reſembles the top of an umbrella or ſomerera. About ſix leagues to the ſouthward of Somerera iſland, lies Tallang-jang, the uninhabited iſland, where one Captain Owen loſt his ſhip in anno 1708, but the men were all ſaved, and finding no inhabitants, they made fires in the night, and next day there came five or ſix canoes from Ning and Goury, two fine iſlands that lie about four leagues to the weſtward of the deſert iſland, and very courteouſly carried the ſhipwrecked men to their iſlands of Ning and Goury, with what little things they had ſaved of their apparel and other neceſſaries.

The [illegible] had ſaved a broken knife about four inches long in the blade, and he having [illegible] careleſly by, one of the natives made bold to take it, but did not offer to hide

hide it. The captain ſeeing his knife in the poor native's hand, took it from him, and beſtowed ſome kicks and blows on him for his ill manners, which was very ill taken, for all in general ſhewed they were diſſatisfied with the action; and the ſhipwrecked men could obſerve contentions ariſing between thoſe who were their benefactors in bringing them to their iſland, and others who were not concerned in it: however, next day as the captain was ſitting under a tree at dinner, there came about a dozen of natives towards him, and ſaluted him on every ſide with a ſhower of darts made of heavy hard wood, with their points hardened in the fire, and ſo he expired in a moment. How far they had a mind to purſue their reſentment, I know not, but their benefactors kept guard about their houſe till next day, and then preſented them with two canoes, and fitted them with out-leagers to keep them from overturning, and put ſome water in pots, ſome cocoa-nuts and dry-fiſh, and pointed to them to be immediately gone, which they did. Being ſixteen in company, they divided equally, and ſteered their courſe for Jonkceyloan, but in the way one of the boats loſt her out-leager, and drowned all her crew, the reſt arrived ſafe, and I carried them afterwards to Matchulipatam.

Ning and Goury are two fine ſmooth iſlands, well inhabited, and plentifully furniſhed with ſeveral ſorts of good fiſh, hogs, and poultry, but they have no horſes, cows, ſheep, nor goats, nor wild beaſts of any ſort, but monkeys. They have no rice nor pulſe, ſo that the kernel of cocoa-nuts, yams, and potatoes, ſerves them for bread.

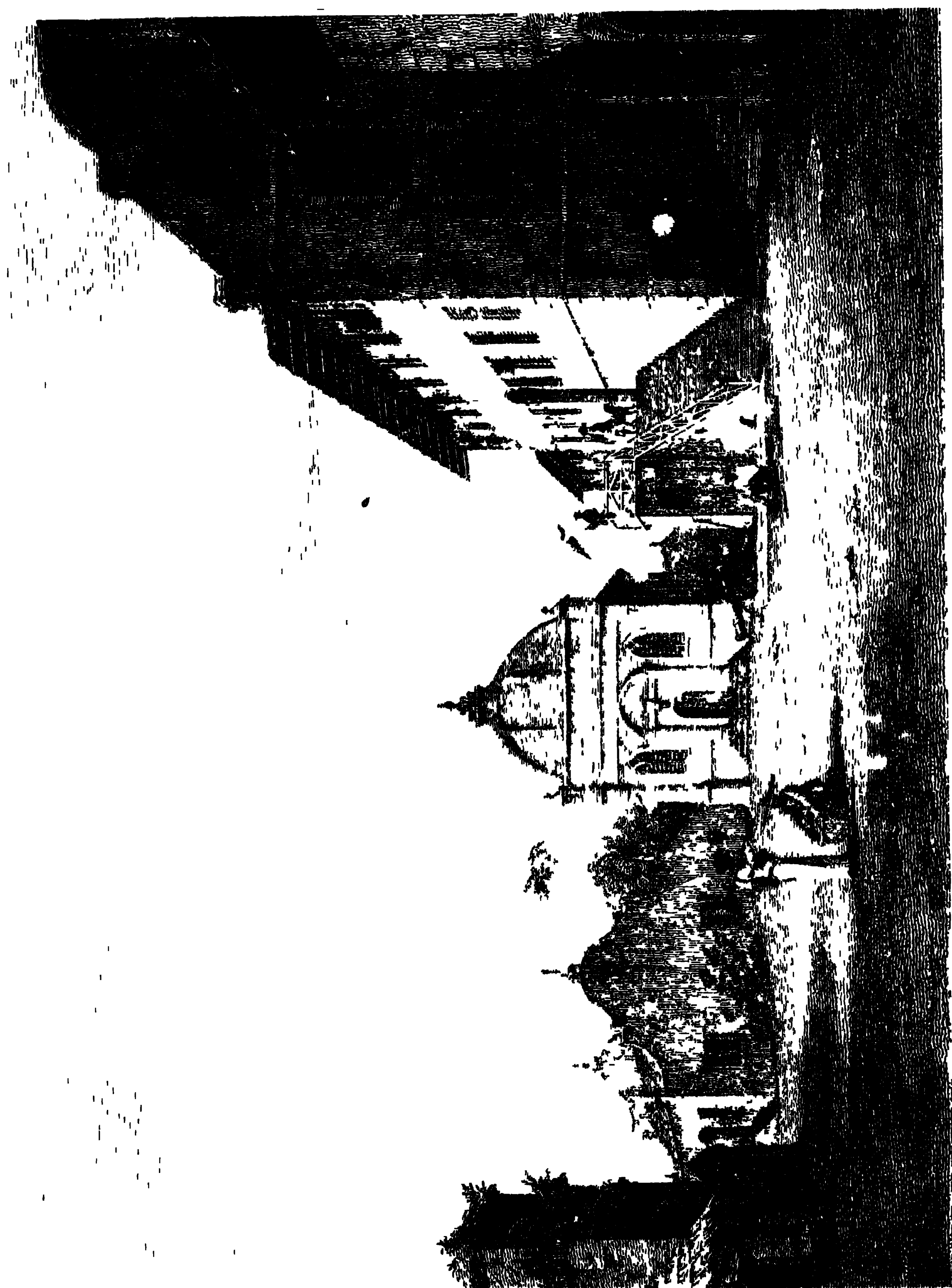
Along the north end of the eaſtmoſt of the two iſlands, are good ſoundings from ten to eight fathoms, ſand, about two miles off the ſhore. The people come thronging on board in their canoes, and bring hogs, fowl, cocks, fiſh, fleſh, ſalted and dried yams, the beſt I ever taſted, potatoes, parrots, and monkeys, to barter for old hatchets, ſword-blades, and thick pieces of iron-hoops, to make defenſive weapons againſt their common diſturbers and implacable enemies the Andemaners; and tobacco they are very greedy of; for a leaf of tobacco, if pretty large, they will give a cock; for three feet of an iron hoop, a large hog, and for one foot in length, a pig. They all ſpeak a little broken Portugueze, but what religious worſhip they uſe, I could not learn.

The iſland Somerera lies about eight leagues to the northward of Ning and Goury, and is well inhabited by the number of villages that ſhew themſelves as we ſail along its ſhores. The people, like thoſe of Ning and Goury, are very courteous, and bring the product of their iſland aboard of ſhips to exchange for the aforementioned commodities. Silver nor gold they neither have nor care for, ſo the root of all evil can never ſend out branches of miſery, or bear fruit to poiſon their happineſs. The mens' clothing is a bit of ſtring round their middle, and about a foot and an half of cloth ſix inches broad, tucked before and behind within that line. The women have a petticoat from the navel to the knee, and their hair cloſe ſhaved; but the men have the hair left on the upper part of the head, and below the crown, but cut ſo ſhort that it hardly comes to their ears.

The ſouthward cluſter of the Nicobars is mountainous, and the people partake of its unpoliſhed nature, being more uncivil and ſurly than thoſe to the northward. Their iſlands produce the ſame neceſſaries as the others do.

Quedah is the next place of note on the continent to the ſouthward, and is honoured with the title of a kingdom, though both ſmall and poor. The town, which bears the ſame name, ſtands on the banks of a ſmall navigable river, deep, but narrow, about 50 miles from the ſea, and the King reſides in it, but ſhews no marks of grandeur, beſides arbitrary governing.

Their religion is Mahometan, much mixed with Paganiſm. The people are deceitful, covetous, and cruel. It was many years tributary to Siam, but in their long Pegu war,



it threw off the yoke. Its product is tin, pepper, elephants, and elephants teeth, canes, and damar, a gum that is uſed for making pitch and tar for the uſe of [illegible] King is poor, proud, and beggarly, he never fails of viſiting ſtranger merchants at their coming to his port, and then, according to cuſtom, he muſt have a preſent. When the ſtranger returns the viſit, or has any buſineſs with him, he muſt make him a preſent, otherwiſe he thinks due reſpect is not paid to him, and in return of theſe preſents, His Majeſty will honour the ſtranger with a ſeat near his ſacred perſon, and will chew a little betel, and put it out of his royal mouth on a little gold ſaucer, and ſends it by his page to the ſtranger, who muſt take it with all the ſigns of humility and ſatisfaction, and chew it after him and it is very dangerous to refuſe the royal morſel.

Some ages ago, Ligore was a kingdom of itſelf, and the Kings of Quedah and Ligore fell at variance. He of Quedah invaded the territories of Ligore, and left his Queen and his ſon, an hopeful youth about twenty years of age, to govern in his abſence. The mother and ſon grew enamoured of each other, and ſhe found herſelf with child by the reciprocal eſteem they bore one another. She being juſtly afraid of the King's reſentment on his return laid the danger before her ſon that threatened them both, and adviſed the dutiful child to prevent their death by killing his father. Whereupon, he wrote to the King for leave to give him a viſit at the camp, which favour he obtained, and proceeded accordingly to the place where his father was with his army. At his arrival he was received by all with great demonſtrations of joy, particularly by his father, who made him lodge in his own tent. The villain let his father fall aſleep, and then ſtabbed him to the heart, and immediately left the army, and haſtened to his loving mother, to give her an account of his [illegible]. In the morning the King being found dead, and the ſon gone, the regicide was ſoon known, and becauſe the Queen ſhould not continue long a widow, the obedient child married her himſelf, becauſe none in the country had royal blood in their veins but himſelf, and ſhe could not ſtoop to match below the dignity of a ſovereign prince. Such libidinous marriages are very frequent in this country to this preſent time.

Perah is the next country to Quedah. It is properly a part of the kingdom of Johore, but the people are untractable and rebellious, and the government anarchical. Their religion is heterodox Mahometiſm. The country produces more tin than any in India, but the inhabitants are ſo treacherous, faithleſs, and bloody that no European nation can keep factories there with ſafety. The Dutch tried it once, and the firſt year had their factory cut off. They then ſettled on Pullodingding, an iſland at the mouth of the river Perah, but about the year 1690, that factory was alſo cut off, and I never heard that any body elſe ever attempted to ſettle there ſince.

There are ſeveral other places along that coaſt of Malaya, that produce great quantities of tin, but Salangore and Parlalore are the moſt noted. They are little frequented by Europeans, becauſe they have too many of the Perah qualities to be truſted with honeſt men's lives and money. Their religion is alſo a ſort of [illegible] Mahometiſm.

Chap. XXXIX.—*Gives an Account of Malacca, how the Portugueze got footing there, and fortified it, and how the Dutch [illegible] the Portugueze, and made it a Colony of theirs, with ſome Occurrences happening to the Scots Company's Affairs there, and other Places in India.*

MALACCA is the next place in courſe along this coaſt of Malaya. Before the Portugueze came to India, it had been the place of reſidence of the King of Johore, but

but they denying the Portugueze commerce in their country, associated themselves with the King of Aarow, (a potent prince in those times), on the island of Sumatra, who was engaged in a war with the King of Johore, and with their joint forces obliged him to quit that place, and retire to Johore-lami, which lies at the very point of that promontory, within one degree of the equator. There is a noble spacious river that accommodates Johore-lami.

As soon as the King of Johore was gone, the Portugueze began to fortify, and encompassed a little hill with a stone wall, about a mile round, in which they built a city, and called it Malacca, and by the conveniency of its situation, in a few years it became the greatest mart in India; however, the King of Johore was fain to make a peace with the Portugueze, allowing them their fort, and as much ground round it as their cannon could fling a shot, and so they became friends; but the King of Johore invaded the King of Aarow's dominions, with a numerous fleet of gallies, and in a short time forced him to crave aid from the Portugueze, who never used to deceive their allies but when they trusted to them, so the King of Aarow lost his country.

Malacca, a place of small account, in a short time became famous all over India and Europe, lying almost in the center of trade, brought thither by shipping from the rich kingdoms of Japon, China, Formosa, Luconia, Tonquin, Couchin-china, Cambodia, and Siam, besides what Johore produced, and Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Macasser, Banda, Amboina, and Ternate islands, that produce many valuable commodities.

As the Portugueze grew great and rich, they grew also insolent, and so continued abusing and affronting their neighbours till about the year 1660, the Dutch had a war with Portugal, on account of some losses the Dutch sustained in Brazil.

The Dutch sent many ships and good forces to India, to be equal with the Portugueze, for their driving the Dutch out of Brazil, and how their arms flourished on the coasts of Malabar and Zeloan, I have observed already in my first volume, and so I begin again at Malacca.

The Dutch coming into the streights of Malacca from Batavia, with a strong fleet and a land-army on board of it, struck up an alliance with the King of Johore, offensive and defensive, as long as the sun and moon gave light to the world, for I saw the treaty, and heard it read, with those expressions in it; on which the King of Johore assisted the Dutch with 20,000 men, and laid siege to the fort by land, while the Dutch distressed it by sea, and yet for all that the fleet and army could do, they could not have taken it by force, but by reducing them by famine, which would have taken up a great deal of time, so what they could not effect by force, they did by fraud.

They heard that the Portugueze governor was a sordid avaricious fellow, and ill beloved by the garrison, so the Dutch, by secret conveyances, tampered with him by letters, promising him mountains of gold if he would contribute towards their gaining the fort. At length the price was set at [illegible] pieces of eight, to be the reward of his treachery, and to be safely transported to Batavia in their fleet, and to be made a free denizen there; so he sent word to the Dutch to make an attack on the east-side of the fort, and he would direct his garrison, which was accordingly done.

He then called a council, and told them he had a mind to circumvent the Dutch, by letting them come close to the fort walls, and then to fire briskly on them from all quarters, and destroy them at once, so the Dutch made their approaches without molestation, and placed their ladders. The garrison sent message after message to acquaint the governor of the danger they were in, for want of orders to fire and sally out on the Dutch, as was agreed on at council, but he delayed so long till the Dutch got into the fort, and drove the guard from the east gate, which they soon opened to receive the rest

 of

of the army, who, as ſoon as they were entered, gave quarters to none that were in arms, and marching towards the governor's houſe, where he thought himſelf ſecure by the treaty, they forthwith diſpatched him to ſave the fourſcore thouſand dollars.

The maſter-gunner being poſted on a large baſtion, whoſe walls are waſhed by the ſea at high-water, with about 100 Portugueze along with him, would by no means yield till he had capitulated with the Dutch for fair quarter for himſelf and his company, which the Dutch would not adhere to, ſo that for two days he gallantly maintained his poſt. At laſt, by continual fatigue, and loſs of his men, he was obliged to yield to fate, and great ſuperiority of numbers, and died like an hero, with his ſword in his hand; and there is a common report at Malacca ſtill, that the night after the anniverſary day of his death, his genius is ſeen on that baſtion; and I was informed by a Dutch governor at Malacca, that on that night no ſentinels are ſet there, for that ſeveral have found the effects of his fury, by being thrown over the wall, and have been either killed or maimed by the fall.

The Portugueze, to ſhew their zeal for religion, while they were maſters of Malacca, had no leſs than three churches and a chapel within the fort, and one without, but now there is but one church and a chapel within, and none without. That which the Dutch now uſe for their worſhip, ſtands conſpicuous on the top of the hill, and may be ſeen up or down the Streights at a good diſtance, and a flag-ſtaff is placed on the ſteeple, on which a flag is hoiſted on the ſight of any ſhip.

The fort is both large and ſtrong, the ſea waſhing the walls of one third part of it, and a deep, rapid, but narrow river, the weſt-ſide of it, and a broad deep ditch the reſt of it. The governor's houſe is both beautiful and convenient, and there are ſeveral other good houſes in the fort, and in the town without the fort, but the road for ſhipping is at too great a diſtance to be defended by the fort, the ſhallowneſs of the ſea obliging them to lie above a league off, which is a very great inconveniency. For in 170[illegible], the French coming into the Streights with a ſquadron of three or four ſail, ſeeing a large ſhip in the road, newly arrived from Japon, ſtood into the road, and had certainly carried her out, if the wind had not failed them about muſket ſhot from her.

At Malacca, the Streights are not above four leagues broad; for though the oppoſite ſhore on Sumatra is very low, yet it may eaſily be ſeen in a clear day, which is the reaſon that the ſea is always as ſmooth as a mill-pond, except when it is ruffled with ſqualls of wind, which ſeldom come without lightnings, thunder, and rain: and though they come with great violence, yet they are ſoon over, not often exceeding an hour.

The country produces nothing for a foreign market, but a little tin and elephants teeth, but ſeveral excellent fruits and roots for the uſe of the inhabitants, and ſtrangers who call there for refreſhments. The Malacca pine-apple is accounted the beſt in the world, for in other parts, if they are eaten to a ſmall exceſs, they are apt to give ſurfeits, but thoſe of Malacca never offend the ſtomach. The mangoſtane is a delicious fruit, almoſt in the ſhape of an apple, the ſkin is thick and red, being dried it is a good aſtringent. The kernels (if I may ſo call them) are like cloves of garlic, of a very agreeable taſte, but very cold. The ramboſtan is a fruit about the bigneſs of a walnut, with a tough ſkin, beſet with capillaments, within the ſkin is a very ſavoury pulp. The durean is another excellent fruit, but offenſive to ſome people's noſes, for it ſmells very like human excrements, but when once taſted, the ſmell vaniſhes. The ſkin is thick and yellow, and within is a pulp like thick cream in colour and conſiſtence, but more delicious in taſte. The pulp or meat is very hot and nouriſhing, and inſtead of ſurfeiting they fortify the ſtomach, and are a great incentive to wantonneſs. They have cocoa-nuts in plenty, and ſome grow in marſhes that are overflown with the ſea in ſpring-tides.

Their liquor and kernel partake of the qualities of the ground they grow in, being exceeding ſalt. [illegible] cocoa-nuts grow in ſalt grounds but there, and ſome are ſo large [illegible] will hold more than an Engliſh [illegible] plenty of lemons, [illegible] limes, ſugar-canes, and mangoes. [illegible] mango, called [illegible] ſtinker, which is very offenſive [illegible] and conſequently [illegible] little uſe. There is little corn or pulſe [illegible] but what is nouriſhed in gardens.

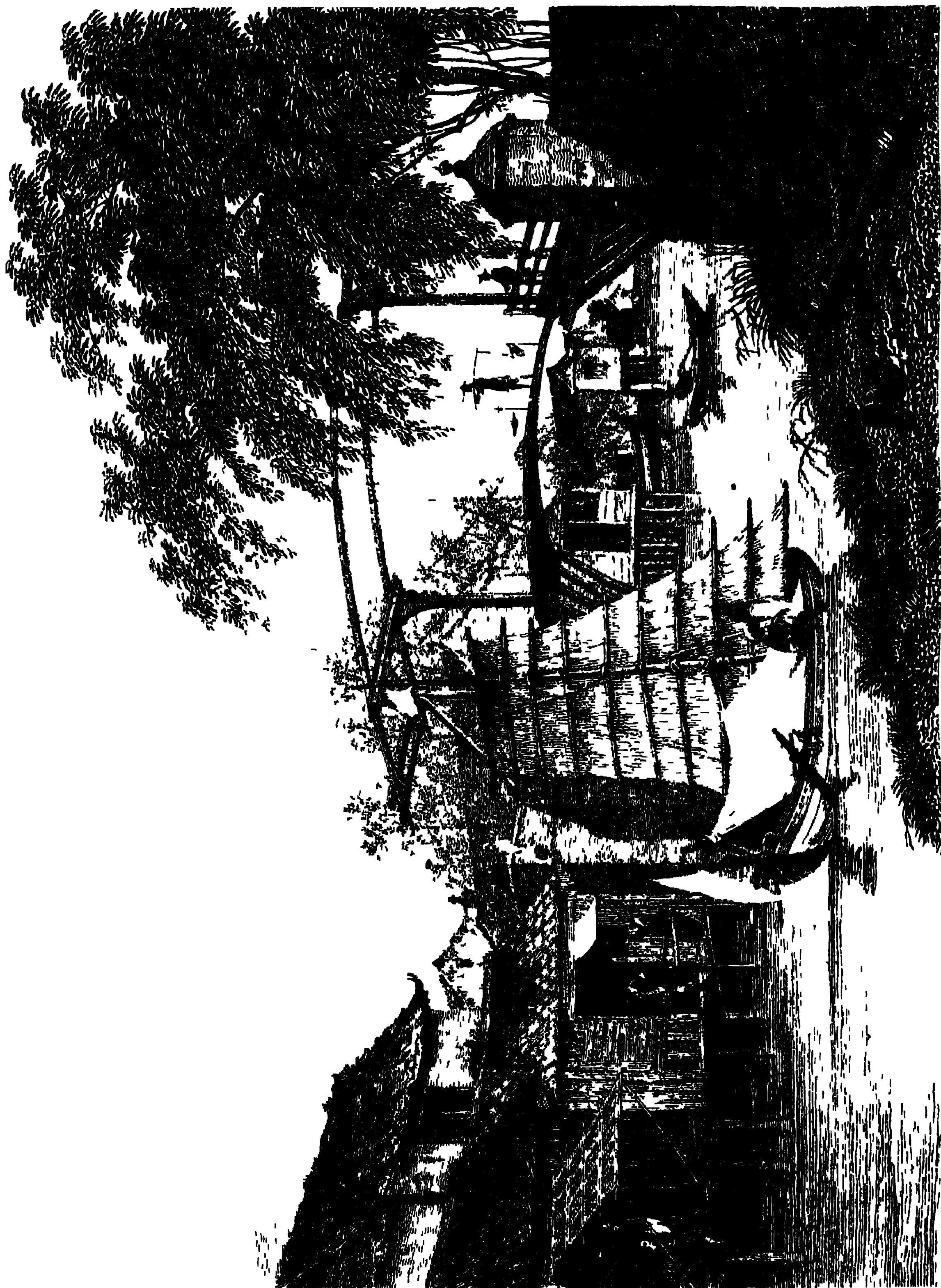
Sheep and bullocks are ſcarce and dear, but ſwine's fleſh, poultry [illegible] pretty plentiful, and reaſonably cheap, conſidering it is a Dutch colony, whoſe [illegible] make every thing dear, and diſcourage the poor from improving, ſince poverty [illegible] them from farther oppreſſion. Their corn comes all from Java, Siam, or Cambodia, but the freight makes it come out dear to what it is in other places, whoſe native ground produces it.

I will paſs by their court of juſtice, becauſe it hardly deſerves the name, ſince ſtrangers are excluded from the common laws of humanity, wherein I am able to give many inſtances, but I voluntarily paſs by particularities till another time.

There is a very high mountain to the north-eaſtward of Malacca, that ſends forth ſeveral rivers, of which that of Malacca is one and all of them have ſmall quantities of gold duſt found in their channels. The inland inhabitants called Monacaboes, are a barbarous ſavage people, whoſe greateſt pleaſure is in doing miſchief to their neighbours, which is the greateſt reaſon why the peaſants about Malacca ſow no grain but what is incloſed in gardens with thick ſet prickly hedges, or deep ditches; for when their grain is ripe in the open plains, the Monacaboes never fail of putting fire to it, in order to conſume it. They are much whiter than their neighbouring Malayas who inhabit the low grounds, and the Kings of Johore, whoſe ſubjects they are, or at leaſt ought to be, could never civilize them.

Their religion is a complex of Mahometiſm and Paganiſm, and they have the character of great ſorcerers, who by their ſpells can tame wild tigers, and make them carry them whither they order them, on their backs. Once they had a mind to try their art on the town of Malacca, but were unſucceſsful in their enterprize, according to common report there. For one of their chief wizards aſſured them that neither gun, ſword, nor lance, ſhould have power to hurt them, if they ſhould attempt the town, whoſe defence conſiſts only in a ſlight gate, with a little round baſtion, with five or ſix great guns mounted on it. So on the opinion of their doctors' art, a great number drew together, and being armed with lance and croſs, their common weapons, marched without order or fear towards the gate. When they came near enough, the gunner of the baſtion pointed ſome guns, and ſet fire to the priming, but that flaſhed, and the guns would not diſcharge, which diſcouraged the guard at the gate, but a Malaya ſoldier, who underſtood ſome of the Monacaboes art, called for a piece of pork, with which he beſmeared the mouths of the cannon, while the gunner renewed the priming, and fire being put to them, the cannon went off, and did good execution, which ſo frightened the Monacaboes, that they betook themſelves to flight, and never attempted to diſturb the town ſince.

I ſaw ſtrange cures performed by a Malaya doctor at Malacca. One of them was on a gentleman of my acquaintance, who was ſecond ſupercargo of a Scots ſhip called the Speedwell, which was loſt near Malacca. After the ſhip was loſt, the firſt ſupercargo took an houſe near the town, by the ſea-ſide, to put their cargo and ſtores in that were ſaved, but eleven cheſts of treaſure and ſome fine goods were lodged in one of the Dutch Company's warehouſes in the fort, which had three locks on its door. The governor had



had one key, and each of the supercargoes one. A common strumpet, called Mrs. Kennedy, who at that time was married to an Irish pirate of that name, and kept an ordinary in Malacca, gave the first supercargo a philtre that made him doat on her almost to distraction. He was never easy out of her company while awake, and in his sleep he called her by name. When she had got him so far in the noose, she pretended she had great need of money, and would fain have borrowed a chest of one thousand pounds sterling of the Scots Company's money. The bewitched supercargo could deny her nothing she asked for, and promised, that if he could bring his second to consent, she should have it, but that consent could be got on no terms, though the first proffered to be accountable to their masters for that sum, and he acquainting her with the impossibility of getting that consent, she contrived a way to remove the second by poison, and going to a female friend of hers, who was well acquainted with the mystery of poisoning, procured a dose so small, that she could drop it in his broth or drink without his perceiving it, and accordingly, she took an opportunity to dine with them one day when they had broth at table, and in serving the broth about, she dropped it among hi[illegible]. The same night it began to operate by gripings and sweating, and he being bred a surgeon, took some medicines to correct the gripings, which in some measure the medicine did, but he lost his appetite, and his excrements came from him as black as ink. In the interim a ship arrived from Surat, bound to China, wherein the chief supercargo was obliged to embark with the Company's stock, and left the second at Malacca, to take care of what was left there. A few days after the Surat ship sailed, I arrived at Malacca, and found the second supercargo in a deplorable condition.

He told me, all his bowels [illegible], began to fear poison, and sent for the Dutch doctor and physicians to consult him, who, on sight of his excrements, told him plainly that he was poisoned, and advised him to send for a noted Malaya doctor, who lived at a place called Bet[illegible]ngra, about four miles to the north-west of Malacca, which he forthwith did, and when the doctor came, he felt his pulse, and immediately told that he was poisoned, and that if he could not tell what poison he had taken, his cure was very desperate and uncertain. I advised my friend to let old Beelzebub (for he was a man, or walking shadow, of a dismal aspect, near an hundred years old) take him into his care. My friend took my advice, and complimented the doctor with five Japon cupangs, or fifty Dutch dollars. Old Æsculapius laughed when he received the present, but could not shew one tooth, but promised his utmost endeavours to cure him. He asked my friend if he suspected any body particularly, who might owe him a grudge. He answered, none but Mrs. Kennedy, or some of her companions. The doctor called for a tea-cup, and some fresh limes, which were brought to him. He turned all out of the room but myself and his patient, and cut some limes, and squeezed their juice into the tea-cup till it was full. He then muttered some unintelligible words, keeping his right hand moving over the cup for the space of three or four minutes, and finding his conjuration was not satisfactory, he shaked his old head, and looked dejected. He then muttered some other words with an higher voice, keeping his hand in motion as before, and in two minutes the juice in the cup seemed to boil as if fire had been under it. Then he began to smile. I had the curiosity to put my finger into the juice, but it retained its ordinary coldness. He then told his patient that his cure was certain, on which he had a promise of five cupangs more when the cure was effected. He ordered the patient to send a servant to Mrs. Kennedy's door, and watch between the hours of ten and twelve, and to observe well if there was any unusual noise in her house between those hours, and so took his leave with a contented countenance. At ten my friend sent a servant according to direction, and he and I sat discoursing about what we had

had obferved in the doctor's actions towards effecting the cure. About eleven the fpy came and told us that Mrs. Kennedy had run ftark mad, making an hideous noife, and faid, fhe had feen the devil in the little houfe in the garden, in a monftrous fhape and terrible afpect. She foon after grew furioufly mad, fcratching and biting every body fhe could come at, and fo the family was forced to throw her on a bed, and tie her down to it.

In that fit fhe continued till about eight in the morning, that the old conjuror came to town, who, upon the advice given him, went directly to vifit her. Upon fight of him fhe became calm and fenfible He ordered every body out of the room, and afked her what poifon fhe had given to his patient. She was very loth to tell, and proffered him 500 dollars to forfake his patient, and let the poifon operate, but he honeftly refufed, and affured her that the fame devil that fhe faw in the garden fhould be her continual companion all her days, and would often make her feel the effects of his power if fhe did not inftantly declare what the poifon was, and from whom fhe had it She feeing no other remedy, confeffed where fhe had the poifon, but could not tell what it was. The doctor fent for the old fchoolmiftrefs of wickednefs, and when fhe came he threatened to torment her alfo, by his humble fervant the devil, if fhe did not forthwith declare what poifon had been given, which fhe did, and he took away Mrs Kennedy's companion the devil, and the patient was well enough in eight or ten days, to follow his affairs, but Mrs. Kennedy looked ever after difturbed, as if continually frightened.

Another ftrange cure I faw him perform on an officer belonging to my fhip He was going to fleep about midnight, and lying down on his bed, was bit in the calf of the leg by a centipee, an infect with many feet, and very venomous The pain that the bite caufed would allow him no reft. Next day he expected that the venom might have been exhaufted, but in that he was miftaken, for it grew firft red by inflammation, and then blue and numbed. I fent for the doctor aforefaid, who came on the firft fummons. I told him of the accident that had happened, and he faid there was no danger. He faw the inflamed leg, and kept his hand moving over it, but did not touch it. He mutterred fome unintelligible words, and fpit on the place affected, and in five minutes he could walk without pain, though before the cure he could not ftand without fomething to fupport him.

And fince I have been mentioning the Scots Eaft India fhip and her fupercargoes, I will give a fmall account of the management of their affairs in India. They arrived at Batavia about the beginning of July 1701, but, being taken up with the pleafures of the place, loitered away near a month of their time, which had been much better fpent in profecuting their voyage to China however, by the beginning of September they reached the coaft of China, where, meeting with a tuffoon, or north-eaft ftorm, that often blows violently about that feafon, they were forced to bear away for Johore, where they ftaid about two months, and then came to Malacca, where they had a mind to clean their fhip's bottom, and to proceed next April or May for China.

The Dutch received them civilly, and gave them leave to lay their fhip afhore on an ifland to the weftward of the town, about two or three miles from the fort, and allowed them to land their cargo and ftores on the ifland, till their fhip was made clean, which they had perfected in two fprings, and bringing the fhip towards the road again, the captain being on board, ordered to fteer the fhip on fome rocks that lay on the fhore, and were dry at low water The third mate, who was the only commanding officer on board, except the captain, told him of the danger he was running into, and begged him to alter his courfe, but the captain curfed him for his impertinent advice, and run the fhip

ſhip on the rocks, but the people got a ſmall anchor and an halſer out, and brought her afloat again, but as ſoon as the anchor was weighed, they run her once more on the rocks, and ſhe having a little motion, a rock worked itſelf through her bottom, and there ſhe was loſt without hopes or deſign of being recovered, and with her ended the Scots Eaſt India Company's intereſt in India. Whether the ſhip was loſt by ignorance or deſign, I will not judge, but, in my opinion, it was by deſign, for, as I heard afterwards, the captain and ſupercargoes had taken up round ſums on the bottom of the ſhip, and took that method to pay their debts. I came to Malacca about the beginning of Auguſt, and found the ſecond ſupercargo in the ill ſtate I have already mentioned, with the purſer and the ſupercargo's writer, and eleven men more, who could not get paſſages to countries where they might get employment. I had then a great ſhip and a ſmall one under my command, ſo I entered them all on board my ſhips in the ſame poſts they had on board the Speedwell, and I entered on a ſcheme with the ſecond ſupercargo to carry the Scots Company's effects on board my great ſhip to Scotland, but the firſt ſupercargo, who was, before my arrival, gone to China, and had no mind ever to ſee his native country again, broke our meaſures by rambling through India with his maſter's ſtock. What the Scots Company's cargo was I did not ſee; but the ſupercargoes had a cheſt of glaſs-ware in their own private adventure, the moſt obſcenely ſhameful that ever I ſaw or heard of among merchants. They were Priapuſes of a large ſize, with a ſcrotum big enough to hold an Engliſh pint of liquor, either to addreſs the god Bacchus, or the goddeſs Venus, as ſeemed beſt to their votaries.

I proſecuted my voyage to Surat, and left the Scots ſupercargoes to purſue their maſter's intereſt in getting their affairs in readineſs to get a cargo for Europe, to be carried on board my ſhip according to an agreement made between the ſecond ſupercargo and me, but, inſtead of putting affairs in readineſs, he embarraſſed them, lent ſome of his maſter's ſtock to ſome inſolvent merchants in Amoy in China, and let out ſome on the bottom of the ſhip he took his paſſage on board of, and though that ſhip was ordered by the owners and freighters back to Surat directly, a young gentleman, a ſupercargo, went with her to Bengal, and from thence to Perſia, where the ſhip was ſeized by the owner's orders and ſent to Surat, where I met with the firſt ſupercargo half dead with vexation for his folly, in keeping ſuch a ſtock two years and an half without the leaſt improvement: and what was left in China, was in danger of ever being recovered, though it was afterwards.

At Surat the chief ſupercargo grew very weak, and finding he had not long to ſtay in this world, had a mind to ſettle his affairs here before he went to the other, ſo one day he ſent for me, to adviſe him what he ſhould do with his maſter's effects, if he ſhould die. I aſked him if his accounts were brought forward, and he told me they were, and deſired, that I would take all into my poſſeſſion, and be accountable to the Scots Company, and to remit it home to them, according to the orders they would ſend me about it, but I excuſed myſelf, and would not meddle in their affairs on ſuch weak terms, but I adviſed him to lodge his books and effects in the hands of one Mr Bernard Weyche, whom I took to be an honeſt and induſtrious gentleman, and ſo he did, and then he died.

He was a gentleman of a very courteous behaviour, and underſtood a ſmall ſword excellently well, but not much verſed in merchandiſe or foreign commerce. The ſecond was a very good ſurgeon, and was maſter of the French language, but underſtood nothing in accounts. The captain, who ſtaid on board of my ſhip above twelve months, had been bred in his youth a driver of cattle from the Highlands of Scotland into

into England. He had a very mean education, and could not tell what he meant either in ſpeaking or writing. He had a brutal courage, and was the huſband of three wives all alive together. He knew nothing either of the theory or practical parts of navigation, and yet had been honoured with a commiſſion for lieutenant in the royal navy of England.

I muſt now leave my long digreſſion, and proceed from Malacca along the coaſt of Malaya, though there are no places of commerce between it and Johore Lami, which is ſometimes the place of that King's reſidence, and has the benefit of a fine deep large river, which admits of two entrances into it. The ſmalleſt is from the weſtward, called by Europeans the Streights of Sincapure, but by the natives Salleta de Brew. It runs along the ſide of Sincapure iſland for five or ſix leagues together, and ends at the great river of Johore.

Chap. XL. — *Treats of the Dominions of Johore, its ancient and preſent State occaſioned by a Revolution.*

THE territories of Johore reached from Perah to Point Romano, which is the ſouthermoſt promontory on the continent of Aſia, it lying but one degree to the northward of the equator, about three leagues from Johore river, in length about 100 leagues, and in the broadeſt place about 80.

The inhabitants are lazy, indolent, perfidious and cruel. The country is very woody, being daily refreſhed with ſhowers and breezes of wind. It abounds in tin, pepper, elephants teeth, gold, Agala wood and canes, but the inhabitants are ſuch drones, that they ſow very little rice or other grain. And the inland people ſubſiſt moſtly on ſago, the pith of a ſmall twig ſplit and dried in the ſun, and on their fruits which grow all ſeaſons of the year, and roots, which they always have in great plenty, and poultry, which they rear up.

About the ſea-coaſt they feed moſtly on fiſh and rice brought to them from Java, Siam, and Cambodia. The people of induſtry are the Chineſe who inhabit among them in their towns, and there may be about 1000 families of them ſettled in the Johore dominions, beſides a much greater number who drive a foreign trade among them.

In religion they are hereditary Mahometans, and are ſupplied with prieſts from Surat; but the Seids are in moſt eſteem among them. They are great lovers of praying and preaching, and frequent their moſques very often, and look very devout, but their practices are the moſt irreligious and immoral of any people I know.

In anno 1695, their King was a youth of twenty years of age, and being viciouſly inclined, was ſo corrupted by adulation and ſlagitious company, that he became intolerable. I went to Johore Lami at that time, to traffic with his ſubjects, and ſome China-men, with a cargo proper for their turn, and, according to cuſtom, went to compliment His Majeſty with a preſent, in which was a pair of ſcrew-barrelled piſtols. He deſired me to prove them with a ſhot, to try how far it would penetrate a poſt that was at the gate, which I did, and he much admired how ſo little powder ſhould have ſtrength to force a ball ſo far in the wood, and begged ſome powder and ball, which I gave him, and the next time he went abroad he tried on a poor fellow on the ſtreet, how far they could carry a ball into his fleſh, and ſhot him through the ſhoulder.

He was a great Sodomite, and had taken many of his Orankays, or nobles' ſons, by force, into his palace for that abominable ſervice. A Mooriſh merchant, who was a freighter on board my ſhip, had a handſome boy to his ſon, whom the King one day

ſaw,

law, and would needs have him for a catamite. He threatened the father, that if he did not ſend him with good will, he would have him by force. The poor man had taken an houſe cloſe by our ſhip, and immediately came with his ſon on board, imploring my protection, which I promiſed him. He had not been half an hour on board, till a guard came in a boat to demand him. I would ſuffer none to enter but the officer, and an interpreter for the Portugueze language. The officer told me his errand, and, in an huffing manner, threatened me, if I protected him. I made him no anſwer, but taught him to leap into the river, and bid the interpreter tell the King, that, if he offered the leaſt violence to any that belonged to me, I would fire down His palace about his ears. He had never been contradicted before, much leſs threatened, and he ſent for his Orankays, to know if I was a King or no. They told him that I was on board of my ſhip, and that I would prove a dangerous enemy, if provoked, and begged that His Majeſty would remove to a village about twenty miles up the river, and ſtay till our ſhip was gone; which favour he willingly granted us, and ſo we traded with ſome more ſecurity, but were continually in arms for fear of a ſurprize.

He continued his inſupportable tyranny and brutality for a year or two after I was gone, and his mother, to try if he could be broke off that unnatural cuſtom of converſe with males, perſuaded a beautiful young woman to viſit him, when he was a-bed, which ſhe did, and allured him with her embraces, but he was ſo far from being pleaſed with her converſation, that he called his black guard, and made them break both her arms, for offering to embrace his royal perſon She cried, and ſaid it was by his mother's order ſhe came, but that was no excuſe

Next morning he ſent a guard to bring her father's head, but he being an Orankay did not care to part with it, ſo the tyrant took a lance in his hand, and ſware he would have it, but, as he was entering at the door, the Orankay paſſed a long lance through his heart, and ſo made an end of the beaſt

The kingdom was three years without a king, but inteſtine diſcords daily ariſing, in anno 1700, they choſe another, a couſin-german to him that was killed. His name was Sultan Abdulla Gialil, a prince of great moderation and juſtice, and governed well for eight or nine years, that he held the reins of government in his own hands Trade flouriſhed all over his dominions, and he was beloved by all his ſubjects, but being of a quiet diſpoſition, and a great bigot to the Mahometan religion, diſpoſed himſelf to prayer and hearing ſermons, and left the management of his government to a younger brother, called Rajah Moudah, a covetous tyrannical prince The King never came out of his palace, but devoted himſelf wholly to the company of prieſts, who fed his mind with their nonſenſe and cant, and his brother keeping fair with the prieſts, came to oppreſs the people, and keep the King ignorant. I had the honour to be acquainted with him before he was King, and had free acceſs to him when he was King, but his brother never ſuffered me to be alone with him, leſt I ſhould have diſcovered ſome of his evil practices, which I certainly had done, if I could have found an opportunity, and to have forewarned him of the danger he was falling into In anno 1703, I called at Johore in my way to China, and he treated me very kindly, and made me a preſent of the iſland of Sincapure, but I told him it could be of no uſe to a private perſon, though a proper place for a company to ſettle a colony on, lying in the center of trade, and being accommodated with good rivers and ſafe harbours, ſo conveniently ſituated, that all winds ſerved ſhipping both to go out and come into thoſe rivers. The ſoil is black and fat, and the woods abound in good maſts for ſhipping, and timber for building I have ſeen large beans growing wild in the woods, not inferior to the beſt

were as capable to reduce them to ftraits as the Dutch were, when the Englifh relieved them. He anfwered me, that they were not afraid of what the Englifh could do, for their power being divided, they could do nothing but threaten.

I took my leave of him abruptly, and told him that we knew how to fight in defence of our rights and privileges better than how to threaten. There were three Englifh veffels lying in the river, which had paid their cuftoms and fold their cargoes at under rates, and two merchants that refided at Atcheen. We all dined together, and, after dinner, held a confultation how to behave in this affair, that affected our merchants in general, who traded thither. At laft it was agreed, that I fhould affift the merchants in getting their effects off on board of my fhip, and to get their veffels out of the river, by the affiftance of my boats and men, and then to fhut up the port, all which was done in one day and a night. I then fent a linguift to tell the Shawbundaar, that fince the Englifh were denied trade at their port, we forbade trade to any other nation, and defired that no boats might pafs out of their rivers, either to trade or fifh, on their peril. They continued quiet two days, and on the third they fent fome boats off, from a fandy bay about three miles from our fhip. I fent two boats well manned to feize their nets, but as foon as they perceived my boats, they ran theirs afhore, and took out what was in them; and as my boats were rowing near the fhore within a mile of my fhip, about 40 or 50 mufkets were fired on them out of fome bufhes that grow thick, a little way from the ftrand. My boats fired in their turn at the place where they faw the fmoke, and I made a fignal to bring them aboard again, and found only two of my men flightly wounded.

The fame evening we had advice, that they were about mounting three culverins that lay in a little fort on the river's fide, as we go to town. I immediately ordered my armourer to get about 100 fhort fpikes of feveral fizes, and harden them well, and carried them in my boat, which I double manned, and coming into the river, we efpied a great number of men in the fort. I rowed directly towards it, and they within expecting to have a meffage to carry to the King, ftood gazing till we came clofe to the wall, and then we faluted them with a fhower of twenty or thirty granadoes, that fo frightened them, that happy was he who got firft away. We then entered the fort, and found fome wounded men in it. We prefently fpiked up the vents of the guns, and left them, and came at our leifure aboard again.

A day or two after, as my boat was rowing along the fhore, towards a praw that was coming in towards the fmall river, they again fired out of their bufhes. I had forty-two guns mounted on my fhip, and bringing my broadfide to bear, I got five-and-twenty on that fide, and pointing them well among the trees and bufhes where we obferved the fmoke to arife, we gave them a volley of great fhot in return of their volley of fmall. By report our great fhot did fome execution, but particularly on the poor fifhers, who had a village a little within the woods, that we did not fee.

This ftoppage of trade and fifhing, and killing and wounding the people, made a great noife among the poorer fort, having in nine days time found more of the effects of hoftility, than ever they did in their lives before, and fo gathering together in great numbers, went in a body to the palace, threatening vengeance on the caufers of their calamity, and if the Englifh were not reftored to their ancient privileges, they would have a woman to reign again.

A nephew of the deceafed Queen lived then privately at Pedier, a town about feven leagues off. Some Orankayas who were difcontented with the new King's government, first because he was a foreigner, and that the affairs of ftate were ill managed, and that a war with the Englifh was impending, wrote to that gentleman, that if he would come

to them with a ſmall force, they would raiſe a party to dethrone him that reigned, and he might have a fair chance to ſucceed him.

However, the reigning King, not expecting that his new cuſtoms would meet with ſuch oppoſition, ſent an Orankaya aboard of my ſhip, which the linguiſt, to know why we made war on him. We replied that he was the aggreſſor, by robbing us of our juſt rights and privileges, acquired by our ſervices, and in firing at our boats, ſo we wondered that the King could aſk a reaſon of us. The Orankaya told us, that he had brought a power to make up all differences on the King's part, but that we muſt conſent to ſome new things, as that we ſhould pay no cuſtoms, but a preſent as before, but that our goods muſt go to the cuſtom-houſe, and there to be opened, and was going on, but I interrupted him, and told him he had demanded more than could be granted already, ſo he might ſave himſelf the trouble of making farther demands. When he found that nothing new could be obtained, he ſaid he would carry our anſwer to the King, which he did; and the ſame evening, proclamation was cried through the ſtreets, that the Engliſh might again repair to their reſpective houſes, and trade on the old foundation.

Next day I went to wait on the Shawbundaar, but carried a guard of twenty Europeans. He aſked me why I carried ſo many armed men in my company. I told him that I underſtood there were like to be commotions in the country, and I was reſolved to be neuter, and would not be inſulted by either party. He begged that I would land ſome bales of goods, to ſhew that we were reconciled, which I did, to the no ſmall joy of the town's people, who were quite tired with their new King's experiments.

But the clamours of the people did not ceaſe. For when they had news of their deceaſed Queen's nephews raiſing forces to come to Atcheen, the diſorders of the ſtate increaſed, but I left them, and purſued my voyage to Malacca and Johore, where I met with the Scots ſecond ſupercargo, as is before mentioned.

Atcheen affords nothing of its own product fit for export, but gold duſt, which they have pretty plentiful, and of the fineſt touch of any in thoſe parts, it being two per cent. better than Andra-ghiry or Pahaung gold, and is equal in touch to our Guinea. They do not dig for it, but catch it in gullies, or little rivulets, as it waſhes off the mountains, and one particularly, a very high mountain in form of a pyramid, called Gold Mount, which by report furniſhes them yearly with above 1000 pounds weight.

Elephants are very plentiful at Atcheen, and conſequently their teeth, which the Surat merchants buy up for their markets. In 1702, I ſaw one who had been kept there above 100 years, but by report, was then 300 years old, he was about eleven feet high, and had a vaſt deal of ſagacity.

When any young male elephant grows unruly, which they uſually do in rutting time, and break their fetters and go aſtray, this old elephant is immediately ſent out, and following the track of his feet, will find him out, and bring him back to his ſtable, either by fair or foul means.

At Atcheen, they have a ſmall coin of leaden money called caſh, from twelve to ſixteen hundred of them goes to one mace, or maſſcie. The maſſcie is a ſmall gold coin of fourteen-pence current, but in value about twelve-pence Engliſh. I have taken a gold maſſcie, and put it with a maſſcie of caſh, and thrown them into a puddle of water, and the elephant would find out the gold among the lead, by the nice feeling of his proboſcis.

There is a very comical piece of revenge he took on a tailor in anno 1692. A ſhip called the Dorothy, commanded by Captain Thwaits, called at Atcheen for refreſhments in her way from England to Bengal, and two Engliſh gentlemen reſiding then at Atcheen,

Atcheen, went on board to furnish themselves with what European necessaries they had occasion for; and, amongst other things, they bought some Norwich stuffs for clothes, and there being no English tailor to be had, they employed a Surat tailor, who kept a shop on the Bazaar, or great market-place, and had generally half a dozen, or half a score workmen to sew in his shop. It was the old elephant's custom to reach in his trunk at doors and windows as he passed along the side of a street, begging decayed fruits or roots, which the inhabitants generally gave him.

As he was one morning going to the river to be washed, with his carnack, or rider on his back, he chanced to put his trunk in at the tailor's window, and the tailor pricked him with his needle, instead of giving an alms. The elephant seemed to take no notice of the affront, but went calmly on to the river, and was washed, and being done with washing, troubled the water with one of his fore feet, and then sucked up a good quantity of that dirty water into his trunk, and passing unconcernedly along the same side of the street where the tailor's shop was, he put in his trunk at the window, and blew his nose on the tailor with such a force and quantity of water, that the poor tailor and his life-guard, were blown off the table they wrought on, almost frightened out of their senses, but the English gentlemen had their clothes spoiled by the elephant's comical, but innocent revenge.

No place in the world punishes theft with greater severity than Atcheen, and yet robberies and murders are more frequent there than in any other place. For the first fault, if the theft does not amount to a tayel value, it is but the loss of an hand, or a foot, and the criminal may choose which he will part with; and if caught a second time, the same punishment and loss is used, but the third time, or it they steal five tayel in value, that crime entitles them to fouling, or impaling alive. When their hand or foot is to be cut off, they have a block with a broad hatchet fixed in it, with the edge upwards, on which the limb is laid, and struck on with a wooden mallet, till the amputation is made, and they have an hollow bamboo, or Indian cane, ready to put the stump in, and stopped about with rags or moss, to keep the blood from coming out, and are set in a conspicuous place, for travellers to gaze on, who generally bestow a little spittle in a pot, being what is produced by the mastication of beetel, and that serves them instead of salve to cure their wounds.

Those who suffer the penalty of the law, who have no families in the town, are banished to Pullo-wey, an island about four leagues to the north-eastward of Atcheen, and there they cultivate the ground, and breed poultry for the use of the town; and I have heard that there are about five hundred of those banditti inhabitants on it. There is another island that lies about three leagues to the northward of Pullo-wey, called Pullo-rondo. It is uninhabited, and sends forth a reef of rocks towards Pullo-wey, above one-third part of the channel. Between them and Pullo-gomus is a cluster of high mountainous and rocky islands, to the north-westward of Atcheen, and their end runs to seven leagues distance from the road. There is no danger lying above a mile off them; and between Atcheen Head, an high steep promontory, and the south end of Gomus islands, there are two channels to come from the westward into the road. The smallest, which is not a quarter of a mile broad, has no danger in it, but the broadest, which is above two miles broad, is pestered with rocks half way over from Gomus islands.

The vallies about Atcheen produce excellent fruits, and the best mangostanes in the world grow there. The air is very salutary, and the river waters are excellent for bathing. Washing in it before sun-rising, and after setting, has cured inveterate fluxes; and I have been told, that frequent bathing has cured the pox.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLII.—*Gives an Account of the Islands and trading Ports on the West Coast of Sumatra.*

AND now I leave Atcheen, and pursue my travels along the west coast of Sumatra. Labon is the first place noted for gold dust and camphire, but has no commerce with strangers. Hog Island lies opposite to it, about ten leagues off. This island takes its name from the great numbers of wild hogs on it, who are the only inhabitants, as Coco.. Island, close to it, takes its name from the great numbers of cocoa-nut trees growing on it.

Baros is the next place that abounds in gold, camphire, and benzoin, but admits of no foreign commerce. It lies within the south end of Hog's Island, about the same distance from it that Labon is. This place sets a boundary to the kingdom of Atcheen.

Ayerbangie is the next place of notice. It produces gold and pepper, it lies about one degree to the northward of the equator, and has the advantage of a good safe harbour, but it is little frequented, because of the treachery of the natives, who make small account of murdering strangers, if they can but get the least advantage by it. The harbour lies in a small but deep bay and three small islands lying before it, make it a most excellent harbour, and the channels between the islands, and between the shore and the islands, are clear of danger. The north end of Pullo-nayas lies about twenty leagues without it. The inhabitants of that island prove the best slaves in India, and are sold at an higher price in the Atcheen market than any others.

Padang is about twenty leagues to the southward of the equator, where the Dutch have a colony and a strong fort to defend it from the insults of the natives. It cost the Dutch many men, and much treasure before they could force a settlement there, though at last they gained their point, but being a country that produces only gold and pepper, the profits can hardly bear the charge. The island of Good Fortune lies about 20 leagues without it.

Indrapura is the next, and lies about 50 leagues to the southward of the equator. It was formerly an English factory, but the Dutch insulted it in King William's war with France, and it has made but a sorry figure in trade since. Its commodity is only pepper, but it affords great plenty of it, and very cheap. The island of Nasaw lies about 15 leagues without it.

Bencolon is an English colony, but the European inhabitants not very numerous. About the year 1690, the East India Company built a fort there, and called it York Fort, but brick or stone walls in that country cannot long continue firm, because concussions of the earth are so frequent by earthquakes, that solid walls are rent by the shaking of their foundations. It has the conveniency of a river to bring their pepper out of the inland countries, but great inconveniencies in shipping it off on board the ships, for there is a dangerous bar at the river's mouth, which has proved fatal to many poor Englishmen. The road for shipping is also inconvenient, for in the south-west monsoons, there being nothing to keep the great swell of rolling seas off them, but a small island, called Rat Island, the ships are ever in a violent motion while that monsoon lasts.

The inland princes are often at variance among themselves, and sometimes are troublesome to the trade of our colony, but as their wars are short, the English are in little danger by them. In the year 1693, there was a great mortality in the colony, the governor and his council all died in a short time, after one another, and one Mr. Sowdon being the eldest factor, had his residence at Prayman, or Priaman, a subordinate

factory

factory to Bencolon, being called to the government of the colony, but not very fit for that charge, because of his intemperate drinking, it fortuned in his short reign, that four princes differed, and rather than run into acts of hostility, referred their differences to the arbitrament of the English governor, and came to the fort with their plea. Mr. Sowdon soon determined their differences in favour of the two that complained; and because the others seemed dissatisfied with his determination, ordered both their heads to be struck off, which ended their disputes effectually, and made them afterwards to make up differences among themselves, without troubling the English with their contentions and impertinent quarrels, but Governor Sowdon was sent for to Fort St. George, and another sent in his place less sanguine.

And ever since that time there has been a succession of moderate governors, and some have been guilty of as much temerity the other way. For in anno 1719, the then governor, having some disputes with some of the natives, was somewhat fearful of them. On a festival day, in firing guns, a wad from one of them set fire to an house thatched with reeds, and several others contiguous to it took fire from it, so that it spread through the market place. The governor believing it to be done maliciously by the natives, left the fort precipitantly, and got on board of a ship in the road, leaving some chests of money, and all the artillery, arms, ammunition, and other effects of his masters, behind him; and his garrison, following their leader, left their posts, and got aboard also.

The natives being surprised with the sudden departure of the English, went into the fort, and took what they had most occasion for, but some Chinese merchants, who had settled at Bencolon, being also frightened, embarked on their vessels, and dispersed themselves in places where they thought they might be most secure.

The chief merchant of the Chinese, who is generally called the China Captain, in the places where the Chinese have trade, went to Batavia to some relations he had there, but the Dutch, according to their wonted hospitality in India, punished him as a criminal, and taught him to make lime and carry stones the remnant of his days, for daring to settle among the English Some of the Chinese I saw the same year at Trangano in Johore, who gave me this account. Wherever these poor Chinese came, in places where the Dutch had power, they were as heartily persecuted as a poor Protestant is that takes sanctuary in a country where the holy, charitable, zealous Romish clergy have power.

The natives were almost ruined by the English desertion. For as their trade lay all on their pepper, none came to buy it, and their regret being known at Fort St. George, there was a new governor sent back with a new garrison, to take possession again of their own fort. What the Company lost by that unaccountable piece of temerity, I know not, but they gained very little credit by it

The country above Bencolon is mountainous and woody, and I have heard that there are many volcanoes in this island; but whatever may be the cause, the air is full of malignant vapours, and the mountains are continually clothed with thick heavy clouds, that break out in lightning, thunder, rain, and short-lived storms. Their food is not fit for every stomach. Tame buffalo may be had, but no cow-beef. Poultry are scarce and dear, and so is fish, but some sorts of fruits are pretty plentiful; however, the gentlemen there live as merrily, though not so long, as in other places, blessed with plenty and so sociable, that they leave their estates to the longest liver.

Sillebar lies but four leagues to the south-eastward of Bencolon, and has a fine convenient harbour to shelter shipping from all dangers caused by storms, but the fresh water is bad, and if drunk any considerable time, causes gripings and fluxes, but it wants

wants a river to bring pepper from the inland countries. There is no place of commerce or note between Sillebar and Lampoun Point, which is the southwardmost point on Sumatra, nor any thing remarkable on the sea-shore, but a small village called Pissangen, which has a small low island lying a little way off it, and there is above 40 fathoms deep within an English mile of the shore. And the island of Engano lies in the offing, about 20 leagues from it. It is an island about three leagues long, uninhabited, very smooth, without mountains, and may be seen nine or ten leagues off.

Lampoun lies twenty leagues from the point within the Streights of Sunda, at the bottom of a deep bay. The English had a good pepper factory there, but it being a part of the King of Bantam's dominions, that factory was lost when the Dutch compelled the English to leave Bantam, in anno 1683, and what Lampoun produces, is carried to them at Bantam.

CHAP. XLIII. — *Treats of the East Side of Sumatra, with the adjacent Islands, their Product, Commerce, and Customs.*

THERE are no other places of note on that part of the Sumatra coast, till we come to Pullambam, which lies opposite to the north-west point of the island of Banka, about four leagues distant from it. Pullambam is a Dutch factory that brings them great quantities of pepper, being under contract with the King of Pullambam, and other inland princes, to take off all their pepper at a certain price, I think it is for 10 pieces of eight, or 50 shillings sterling a bahaar, of 400 pounds English suttle weight, one-half to be paid in money, and the other half in cloth. The cloth part the Company pays at 70 per cent. on the prime cost, but all other nations are debarred commerce there, except the Chinese, and by their means the English come in for a share of their pepper, as our ships pass through the Streights of Banka.

Pullambam lies about eight leagues from the sea, on the banks of a large river, which divides itself into several branches, and they disembogue at four mouths into the sea. The Dutch keep two small sloops cruising about those mouths of the river, to prevent smuggling, but I and many others have found ways and means to lade our ships full with pepper, notwithstanding the strict guard. An hundred pounds to the King, and as much to the Dutch chief, make a cargo of a thousand bahaars easily procured.

The Pullambam pepper is very foul, insomuch, that we seldom find less than 10 or 12 per cent garblage, but then we buy it for nine pieces of eight a bahaar. The Dutch lade off about 3000 tons per annum, from this place, and the Chinese and natives lade off as much more. The natives are obliged to carry theirs to Batavia, and sell to the Dutch Company, but if they meet with a market by the way, they will embrace it; for the Company's payment being most in cloth at high rates, they are not fond of trading with them.

The Dutch Company formerly drove a good trade in ophium, at Pullambam, which (like French claret and brandy) drew much ready cash out of his country, as those do out of ours, but in anno 1708, the King ordered only the importation of three chests, each containing about 160 pounds weight, and if smugglers were detected, they paid their goods and lives for their disobedience.

The island of Banka lying so near the coast of Pullambam, I will take a view of it as I pass along. It is about 50 leagues long, and 10 broad, some places being broader, and some narrower. For about 30 leagues it faces the Sumatra coast, keeping between three and six leagues distant. The entrance from the southward being farthest distant in

in the Streights of Banka, at the mouth of which, is the island of Lucipara, a small barren island, which sends forth sand banks almost three leagues towards the coast of Sumatra. And within a mile of that shore, where the channel is deepest, there are but four fathoms and an half water, but the bottom is soft.

About 12 leagues from the north end is the place of the King's residence. In 1710, a son of the King of Pullambam was King, and a fire accidentally happening in a village, when the fire was extinguished, they chanced to find much melted metal under the rubbish, which proved to be tin. The King ordered his people to dig a little into the ground, and they found plenty of ore, which he now reaps a good advantage by. The Dutch sent from Batavia for leave to settle a factory there, but could not obtain that favour, the King declaring that his country should be free for all nations to trade in.

The natives of the island are, as most other Malayas, very treacherous, inhuman, and inhospitable to strangers, who have the misfortune to be shipwrecked on that coast. I knew one Captain Pelling, who belonged to some gentlemen of Atcheen, and had the misfortune to be shipwrecked there, and they cut him off and all his crew, except two boys, who were made slaves: but I know a very honest ingenious gentleman now alive in England, who had better fortune; for after his ship was lost in the Streights of Banka, he and his men directed their course to Pullambam, where a very hospitable Dutch gentleman, who fortuned to be chief of the Dutch affairs at that time, gave them a kind reception, and procured them passage for Batavia, where some years after, I was in company with the host and guest together.

Banka has a very foul coast for six leagues within Monapin Point, which is the north-west cape-land on the island, and over that cape there is an high mountain called Monapin hill. On the north-east coast of the island there are so many banks and rocks under water, that navigation is very precarious, and none but panjalangs and praws (small vessels) venture to go that tract, besides, there are no places of commerce on the north-east side of Banka, to invite a stranger by the prospect of gain, and so I return back to the coast of Sumatra again, without taking notice of the little pepper and dammar that are the product of Banka.

From Pullambam there are no places of commerce on the coast, till we come to Jambee, which is about 100 English miles. Here formerly the English had a factory on an island near its river's mouth, called Barella, but the impediments their trade met with from the Dutch, who had a factory in the country up the river, made the English Company withdraw. The Dutch kept a little factory at Jambee till 1710, and then withdrew also. That country produces only pepper and canes, and, by the laziness of the inhabitants, there is hardly any of them procurable.

The island Lingen lies under the equator, about 20 leagues from Jambee, and as far from the river of Johore, and is a part of the Johore dominions. It is about twenty leagues long, and ten broad. It is very mountainous within, and very low towards the sea. Its product is some pepper and canes, and it abounds in porcupines, which affords them the valuable porcupine beakoar. Some of them I have seen as big as a walnut, and of the same shape, and pretty near in colour, valued at 600 pieces of eight. Between Lingen and Sumatra are the Streights of Drions, where generally ships pass that go from Malacca to Batavia.

On the Sumatra shore there are no places of commerce, till we come to the south entrance of Andraghira river, and there lies Pattapan, a town belonging to the dominions of Johore, that affords pepper and gold. Off the mouth of that river about ten leagues lie the two islands of Carimon, and between them and the Sumatra shore, are the Streights of Labon. Upon the east side of the Great Carimon, is the entrance of the

Streights

Streights of Drions; and between the Small Carimon and Tanjong-bellong on the continent, is the entrance of the Streights of Sincapure before mentioned, and alfo into the Streights of Governadore, the largeft and eafieft paffage into the China feas. There are many iflands lying thick hereabout, all under the dominions of Johore.

The Dutch have alfo a factory on the river of Andraghira, called Siack, but of no great moment. It is fo unhealthful, that incorrigible fots, and other lumber of the active world, are fent thither to expiate their offences againft nature, and very feldom any return back to give an account of the falubrity of the country. The reafon may be, that yearly there are vaft numbers of fifh, called fhades, about the bignefs of a large haddock, full of bones, and rows about one third of their own magnitude, which come into that river to fpawn, and great numbers of people refort thither in that feafon to catch them, for the fake of their rows, and throw away the reft of the fifh, which fo corrupts the air, that few can hold out one year, but are relieved every fix months, except thofe who are fent for facrifices to Pluto.

The Dutch have another factory right oppofite to Malacca, on the fide of a large river, called Bankalis. Whether that be a branch of Andraghira river I know not, but I believe it is. The Company vends a great deal of cloth and ophium there, and brings gold-duft in return. That beneficial trade was not known to the Dutch before 1685, that one Mr Lucas, a factor in the Company's fervice at Malacca, was advifed by a Malaya to fend fome Surat baftaes dyed blue, and fome beiâms dyed red, which are both coarfe cotton cloth much worn in that country; and ophium is as much in requeft there, as tea is with us. In 10 years that he kept that trade wholly to himfelf, though in other men's names, he got an eftate of 10 or 12 tons of gold, or about 100,000l. Englifh, and then revealed the fecret to the Company, who took that trade altogether into their own hands.

There are prodigious numbers of wild fwine about Bankalis, and, in the months of December and January, their flefh is very fweet and fat. In thofe months great numbers of people refort thither in fmall praws. Some go into the woods, and drive them towards the river, while others are ready with dogs to drive them into it, and when one goes, all the herd follow. Others are ready with lances in their praws, to purfue them in the water, and lance them, and fo many as are lanced, drop down on the other fhore, and they are immediately carried to places appointed, where there are many fires made of brufh-wood and leaves of trees, which the woods afford in great plenty, and, in thofe light flames, they finge the hair off, and take out the entrails, and cut them up in proper pieces, and falt them in the praws, and every praw has a fhare proportionable to the number of men it brings. After it has lain three or four days in falt, they wafh the pork, and hang it in fmoke, and then put it into cafks which they have ready for their purpofe, with fome dry falt, and fell it by the cafk to the beft bidder. And I think it is the moft favoury falt pork that ever I tafted.

Thofe fifh rows caught at Siak they pickle up in falt and tamarinds, and then dry them in fmoke, and when dry enough, put them up in large leaves of trees, and tranfport them to all the countries about, from Atcheen to Siam. It is called, when dried, turbow, and of pork and turbow they drive a good trade, which, I think, far exceeds caviar.

There is no other place on the Sumatra coaft, between Bankalis and Atcheen, that admits of commerce with ftrangers, though there are feveral large rivers; at leaft, by their outlets to the fea, they appear to be fo. There is one called Delley, that lies five leagues within Pullo Verera, a fmall uninhabited ifland, that affords nothing but frefh water and wood. The inhabitants on that part of Sumatra, are faid to be cannibals.

Diamond Point lies about 20 leagues to the north-weſt of Pullo Verera, that ſends dangerous rocks above a league off ſhore. The inhabitants are uncivilized, murdering all whom they can ſurpriſe or maſter And at Piſſang, about 10 leagues to the weſtward of Diamond Point, there is a fine deep river, but not frequented, becauſe of the treachery and bloody diſpoſition of the natives. Twelve leagues farther weſt lies Pedier. It has the benefit of a good river, but being but eight leagues from Atcheen, it has no trade.

Chap. XLIV. — *Treats of Java, and the Iſlands near it; with an Account of the Garriſons and Factories ſettled on that Iſland by the Dutch — The Product and Commerce of Java, Bally, Lombock, Flores, Solore, Leolana, Pantera, Miſcomby, Timore, Banda and Molucca Iſlands, and the Iſlands of Celebes, their Product, Extent and Commerce.*

AND now having ended my tour round Sumatra, I muſt return to the ſouthward, and travel to the eaſtward of Sumatra, and to the ſouthward of the equator, among thoſe famous iſlands, and Java being the weſtmoſt, I begin there, and march eaſtward among iſlands far from any continent.

Princes Iſland is cloſe to the weſt point of Java. It has a channel between it and Java, but there is ſome danger in it. There are no inhabitants on it; but there are three places that afford good water, and wood enough for ſhips bound out of the Streights of Sunda to Europe. There are ſeveral other iſlands in the ſtreights, as Caccotoa, Duars, in the way, the Button and Cape, and ſeveral others without name

The firſt place of commerce on the weſt end of Java is the famous Bantam, where the Engliſh and Danes had their factories flouriſhing till anno 1682, at which time the neighbourly Dutch fomented a war between the old King of Bantam and his ſon, and becauſe the father would not come into their meaſures, and be their humble ſlave, they ſtruck in with the ſon, who was more covetous of a crown than of wiſdom. They, with the aſſiſtance of other rebels, put the ſon on the throne, and took the old King priſoner, and ſent him to Batavia, and, in 1683, they pretended a power from the new King to ſend the Engliſh and Danes a-packing, which they did with a great deal of inſolence, according to cuſtom. They next fortified, by building a ſtrong fort within a piſtol-ſhot of one that the old King had built before to bridle their inſolence.

The only product of Bantam is pepper, wherein it abounds ſo much, that they can export 10,000 tons per annum. The road is good, and ſecure for the ſafety of ſhipping It is in a pleaſant bay, wherein are ſeveral ſmall iſlands, which retain their Engliſh names ſtill, and the natives ſtill lament the loſs of the Engliſh trade among them, but the King has much more reaſon than his ſubjects to regret the loſs of their commerce. The good-will the natives bear to the Dutch may be conjectured from their treatment, when they find an opportunity, for if an Hollander goes but a muſket-ſhot from their fort, it is five to one if ever he returns, for they are dextrous in throwing a lance, or ſhooting of poiſoned darts through a wooden pipe or trunk, and the King never redreſſes them, pretending the criminal cannot be found.

Batavia is about 20 leagues to the eaſtward of Bantam, and a great number of ſmall iſlands lie ſcattered in the way, too tedious to mention Pullo-panjang off Bantam, and Edam off Batavia are the moſt conſpicuous, and the road of Batavia is almoſt ſurrounded with iſlands, ſome of them inhabited, and ſome not. Its topography I will refer to another time, with ſome hiſtorical accounts of it, both ancient and modern.

Cheraboan is the next colony on the coaſt, to the eaſtward of Batavia, belonging to the Dutch, where they have a fort and a ſmall garriſon.

 Tagal

Tagal is alfo a Dutch fettlement, with a fmall fort for its defence; and there is no other remarkable place till we come to Samarang, a good colony, with a fort of mud and wood to defend it. Damack and Coutus, two places that lie between Samarang and Japara, are noted, one for the abundance of rice that it exports, and the other for great quantities of good fugars that it produces. They are peopled moftly with Chinefe, and fo is

Japara, which formerly had an Englifh factory, but now is altogether in the Dutch hands. It is defended by two forts, one on an hill, and the other in a plain, where the town ftands, and has a fmall river to wafh its walls. The road is fecured by two iflands that lie about a league off the town. I bought good white fugar in cakes here for two Dutch dollars per pecul, being 140lbs. Englifh futtle weight.

Tampeira is the next place to the eaftward, and to the eaftward of it is Rambang, about two leagues from it, where the Dutch have a fmall wooden fort, and a little garrifon of fixteen men. Thofe two afford nothing but excellent teak timber for building. And to the eaftward of Rambang is Sorobay, which lies within the ifland Madura, and, I believe, is the eaftmoft fettlement the Dutch have on the ifland of Java. It produces much pepper, fome bees-wax, and iron. Sorobay is about 125 leagues to the eaftward of Batavia, and the country, along fhore, as pleafant and fruitful in grain and fruits as any in the world. Tame cattle and wild game are very plentiful, good and cheap At Rambang I bought a cow, flefhy and fat, for two pieces of eight, that weighed above 300 weight, and wild hog and deer we killed daily with our fowling-pieces, as we did alfo peacocks and wild poultry. The cocks are all like one another, with red necks and bodies, and black wings and tail; and the hens are exactly like large partridges. The cocks are pretty large, and when they take wing, they make a noife that may be heard half a mile. Their flefh is both favoury and juicy; and the wild hog is excellent. In the woods are many flying fquirrels. Some of them I have feen tame in cages. They alfo have little horfes wild in the woods, and fome tigers, but being not much pinched with hunger, they feldom attack men. They have one dangerous little animal, called a jackoa, in fhape almoft like a lizard. It is very malicious, and piffes at every thing that offends it, and wherever the liquor lights on an animal body, it prefently cankers the flefh, unlefs immediate cauterizings are ufed, and if that cannot be had, the piece moft be cut out, for, if once it blifters the fkin, there is no cure for it afterwards, but he feldom fails of giving notice where he is, by a loud noife calling, jackoa.

I was once at fupper with fome Dutch gentlemen at Rambang, in an houfe thatched with cocoa-nut leaves, and we were no fooner fet, but one of thofe jackoas opened its throat almoft over our heads. The Dutch gentlemen took the alarm, and arofe from the table in great hafte, and ran out of the room, calling to me, who fat ftill (not a little furprifed to fee their fudden flight,) to follow them, for my life was in danger, and, on hearing that admonition, I was not long after them, but its noife fpoiled our fupper.

As there are many fpecies of wild animals in thofe woods, there is one particular, called the Oran-outang. It is neareft to human, both in fhape and fagacity, among all the herd of animals. I faw one about four feet high, grofs bodied, long arms from the fhoulders to the elbows His finger ends reached juft to his knees, as he ftood upright. His thighs and legs plump, but too fmall in proportion to his body. His feet long, and broad at the toes, but a little too narrow at the heel. His belly prominent, covered with a light-coloured fur, the reft of his body being brown, and the fur thicker and longer than the belly fur. His head fomewhat large. His face broad, and full. His eyes grey and fmall. His nofe little and flat. His upper-lip and under-jaw very large. He blows his nofe, and throws aways the fnot with his fingers, can kindle a fire,

a fire, and blow it with his mouth. And I saw one broil a fish to eat with his boiled rice. The females have their regular *menstrua*. They have no tail, and walk upright. They are of a melancholy disposition, and have a grave dejected countenance, and even when they are young, they are never inclined to play, as most other animals are. There is a smaller sort, but of a different species, called Oumpaes; but their legs and arms are very small.

They have many large crocodiles or alligators in their rivers and marshes, and sometimes they go a mile or two off to sea, and get foul of the fisher's nets. I was cleaning a vessel (that I bought at Samarang) on a bed of ooze, and had stages fitted for my people to stand on, when the water came round the vessel, and we were plagued with five or six alligators, which wanted to be on the stage, and every moment disturbed our men; so I, and two of my men, sat on the vessels deck, and fired muskets at them, but our ball did them no harm, because their hard scaly coat was shot-proof. At last we contrived to shoot at their eyes, and we shot at one so. As soon as he found himself wounded, he turned tail on us, and, with great flouncings, made towards the shore about half a mile from us, and the rest following him, we were pretty quiet after that A day or two after, some fishers told us, that they had seen a dead alligator lying on the shore, and pointed whereabout they saw him. I went in a boat ashore, and found him lying at full length. I measured his length, and found, from his nose to his tail, twenty-seven feet and an half, and he was about one third part of his length in circumference about the belly.

I was in Samarang in 1704, in the months of July and August, when navigation on that coast is accounted dangerous. A war happened then to break out between the natives of that part of Java and the Dutch, about the succession of a new Sun Suonan, or Emperor, the old one demising about that time. The Dutch would impose the old Emperor's brother on them against the general bent of the nation, and the nobility were for his eldest son, being the established law and custom of the country.

I being then bound for Batavia, the commodore desired me to carry a packet of letters for the general and his council, which I did, and delivered them, before they were six days old, to the general (Jan Van Hoorn), which piece of service recommended me to his favour, which he demonstrated afterwards in some indulgences I had, and some confidence he reposed in me.

The war begun then, lasted twenty years longer than at first the Dutch imagined. It taught the Javans the art of war, having a great number of Maccassers and Ballies, who had been trained up in the Dutch Company's wars against several nations. Many of them came into the eldest son's interest, who having as good courage and subtle stratagems, with much greater agility of body than the Dutch, made the war more terrible and dangerous than any the Company had ever entered into, notwithstanding the pretender had a large party of Javans, and was assisted by Maccassers, Amboinese, Ballies and Bougies, but they wanted the European discipline that the others had who served the young Emperor, for they could encamp and mine as well as the Dutch.

A Dutch captain, in his march towards the Dutch camp, fell, with his company, into an ambush of Javans. Some of his men were killed, but he and most of his men were taken prisoners. The Dutch camp was pitched on the side of a river, and the Javans a few miles above them on the same river's side. Next day, to the Dutch great amazement, they saw the captain and his men swimming down with the stream, on bundles of reeds, with all their legs, thigh-bones and arms broken, and most of them alive. Their countrymen took them out of the river, and used means to save their

their lives, but very few lived, which put their whole army in some dread, by observing what quarter they might expect if any of them were taken prisoners.

The religion of Java is partly Mahometan and partly Pagan. The Pagans choose women to be priestesses, and they are generally old, and well skilled in witchcraft. And it is reported, that they have frequent conversation with the devil, who appears to them in an horrid monstrous shape, and the priestesses sacrifice an hog to him. The Emperor resides at an inland town called Cartasouri, about three days' journey from Samarang, where I will leave him, and proceed to

The island of Madura, that produces nothing for a foreign maket, but deer-skins. They may be had in great abundance, and very cheap. This island confronts Java to its very easternmost point. I have no knowledge of the islands to the eastward of Java, but what I have had by information from the Dutch, who are the only possessors of that commerce, except two English ships that fell in among some of those islands, and so I will go on in those lame observations and remarks.

I observed before, that Sorobay was the easternmost settlement the Dutch have on Java, neither have they any footing, that I have heard of, on the south side of that island, though the natives are pretty well civilized, and as ships from Europe fall in with that coast, they will bring off provisions to sell them, particularly if they see English colours, for very often the Dutch buy their commodities, but pay nothing for them.

The island of Bally lies next Java to the eastward. It abounds in provisions for the inhabitants, but affords nothing fit for exportation. The natives are daring and bold, even to desperation. Many of them enter in the Dutch service, and make good soldiers. Between Java and Bally are the Streights of Bally.

Lambock is next Bally to the eastward, and about the same magnitude. It produces the same necessaries as Bally, but nothing to export.

Combava is next to Lambock to the eastward, an island as big as both the last two mentioned It produces nothing for export. Between it and Lambock are the Streights of Allass, named from a town standing on the shore, about the middle of the streights.

The next islands to the eastward of Combava, are the two islands of Sappi, of small account in commerce, and so is

The island of Flores to the eastward of them, though it is an island above 50 leagues long and 18 broad. In anno 1703, Captain Wright, in the Leghorn galley, lost his passage from Banjar on Borneo, to Batavia, and by contrary winds, and strong currents, was driven to this island, and anchored at a town on the west end of it, called Larren-toucka. Finding the place convenient and safe to pass three or four months of the westerly monsoons, he took an house ashore, and kept some time one part of his ship's crew ashore, and sometimes another, to refresh them. He gave warning to the people of the town not to trust his men, but they, minding their own profit, had trusted the seamen about 100l. sterling. A little before he was ready to sail, the creditors came and demanded their money. He refused payment, alledging, that a public crier had gone through the town forbidding any body to trust his men, and that crier was ordered by a magistrate to proclaim the prohibition. The creditors said it was true they could not recover any thing by law, but if he valued his own health he would satisfy them, if not in all, yet in part, and so he paid one half; which most of them were content with, but one old witch was not, but threatened his destruction, if she had not all her demand paid,

The

The captain, knowing that the natives were very skilful in the art of poisoning, resolved to prevent their taking any opportunity that way, and so went on board to eat and sleep, and was so cautious, that he would not so much as taste their green fruits, nor smell their flowers, after the time that the old hag threatened him, and yet before he left the place, he found himself much troubled with gripings and fluxes. I was at Batavia when he came there. He could not reach the road with his ship before he anchored, but was forced to anchor without, and sent his boat on board of my ship, to desire help to weigh their anchor. I sent a boat with 20 men and an officer to bring their ship into the road, which next morning they did, the poor man was brought to that pass by the effects of poison, that he could not walk without being supported, nor could he lift his hand to his head

I waited on him ashore, and he desired to be carried to his usual quarters, at the sign of the red lion, kept by a woman called Black Moll, a native of the island of Flores, and he giving her an account of his condition, and how ignorant he was of the cause of it, she bid him be cheerful, for she knew how he had been poisoned, not by any thing taken inwardly, but by a spell, and bid him recollect himself, and try if he could remember if he had not stept over a bit of paper, or the leaf of a flag, in going in or out of any house, which, after a little pause, he could very well remember he had. She assured him that he should be perfectly well in a month's time, and she performed her promise to admiration. I left Batavia before the cure was perfected, but afterwards when I came to Batavia, she gave me an account that she had restored him to perfect health, and several years after I saw him at Fort St. George.

Solor, Loolana, Panterra, and Miscomby, all lie to the eastward of Flores. They produce a little sandal-wood, and Cassia-ligna. The Dutch have a factory on Solor.

The island Timor lies within 20 leagues to the south of those four islands abovementioned. It is a large island about 90 leagues long, and 18 broad. The natives acknowledge the King of Portugal their sovereign, and have embraced the Romish religion. They permitted the Portugueze colony of Maccao in China, to build a fort on it, which they called Leifaw, and the Dutch a factory called Coupang, but would never suffer either to interfere with the government of their country. The Portugueze of Maccao drove a very advantageous trade to Timor for many years, and, finding the natives inclined to be passive Catholicks, tried by fair means to get the whole government of the country into the church's hands, but could not beguile them that way, therefore they tried force, and commenced a war, but to their cost they found, that the Timoreans would not lose their liberty for fear of the loss of blood. They chose one Gonsales Gomez their general. He was a native of Timor, and had travelled to Maccao and Goa. He allowed the King of Portugal to be the sovereign and protector of their country, and they would be his loyal subjects, providing their laws and liberties might be secured to them.

That war with the city of Maccao lasted abont fifteen years. It began about the year 1688, and was not quite finished in the 1703, and Maccao in the end was ruined by it; for it exhausted both their stock of men and money to such a degree, that of 1000 citizens the town had before the war, there was hardly fifty left at the end of it, and of forty sail of trading ships, not above five left.

The viceroy of Goa sent an embassy to Gonsales Gomez, in the year 1698, to persuade him to peace, and to accept of a governor general and an archbishop from Goa, but to no purpose, for they declared, that they would admit of no foreign governors in their country, either in church or state.

The

The product of the island is sandal-wood, the best and largest in the world, which is a great commodity in China, also gold and bees-wax. The gold is plentiful, but of a low touch, not amounting to 20 caracts fine. And all manner of provisions are plentiful and cheap, but no anchoring about the island, except at Leifaw and Coupang. And the coast is subject to frequent tornadoes, or squalls of wind and rain, introduced with much thunder and lightning.

The natives report, that at a certain season of the year, after the south-west monsoons are set in, they can discern an high mountainous land to the southward of them, and continues in sight from December to the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, and then disappears. If the report be true, it must be some floating island, that comes from and goes to New Holland, which is the next tract of land to the south of Timor. These accounts I had from a Portugueze gentleman called Alexander Pinto, who was a Captain at Leifaw four years, and was bound from Batavia to Goa, in anno 1704. He went passenger with me, and seemed to be a man of probity.

I never met with any body that could give me any tolerable account of the islands to the eastward of Timor, or of New Guinea, or New Holland, and so I will pass by them, and direct my course to the Islands of Banda, where cloves, nutmegs, and mace grow, but are now all engrossed by the Dutch, who allow one of them called Pullo-wey, to belong to the English, after they had been at 40 years pains to cut down all the clove and nutmeg trees that grew on it, and have made it death for the natives ever to plant any on it.

The English had also a factory on Pullo-ron, but were glad to leave it about the year 1618. The Dutch have that island still, with Loutore and Noro, where they reap plentiful crops of spice.

I must now steer west-north-west about 30 leagues, to the famous island of Amboina, where as real a tragedy was acted on the English, as ever happened among friends and allies. The story is too well known to need a place here. However, at present it has altered its scene, and turned prodigiously religious, having no less than 50 Dutch Protestant churches on that holy island, and the natives are very fond and forward to turn converts, especially since some Amboinese youths have been sent to Holland, and trained up in their universities, and honoured with church orders. They coming back to their own native land, loaded with such fine qualifications, and receiving great respect from their masters the Dutch, make the conversion of the populace very easy.

The Dutch have so fortified Amboina, by their own report, that they think it impregnable. It is true Victoria Bay is fathomless till shipping come within a mile of their forts, and there is no other place for anchoring on that side of the island; but I have heard some Dutch officers, in disputing their knowledge of Amboina, say, that on that side that fronts the coast of Ceram, there are several places of anchoring at a mile or two distant from the shore, and never a fort built to impede an enemy's landing, and that if an army superior in force to what the Dutch have at Victoria, would march but six or seven leagues by land, they might come on the back of the town, and lodge on hills so near it, that none could pass the streets in the town, nor appear on their bulwarks or batteries; but this was a secret that the English or French ought not to know.

The island Ceram, near Amboina, has also cloves and nutmegs, and the Dutch appropriate that island to themselves, and have a factory on it called Ambay. It is a large island of 70 leagues long, and 15 broad.

Buro is alſo a Dutch iſland, producing cloves and nutmegs. It lies weſt-north-weſt of Amboina, about 35 leagues diſtant. It is about 20 leagues long, and in the middle 10 broad.

Pullo-ouby lies in the way between Buro and Gilolo, the largeſt of all the Molucca iſlands. The ſouth part of Gilolo is called Batta-china and the equator cuts the iſland in the middle. On the weſt ſide of Gilolo, and at a little diſtance from it, lie Batchian, Matchian, Montil, Tidor, and Ternatey. They are but ſmall iſlands, but produce the greateſt quantities of cloves and nutmegs of all the Molucca iſlands.

One Captain Ethrington, in a ſhip called the Reſolution, made a trip to Gilolo about the year 1692 and got 40 tuns of ſpice. He called at Batavia in his way to England, and the Dutch being very ſolicitous to know where he had been, he freely told them, to let them ſee the Engliſh were not quite ignorant of that navigation, if they had a mind to follow it.

I now continue my courſe weſtward along the equator, to the iſland Celebes, the eaſt-ſide of which iſland, and a great number of ſmaller ones, are little frequented by ſtrangers, but on the ſouth-weſt corner of it is Maccaſſer, where the Dutch have a factory, but its chief product is corn, which indeed all thoſe eaſtern iſlands abound in, and conſequently in poultry. The natives are of a light olive colour, and the women well ſhaped, and pretty beautiful, for which reaſon they are in great eſteem among the Dutch and Chineſe, who buy them for bed-fellows, and often marry them. The men and women are both ſhort in ſtature, but well featured, and well limbed. They are very loving and faithful if well uſed, but exceeding revengeful if ill uſed. The country is populous and very large, being almoſt 200 leagues long, but the breadth unequal. At the broadeſt it is about 70 leagues. About 30 leagues weſtward lies

CHAP. XLV.—*Gives an Account of* Borneo.

THE great iſland of Bornew, or Borneo, the largeſt except California, in the known world. The weſt ſide of it is for the moſt part deſert. On the ſouth-end lies Pullo-laut, a moſt excellent harbour for ſhipping. The iſland is but thinly peopled, its product being nothing but rice, but the north-end of it lies near many rivers that come out of the pepper countries. The iſland is about 20 leagues long, but of an unequal breadth, though in ſome parts it is 12 leagues broad.

There is a channel runs between Pullo lout and the iſland of Borneo, about two miles broad, ſome places narrower, and ſome broader, and from ſeven to five fathoms deep, all the way through, and there are ſeveral riſing grounds along that ſhore, fit to build houſes on, which is a rarity on the ſea coaſts of Borneo, ſeldom to be met with. I heard Mr Sylvanus Landen, who had been chief of Borneo, ſay, that he much wondered why the Company of England ſhould have ſettled a factory at Banjarmaſſeen, where they were forced for ſeveral years to keep their factory on floats of great trees tied together, and made faſt to trees growing in the water, on the ſide of a river, with cables made of rottans; and when they built a factory, they were forced firſt to drive poles in the ground, to make a foundation, as the Dutch do at Amſterdam, and raiſe earth on them to build upon.

Captain Barry, a very ingenious gentleman, drew the plan, but died before the work was brought to any great forwardneſs; and Mr. Cunningham, who came thither from Pullo-condore, when that factory was cut off by their Maccaſſer ſoldiers, came to the head of the Company's affairs. He was bred a ſurgeon, and had turned virtuoſo; would

would spend whole days in contemplating on the nature, shape, and qualities of a butterfly or a shellfish, and left the management of the Company's business to others as little capable as himself, so every one but he was master.

Their factory was not half finished before they began to domineer over the natives, who passed in their boats up and down the river, and very imprudently would needs search one of the King's boats, who was carrying a lady of quality down the river, which so provoked the King, that he sware revenge, and accordingly gathered an army, and shipped it on large praws, to execute his rage on the factory and shipping that lay on the river. The Company had two ships, and there were two others that belonged to private merchants, and I was pretty deeply concerned in one of them. The factory receiving advice of the King's design, and the preparations he had made, left their factory, and went on board the shipping, thinking themselves more secure on board than ashore. When all things were in a readiness, the army came in the night, with above 100 praws, and no less than 3000 desperate fellows. Some landed and burnt the factory and fortifications, while others attacked the ships, which were prepared to receive them. The English had made fast nettings from the mizen to the fore shrouds, about two fathoms high above the gunnel, that they might not be too suddenly boarded by the enemy, and to have the opportunity of using their blunderbusses and lances, before the enemy could get on their decks. As soon as they in the ships saw the fleet approaching near them, they plied their guns with double round and partridge, and made a great carnage, but all did not deter the assailants from boarding, who when they got as high as the gun-wall or gunnel, were at a loss how to get over the netting, and so were killed with great ease. Some got in at the head door of one of the ships, and killed some English in the fore-castle, but they were soon destroyed. The two great ships, though in danger, beat off the enemy with small loss, but the little ships were both burnt, with most of their men, and one Dutch gentleman who was obliged to flee from Batavia in one of the small vessels, was also burnt in her. His name was Hoogh Camber, and had been ambassador to the King of Persia.

I heard some China men say, who were there at the time of the engagement, that the English killed (in two hours that the action was hot) above 1500 men, besides many wounded and maimed, but the English were forced to be gone from their settlement. The King thought his revenge had gone far enough in driving them from their settlement, and finding the loss of the English trade affected his revenue, he let all English who traded to Johore and other circumjacent countries, know, that he would still continue a free trade with the English on the old footing, but would never suffer them, or any other nation, to build forts in his country Several English have been there since, and loaded pepper, and have been civilly treated; and the Dutch sent a ship from Batavia in anno 1712, to trade with them, but the natives refused commerce with them.

The inland country is very mountainous, but towards the sea very low and marshy, occasioned by the great rains that continue about eight months in the year. It produces rice, and many sorts of fruits in great abundance. Pepper is peculiar to the countries about Banjaar, and to the westward about Succadaana, they have small diamonds, but their waters being inclined to be yellow, are not so much in esteem as those of Golcondah.

The English had formerly a factory at Succadaana, but why they left it I know not, unless it was for the unwholesomeness of the country; yet in anno 1694, I met with a ship from Fort St. George, bound to Succadaana, commanded by one Captain Gullock, who

who had been there the year before, and praised it for a wholesome country, and the inhabitants very civil and obliging. He bought some Surat baftaes of me, at 45 per cent. on invoice, and expected to make as much himself.

It is reported, that on the coast of Borneo, between Lao and Sobar, there are many canibals, but I never heard it confirmed by any but Chinese. And from Sobar to Succadaana the people are civil enough to strangers.

Sambas is the next country of commerce to the northward of Succadaana. It produces but very little pepper, but some gold, pearls, and bees-wax, which makes it well frequented by the Chinese, who carry Surat piece-goods from Malacca and Johore, and barter to very good purpose for the aforesaid commodities. Bees-wax is the current cash in that country. It is melted but not refined, and cast in moulds of an oblong square, the breadth about two thirds of the length, and the thickness half of the breadth, and a rattan withy to lift them by, cast in the wax. A piece weighs a quarter of a pecul, which comes to, in English weight, 34 pounds, and a pecul is valued in payments at 10 masscies, or 40 shillings sterling. They have also for smaller payments pieces of eight to a pecul and sixteenths, and for smaller money they have couries. The prince and people are very hospitable and civil, so that strangers trade there with security. I knew a French Armenian, who coming from Manilla, had the misfortune to lose his ship on that part of the coast that belongs to the King of Sambas. They had but little goods, for generally Spanish dollars are the common return for goods sold at Manilla. When the people that were shipwrecked came ashore, they were carried to the King, who examined what they were, from whence they came, and whither bound, with what they were loaded, and several other interrogatories, and then ordered them provisions, and men and boats to assist them in saving their treasure, for there was but very little lost besides the ship and stores that were not worth the trouble of saving. The King gave him pearls and bees-wax for his silver, at such reasonable rates, that the Armenian gained 40 per cent. at Batavia (whither he went in a China vessel) for the goods he disposed of there. At Batavia he took passage on board a French ship for China, and in their way called at Trangano, where I met with him in the year 1719. I had the whole account from himself, and saw some beautiful pearls that he was carrying to the China market, and among them a pair of pears worth 50l. sterling.

The Chinese drive a small trade from Siam and Cambodia, to the town called Borneo, that lies about 80 leagues to the northward of Sambas, and these are all the trading places that lie about the north end of this island, that I could hear of. The religion in Borneo is Pagan, except in some places on the sea coast there are some Mahometans, and so I must leave Borneo, and steer my course towards the coast of Johore on the continent, but in my way there are two clusters of islands that lie half-way. One is called Anamba, and the other Natuna, but by the natives Sciantan is the common appellation for both clusters. Their inhabitants are called Bougies, a fierce desperate people, and the only product of those islands is bettle-nut, and the religion Mahometan. The islands are very high, and may be easily seen in a clear day above fifteen leagues.

Chap. XLVI. — *A Continuation of the Dominions of* Johore *on the Continent, and the Islands adjacent.*

THE Johore islands to the north-eastward of the promontory of Romano, (from whence I took my departure, when I steered among the islands) are first, Pullo-tingi, then

then Pullo-aure, then Pullo-pisang, and then Pullo-timoun, the highest and largest among them. They are all inhabited and produce poultry, and small goats, and some fruits, but no commodities for export. Their religion is Mahometan.

Pahaung lies north-west of Pullo-timoun, about 20 leagues distant. Pullo-varella lies in the way, but it is rather a rock than an island, therefore hardly worth noticing. Pahaung river has a pretty large island lying in its mouth, which makes two channels into it. The north entry has no less than four fathoms and an half at high-water, and the channel is about an hundred and fifty yards broad. Just within the bar is good secure anchoring in six fathoms, and there are good fresh water springs within two hundred paces of the sea-shore. The river is a mile broad, but so full of banks, that it is with trouble a small vessel of thirty tuns can go to the town, which lies about twelve miles up the river, where I left Rajah Bowncea, before I took my ramble among the islands. He was there in anno 1719, with five or six hundred men to keep that country firm to his father.

Pahaung river runs far into the country, and washes the foot of Malacca hill. There is abundance of gold dust found in it, and I have seen some lumps, of five or six ounces each. They do not dive for the dust above three fathoms, though there are some places in the river above ten deep, and generally where the deepest water is, most gold-dust is found. It has exported some years above eight hundred weight. Along the sides of the river pepper is planted for export, but not above 300 tuns in a year, because they want vend for more, though, if they had a market to carry it off, in five years time they could make a product of 3000 tuns. Besides pepper and gold, there are tin and elephants teeth, but in no great plenty, and the best canes in the world grow hereabout. The country is woody, and is stored with wild game and fruits, their rivers and sea with great plenty and variety of excellent fish, but the country is not reckoned very healthful, because of the abundance of rains. Trangano is the next place of note for commerce, and in anno 1720, the place of residence of a poor distressed King, who by a senseless devotion to superstition, ruined his country and his own family.

I gave an account before of his brother's tragical end, and the daring boldness of a youth that shewed him the way to die by his own hand. In 1719, I saw the youth waiting on the King, and fanning him with a peacock's tail. In my way to Siam, I called at Trangano, and went to wait on him, and he remembered that he had been acquainted with me five and twenty years before. I staid about a week, and every day he wanted to see me. He often repented his taking the weight of sovereignty on his shoulders, and feared that his end would prove as tragical as his brother's.

Trangano stands pleasantly near the sea, on the side of a river, that has a shallow bar, and many rocks scattered to and again within the river, but room enough in many places to moor small ships very securely, to keep them safe from the dangers of the winds or floods. There may be about one thousand houses in it, not built in regular streets, but scattered in ten or twenty in a place distant a little way from another's villa of the same magnitude. The town is above half-peopled with Chinese, who have a good trade for three or four jonks yearly, besides some that trade to Siam, Cambodia, Tunqueen, and Sambas. When I came back from Siam with my cargo unsold, as I mentioned before, I came to Trangano to dispose of what I could of my goods, and to procure a new cargo for Surat, the kind King assisted me in doing both, with all the readiness and cheerfulness imaginable.

While my ship lay in the road, the Bougies came with a fleet of two hundred sail of praws, designing to plunder the town of Trangano; but they were afraid to pass so near

near our guns as they must have been necessitated to do before they could get into the river. When they came to a place about five leagues off, they sent a prow to my ship, and the officer told me that he had a commission to proffer and pay me 3000 Spanish dollars, if I would let them pass quietly into the river. I ordered him away, and threatened, that, if they came, they should feel the force of my powder and shot. When I came ashore, the King asked me if I would protect him. I told him I would with all the force I had. He wept, as if he had been diffident, and desired that I would take him on board of my ship, and carry him whithersoever I went, for his life was burdensome to him, and he could trust none of his own people. I persuaded him that I was sincere in my resolution to protect him, and that it would look too mean to run away from his kingdom, while there was a possibility to regain it.

He told me, that he had sent ambassadors to the Dutch at Malacca for assistance, according to the ancient league between his ancestors and them, when they joined their forces to expel the Portugueze from Malacca, but instead of finding relief there, his enemies were assisted with powder and shot, and his rebellious subjects had a safe retreat at Malacca.

I advised him to take protection from the Dutch, and allow them the monopolization of the trade of his country, and to part the revenues between him and them. He seemed to be offended with the proposal, but said he would be glad if the English would settle in his dominions, and fortify what places they pleased, and that he would willingly come under their protection, and that there were none that ever entertained the Dutch in their countries as guests, but would willingly be quit of them again, if they could.

There happened to come a French ship thither at that time, being bound to China. The King gave the captain and me an invitation to dinner, and, after we had regaled ourselves, we entered on a discourse of the miserable state of a country under the malignancy of a civil war. He asked us, if such calamities had happened to England or France. We assured him there had been often such distempers among us, but that when the disease was cured, our state became as strong and vigorous as ever.

He had several times asked me, if I thought the English might be persuaded to settle a colony in his country, that Pahaung might be made a place of great trade, if there were shipping and stock to carry off the pepper and tin which that country alone could produce. I told him, I could give him no encouragement to believe they would.

He then, despairing of getting an English colony settled, proposed to Mr. Pedro-willamont Garden, who commanded the French ship, if he thought the French nation might be induced to settle in his dominions, and the French gentleman gave him hopes that the King of France might be induced to accept of his friendship, and settle a colony, providing he would certify his request by a letter, which the King of Johore readily agreed to. It was written in the Malayan language, and translated by a Chinese into Portugueze, and I translated it from that language into English. The original and the English translation were delivered to the French captain, but I never heard of it since.

He told me, that when I came to Bombay, I should acquaint the governor of the desire he had to live under the protection of the English, and that with 150 men they might bridle the insolence of his own rebellious subjects, and their allies, the Bougies, too.

Trangano is a very pleasant and healthful country, and affords a fine land-scape from the sea. The hills are low, and covered with ever-green trees, that accommodate the inhabitants with variety of delicious fruits, such as lemons, oranges, limes, mangoes, mangostans, rambostans, letchees and dureans: and in the vallies, corn, pulse and

sugar-canes.

sugar-canes. The ground is cultivated by the Chinese, for the lazy Malayas cannot take that trouble.

The product of the country is pepper and gold, which are mostly exported by the Chinese. About 300 tuns are the common export of pepper, and we have it almost for one half of the price that we pay for Malabar pepper. From the month of October till March, their river is shut up by the bar, which fills up by the impetuosity of the great seas sent on that shore by the north-east monsoons, but in the months of July and August their seas produce the finest fish that ever I saw or tasted. There is one sort exactly like a salmon, both in shape and taste, but the fish is white, as the salmon is red. Their poultry are large, plump, and sweet, but beef is scarce, except buffalo beef, and that is plentiful enough.

In anno 1720, the Bougies came to Pullo-capass, which is but five leagues from Trangano; but there are other islands that lie 12 leagues more southerly, called, in the maps, by the name of Pullo-capass, but their right name, which the natives call them by, is Pullo-tetang.

However, from Pullo-capass the Bougies sent an embassy to Trangano, pretending an accommodation with the King, to see if he would allow them to enjoy the continent and islands beyond the promontory of Romano, and they would leave him the quiet possession of the rest; and, while they were in a large hall conferring, some unusual sudden noise happened to be heard from without, which the guilty Bougies taking to be some design in execution against them, one of them runs to the King, and stabbed him to the heart, which made a very great disorder, and many were killed on both sides; and what Bougies remained, got on board of their gallies, and posted to their fleet at Pullo-capass, with the news of what had happened at Trangano, and next day the Bougies went into the river, and plundered the town, except certain houses which belonged to the Dattabandaar, or first minister, whom the King, in his lifetime, ever mistrusted, but, by the ill situation of his affairs, was obliged to hide his thoughts, and defer his resentments till a proper time.

The next place to the northward, in the Johore territories, is Patany. It was formerly the greatest port for trade in all those seas, but the inhabitants being too potent to be afraid of the King's laws, they became so insolent, that merchants were obliged to remove their commerce to countries of more security. It was the staple port for Surat shipping, and from Goa, Malabar, and Chormondel, they had a good trade, and so they had from China, Tunquin, Cambodia, and Siam, but the merchants finding no restraint on robbers and murderers, were obliged to give their trade a turn into another channel, which was a great advantage to Batavia, Siam, and Malacca, where they were kindly used, and in those ports it has contined ever since.

The Johore dominions reach but four or five leagues farther north, which, like most borderers, are inclined to rapine, and lying so near another's dominions, where they may be screened from the power of their own laws when they commit depredations, it makes them exercise their villainies with impunity. Between Trangano and Patany lie the islands of Redang. They are uninhabited, but sometimes the Saleeters or Malaya freebooters frequent them, and when they meet with trading vessels that they are able to master, they make prize of them, and carry the men into other countries than where they belong to, and sell them for slaves; and when they meet with no purchase at sea, they go ashore in the nights, and steal all they can get. Men, women, and children go all into the booty; but the China vessels afford them most prizes.

The Kings of Johore ever paid homage to the Kings of Siam, by sending them a rose made of gold in a golden box once in three years. The year 1719 happened to be the

year

year that the roſe came, for I ſaw the meſſenger that brought it at Siam, where he had orders from his maſter to know how my affairs went, with a proffer of the King's ſervice, if I came back into his country.

CHAP. XLVII.—*Gives an Account of the Dominions and City of Siam; with Remarks on the Revolution that happened there.*

SANGORE is the firſt town on the King of Siam's dominions. On that ſide it is under the government of Ligore, which was once the metropolis of a kingdom of the ſame name, but, by civil diſſentions, it became a prey to the King of Siam.

Sangore ſtands on the ſide of a large river. It yields ſome tin, elephants' teeth, agala-wood, and coarſe gold; but the inhabitants meet with ſo great diſcouragements in digging for tin, that there is very little to be procured, and what is manufactured is bought up by the Dutch factory at Ligore.

Ligore lies about 12 leagues to the northward of Sangore, and between them lies a low uninhabited iſland, called Papier. It reaches from Sangore within three leagues of Ligore river. It is well ſtored with wild buffaloes, hog, and deer, which are free for all perſons to kill at pleaſure. The road of Ligore lies two leagues from the river, and about a league within the river's mouth ſtands the Dutch factory, a pretty commodious houſe, built of brick, after the Dutch faſhion. The town ſtands about two miles above the factory. It is built of bamboos, and thatched with reed. There are many Pagan temples in it, which have ſteeples built very high, in form of very ſharp pyramids. They are ſo ſmall, that, in the road, they look like ſhips maſts. It produces abundance of tin, but the Dutch engroſs it all.

Pullo Cara, an high iſland, lies about twelve leagues off Ligore. The next place of note is Cui, a place that produces great quantities of tin and elephants teeth, but all are ſent to the city of Siam or Odia, for the King's uſe. The reſt of the coaſt being little frequented, I will paſs by it, and ſteer for the bar of

Siam. The city ſtands on an iſland in the river Memnon, which, by turnings and windings, makes the diſtance from the bar about 50 leagues. The country is low, and as fruitful as any ſpot of ground in the world in rice, legumen, fruits and roots, cattle, wild and tame. And the river abounds in many ſpecies of excellent fiſh, which plentifully indulge the inhabitants, and make them indolent and lazy, and conſequently proud, ſuperſtitious, and wanton.

The city is reckoned ten miles round the walls, and many canals, from the river, pierce through the city from all quarters. The walls of the city are high and thick, built of ſtone and brick; but the houſes of the natives, though large, are low, built on ſtakes driven into the ground, about 10 or 12 feet high; but the Mahometans, Chineſe, and Chriſtians, raiſe the grounds they build on high enough to be ſecure from the yearly inundations. The natives houſes are raiſed on thoſe ſtakes on the ſame account; and as their walls are built of bamboo and reeds, their roofs are built of the ſame materials, and are all thatched, except what are built on *terra firma*, and they are generally tiled. There are many arched bridges in the city, built of brick or ſtone, and ſome of wood. The floors of the natives houſes are made of ſplit bamboo or reeds made faſt together, ſo that one cannot move on them without both noiſe and ſhaking them.

The three palaces of their kings, and ſome temples, are the only magnificent edifices in the city; and ſome ſteeples belonging to the temples are gilded with gold on the outſide,

outfide; and in a fun-fhine they reflect the rays fo ftrongly, that at two or three miles diftance, they difturb the eye, when looked upon.

They have many large temples well decorated after their way, and well ftocked with gilded images of gods and goddeffes, of the priefts contrivance and canonizing, and they never want devotees to adore them, who pay their deceitful impofers very well for deceiving them; but they are not the only people that are fo cunningly deluded, for the fatal cuftom has fpread univerfally in all the corners of the world.

The great God, who created the univerfe, they have no image of, nor can they make any of him, becaufe he never fhewed himfelf in any bodily fhape, and therefore they can form no idea of his fhape, dimenfions, or beauty; but Tipedah, the great God's partner, has often fhewed himfelf, and him they worfhip in his image with the higheft adoration. Praw Prumb and Sommo Cuddem, his friends, they adore with the fecond degree in worfhip; and Prapout and Samfay have the third fort of veneration paid to their images.

They have many little deities inferior to thofe above-mentioned, whom they adore as patrons or protectors of feveral tribes of men, and other animals of different countries and cities, of health, profperity, and other chances and cafualties; fo every one is at liberty to choofe his own patron or protector, and worfhip him according to his own mind, but none are perfecuted for the opinion of the way he is to worfhip, either the great or the little gods. That heavenly frenzy is only a raging mad diftemper that affects the melancholic brains of the weftern world.

I was in one temple pretty large, built exactly four-fquare, and each fquare contained juft an hundred images. They were placed in niches or domes about four feet from the ground. There were more goddeffes than gods, and all were in a fitting pofture, crofs-legged, as tailors fit on their fhopboards. Their nofes were low and fmall, their vifage long, their ears large, and the lappets of them thick and plump. They fat promifcuoufly in thofe niches, and all clothed in one livery of gold leaf. They were almoft as big as full-grown men and women, but very different in their fubftances. The priefts told us, that fome were of pure gold, others of Tecul filver, which has no alloy in it, fome of copper, and fome of brafs, and fome of baked clay, but, for want of fumpture laws among them, it was hard to know the gentleman from the beggar by their garb, or a lady from a laundrefs.

In one temple, as I was informed, ftands the famous Samfay, twenty yards in height. He is in a right lineal defcent from little Samfay, who caufed fo much war between Siam and Pegu, which never ended but with the diffolution of the Pegu empire. In moft of their temples there are frightful dragons, ftanding fentinels at their gates, but whether they are placed there to keep in the gods, or to keep out devils, I know not.

There are reckoned no lefs than 50,000 clergymen, or tallapoys, belonging to the temples, in and about the city of Siam; but they are eafy to the ftate, having no ftated benefices or other revenues, and yet they are plentifully fupplied with all the neceffaries of life by the charity and benevolence of the laity.

There is one temple about three miles below the city, on the oppofite fide of the river, called the Fifhes' Temple; becaufe annually in the month of September, when the floods overflow the low ground (as in Egypt), there are good numbers of fifhes, almoft like fmall falmon, that frequent a pond clofe to that temple, and are to be found in no other place in the Siam dominions, and they are fo tame, that they will come clofe to our boats, and frifk and play on the furface of the water, and if any body has a mind to feed them with bread, cocoa-nut, meat, or other food that does not eafily

 feparate,

feparate, it is only to hold fome near the furface of the water, and they will take it familiarly from the hand. I have often taken pleafure to feed them, and fee them play; but as foon as we leave off feeding them they will withdraw, fo that hardly one is to be feen till a new fupply of victuals is offered to them.

But none dares offer to take one of them, for fear of raifing a zealous fanctified mob, who punifh fmall faults with the greateft feverities, and thofe fifhes being confecrated to the god of that temple, are fecurely protected by the confecration. They continue about the temple till the middle of December, that the floods begin to draw off the ground, and then they depart, and are feen no where in any river or pond belonging to Siam, till September brings them back to their temple.

Whatever animal comes within the verge of a temple, it is fecured from purfuit or violence. I knew a Portugueze inhabitant of Siam, who fhot a crow as it fat on the branch of a tree that grew near a temple, on which the priefts raifed a mob, who broke both the poor man's legs and arms, and left him in the field for dead; but fome Chriftians coming accidentally by, carried him in a boat, in that deplorable ftate, to a French furgeon, who fet his bones, and cured him. I faw him alive and well in anno 1720.

The French have a bifhop at Siam, with a church and a feminary for the education of converts. They ftand a little above the city, on the oppofite fide of the river. They make but few converts, except when corn is dear, and then fome of the poorer fort receive baptifm, which entitles them to a maintenance from the church, but, when plenty returns, they throw away their beads and brazen faint, and bid farewel to Chriftianity. In anno 1720, there were not above 70 Chriftians in and about Siam; and they the moft diffolute, lazy, thievifh rafcals that were to be found in the country.

The bifhop was one Mr. Ciffee, a man of about 80 years of age, who, in a famine that happened there in anno 1708, took up about 3000l. fterling from the King, to buy corn for the fupport of his church, and fuch poor Siamers as were converted by the neceffity of the times, who relapfed again as foon as the famine ceafed, and the poor old bifhop cannot leave the country till that debt be difcharged. He is fuperftitioufly zealous for his religion, and would fain go to Couchin-China, or Tunquin, to die a martyr, becaufe it is death by their law to preach any foreign doctrine without leave firft obtained from their Kings.

Whatever principles he may have had in religion I know not, but I am fure that he was a diminutive moralift, which I knew by experience, in feducing fome of my feamen, who were black Chriftians, to leave my fhip at Siam, contrary to his promife, which obliged me to buy flaves to fupply their places, but I left him fome caufe to repent of his folly and breach of promife.

There were four or five priefts there befides the bifhop, one whereof always attends the college, and the others officiate daily in the church. They live abftemioufly, but, I believe, rather through force than choice, for their incomes are very fmall, as charity and piety are very cold among their flock. The Portugueze have alfo a church there, built on the fide of the river, oppofite to the lower end of the town, but their priefts are generally fo fcandalous in their lives, that few frequent their church, or care for their converfation. The Chinefe being very numerous in Siam, have feveral fmall temples, but none remarkable for their ftructure or beauty.

The Dutch have a factory there, about a mile below the town, on the fame fide of the river. Their greateft inveftments are in tin, fapan-wood, and deers fkins, which they

they buy up for the Japon market. The Siam market takes off but little European goods; however the Dutch chief makes a pretty good figure there.

The English, for many years, had also a factory there, till about the year 1686, the East India Company seeking occasions to pick a quarrel with the Siamers, in order to withdraw, they took hold of such as they could first find, though never so frivolous. The first was about anno 1684 The Carolina, bound from England to China, had the misfortune to lose her passage, and coming to Siam to pass away the north-east monsoons, and the King of Siam having occasion for some stores for shipping out of the Carolina's cargo to equip some ships that he had built in order to humble the Cambodians, and the Couchin-Chinese, who disturbed the navigation of his country, he civilly requested the English chief to supply him at the prices the same commodities used to be sold at to merchants, but he could not find that favour, which he resented, and threatened to disturb their commerce. At length, they supplied him with some part of what he demanded, to avert the ill consequences that might happen by a total refusal. This was represented to the Company in the darkest colours, and they thought that sufficient to ground a war on, but they had at that time a fleet of large ships, which they had equipped to regain their trade of Bantam, and other places, which the Dutch had insolently robbed them of, but they were disappointed by the deep politics of King Charles II. as is before observed.

However, the King of Siam continued his indulgence to the Company and their servants, in much affluence and luxury, continually carousing in debaucheries with wine and women, till their common salaries and gains by trade were in no proportion to their extravagant expences, however, that being a free country, they had liberty to spend their own and their masters estates as they pleased.

The King of Siam having formed the design of a war, as above mentioned, with Cambodia and Couchin-China, employed a good number of English who had resorted to Siam, to partake of the King's indulgence and bounty, and to help the Company's servants to spend their money. All the English who had a mind to enlist themselves on board of his fleet, had great encouragement of honourable posts and good salaries well paid, and they did perform actions in the war worthy of the bravery and courage of the English nation, by which the King's favour to the English increased more than before the war.

One Mr. Pots happened to be chief of the English factory at that time, who by his extravagant luxury had rioted away a great part of his masters goods and money, and had run his own credit out of doors. He then began to form projects how to clear accounts with his masters and creditors, without putting any thing in their pockets. The first was on 500 chests of Japon copper, which his masters had in specie at Siam, and they were brought into account of profit and loss, for so much eaten up by the white ants, which are really insects, that by a cold corroding liquid quality, can do much mischief to cloth, timber, or on any other soft body that their fluids can penetrate, but copper is thought too hard a morsel for them; however I saw that article in the Company's accounts, as they were remitted from Siam to Bombay, and were in Mr. Vaux's custody at Surat afterwards.

But that small article of 2500 pounds, went but a small way towards clearing of his accounts. So after supper one night as they were merrily carousing, the factory was set on fire, and that balanced all other accounts. Mr. Pots alledged to the King, that his subjects the Siamers, had done that mischief, and expected the King to be accountable for losses and damages sustained by the Company and their servants.

 The

The King, on the other hand, proffered to prove, that Mr. Pots and his drunken companions had done it, and that he expected the Company should be accountable to his subjects for the loss they had sustained by the fire, which had burnt several houses that lay near the factory. However, the Company adhered to the just complaints of their honest servants, and thought that the King's refusal to make good their demands, was a sufficient piece of ground to build their war on. However, the Company considering that a war could bring them no advantage, thought it enough to bully the Siamers, but never declared a war.

In the year 1685, the Company sent two ships to the bar of Siam. One was the Herbert of 800 tuns, the other the Prudent Mary of 400, to frighten the Siamers; but they did no damage to them, and the Siamers treated them civilly.

About the year 1680, there was one Constantine Falcon, a Greek by birth, that some years before had shipt himself steward of an English ship at London, bound to India, and being ordered for Siam, and finding some ill treatment on board, he deserted from the ship, and fled to a small village some distance from the city, where he amused himself in learning the Siam language. He being a sober, ingenious, and industrious person, soon made himself master of the language, and served as an interpreter for the English at court, where he was remarkably taken notice of, and got a post there. His behaviour recommended him to greater preferments, so that in a very few years he became prime minister of state, and behaved himself so well in that high station, that every thing belonging to the state of the country prospered, so that Siam became the richest and powerfullest kingdom in that part of the world.

The Jesuits hearing that one of the Romish communion sat at the helm of the Siam affairs, and it being a rich country, brought whole troops of them into Siam, who got the whole management of affairs into their hands, through the interest of the barkalong, that being the appellation of first minister. They tickled themselves with the fancy of bringing the whole kingdom of Siam under the pope's jurisdiction, and in anno 1683, the first year of his ministry, they got the King to send an embassy to the King of France, which ambassador came also to London, and settled a treaty of commerce for the English that should trade in Siam.

The Jesuits imposed on the King of France, and made him believe, that if he would send an embassy to Siam, that King would leave his own superstition, and embrace theirs. Accordingly an ambassador was sent, with many valuable French curiosities, and among them a very fine mass-book, with beautiful cuts of all the first rate saints in the Romish kalendar.

On the ambassador's arrival, he was received with the respect due to his character, and when the presents were laid before the King, according to custom, he seemed much pleased with their curiosity; but when he viewed the pictures in the mass-book, he asked a Jesuit who was interpreter, what they were, who answered, that they were the pictures of holy men now in heaven, and such as his brother the King of France adored; and as he designed an eternal friendship with his majesty, he hoped that he would also adore those pictures, and worship the images of those saints, rather than those idols that were worshipped all over his dominions. The King returned answer, that the gods of his country had been auspicuous to them who lived in it for time out of mind; and as it would be unjust and ungrateful to banish those gods that had been so long very kind to his predecessors and himself, so he could not turn his old gods off and take new ones in their places that he did not so well know, and that he would oblige his brother of France in any thing but that.

The

The King of France complimented Mr. Falcon with the order of Knighthood, and in his letter to him, wherein he recommended the French affairs to his care, particularly that of religion, he ſtyled him loving couſin and counſeller.

After the embaſſy was gone from Siam to France, the Jeſuits thought of nothing but bringing the trade of Siam under the power of the French, and in order to that, got the King to order the building of a fort on the river's ſide, oppoſite to the fort of Bencock, a town about 20 leagues below the city of Siam, and to have it manned with a garriſon of French, to be paid by the exchequer of Siam, and all this was granted according to their mind.

The fort is a regular tetragon, and can mount about 80 great guns. When the French got poſſeſſion they grew intolerably arrogant, which made the Siamers uneaſy, and murmured at the King's weakneſs, but that was in private; for certain deſtruction is the ſure reward of talking publicly of any miſmanagement of the ſtate, for a King of Siam can no more err in politics, than a pope can in matters of faith.

Yet about the year 1688, by ſome malevolent planet that over-ruled his actions, he made a war with his neighbours the Kings of Cambodia, and Couchin-China. He ſent an army by land, and a fleet by ſea, to carry on the war, but was not ſucceſsful by land. However in the land-army there was a mean perſon, a citizen of Siam, who kept a fruit-ſhop; he had a bold daring ſpirit, and behaved himſelf ſo well on all occaſions, in the land war, that he came to preferment, and at laſt was made generaliſſimo, and then ended the war to the ſatisfaction of the whole army abroad, and his prince at home, but when he brought back the army to Siam, ſeeing the King wrapt up in the opinion he had of the Jeſuits counſels, and the management they had in the affairs of ſtate, by the countenance of the King and his firſt miniſter my Lord Falcon, he picked a quarrel with the King, and having moſt of the army at his devotion, ſeized his maſter and put him to death, after the manner of royal criminals, or as princes of of the blood are treated when convicted of capital crimes, which is, by putting them into a large iron caldron, and pounding them to pieces with wooden peſtles, becauſe none of their royal blood muſt be ſpilt on the ground, it being, by their religion, thought great impiety to contaminate the divine blood, by mixing it with earth. And after he had murdered his maſter, he ſummoned all the Mandarines in the city, to hold a council in the palace.

My Lord Falcon, for that was generally his deſignation, had, by his civil deportment towards people of all ranks and degrees, ſo ingratiated himſelf, that he had a ſtronger party by far, both in the city and country, than the general; and beſides, had all the fleet at his devotion. Many of my Lord's friends diſſuaded him from obeying the ſummons; but to raiſe the forces of the city, and revenge the death of the King, and many officers of the army that deteſted the regicide would have come over to his party, which at leaſt was above 50,000 ſtrong, but being infatuate, he was deaf to all good advice, and went to the palace, where as ſoon as he had ſet his foot, he was ſeized by the general's guards, and beheaded; ſo the uſurper took the ſovereignty into his own hands, and at that inſtant was by *jure divino* made an infallible favourite of heaven, and the ſun, moon, and ſtars, had the honour to be his near relations.

Had my Lord Falcon followed his friends advice, or had courage anſwerable to his other good qualities, he had certainly been honoured with the diadem in Siam, and if he had introduced popery in the place of paganiſm, he had been honoured with a place in the pope's almanack, but his puſillanimity made him unworthy of both.

I had

I had this account from my lord's secretary, Mr. Bashpool, who, on his master's death, was clapped up in prison, and lay three years with his neck in the congoes, which are a pair of stocks made of bamboos, and was never taken out, but in order to be severely whipped, to make him accuse rich men whom the usurper had a mind to destroy, that he might seize their estates under the umbrage of justice and law.

I saw my Lady Falcon in anno 1719, and she was then honoured with the superintendency of His Majesty's confectionary. She was born in Siam, of honourable parents, and at that time much respected both in the court and city, for her prudence and humanity to natives and strangers, when they came into difficulties, or under the weight of oppressions from the officers of the court or city.

When the Siam ambassador returned from France and England, in the murdered King's time, his master, among many other questions, asked him if the King of France had any palaces like his at Siam, for beauty and magnitude, and the poor man unadvisedly told him truth that in France were many finer, nay, that the King of France's horse stables in Paris exceeded any buildings in India, which His Majesty took so ill, that he disgraced him, and was very near losing his head for his telling truth.

The King of Siam is as fond of lofty titles as the King of Pegu. Besides his proximity with the heavenly luminaries, he is a god on earth, in whose court are to be found justice, mercy, and benevolence to mankind, with such a train of senseless hyperboles, and at last, to illustrate all the rest, he is King of the white elephant, a title that none disputes with him but the King of Pegu.

The King bestows his anniversary blessing on his people in the month of September, when he passes through the city attended with a numerous train of elephants, among whom is the white elephant, but he is only of a cream colour, and I have seen several at Bangarie, a village near Jonkceyloan, as white as him. All the elephants that day are drest in their finest trappings, with drums, trumpets, hautboys, and other musical instruments, making a noise as they go along, but whether it is to divert His Majesty or his elephant, I know not, but I am sure the noise was harsh in my ears.

While he is making his elephantine cavalcade through the city, the populace dares not look him in the face, but prostrate on their knees and their elbows on the ground, with their hands open and joined above their heads, and their eyes fixt on the ground, or shut till he has past by them, then they are permitted to rise and look on his back parts or side.

In the month of November he also shews himself on the river, in a ballong or barge of 30 or 40 yards long, about two yards broad, and two feet deep, with a throne placed, near the middle of her length, about seven feet high, and a rich canopy over his head, and being seated on the throne, his greatest lords or minions sit under the throne, and about 50 or 60 rowers are seated afore and be-aft the throne, (clothed in carnation coloured waistcoats, with fine caps or turbands on their heads,) to row or paddle His Majesty wherever he orders them, and there are ordinarily above 1000 other barges to wait on His Majesty, besides several thousands of other common ballongs, insomuch, that for five or six miles, the river is covered with boats, except near His Majesty's barge, and there is half a mile of the river clear for his barge to move in.

About four or five in the evening, he goes in his barge to a temple about three miles above the city, on the opposite side of the river, where the priests pray for him, and present him with two yards and an half of cotton cloth, that must be spun and woven the same day that the King comes to receive it. After sun sets, he embarks

again

again (leaving some royal gratuity to the priests for their miraculous present) and is attended in state to his palace.

His reason for honouring the river and his people that time of the year, is to forbid the river formally to flow higher or longer than such a number of inches in height, or of days in time, as he sets it; yet sometimes it disobeys his royal commands.

All the Mandarines belonging to the government, whose affairs require their residence in the city, whose numbers generally amount to 3000, must daily attend in the palace, except they have leave to be absent, and if any one transgresses, he is severely whipped with split rattans, which cut pretty deep into the flesh, and leave conspicuous marks behind them. The greater the marks appear, the greater the honour they take them to be; and the pretty ladies are not exempted from the flagellation, for very small faults. And I have seen some pretty agreeable young gentlewomen with rattan marks on their backs, which they are so far from covering, that as they pass the streets, they expose their backs, though their breasts, bellies, and necks, are covered with a scarf, seeming to glory in being so much taken notice of by the greatest King on earth.

The women in Siam are the only merchants in buying goods, and some of them trade very considerably. The husbands in general are maintained by the industry of their wives. And the Europeans that trade to Siam, accommodate themselves as they do in Pegu, with temporary wives, almost on the same conditions too, and it is thought no disgrace to have had many temporary husbands, but rather an honour that they have been beloved by so many different men The Christian priests cry down that way of marrying, and want every heretic, as well as Christian catholic, to be tied to some young lasses of their bringing up, but the heretics, according to their innate principles, generally continue deaf and obstinate to the grave advice and sound doctrine of the holy fathers, and marry according to the Siam way. The catholics dare not do so for fear of excommunication, but the Siam wives generally prove the most obedient, loving, and chaste, for which reason, when the catholics once go from Siam to follow their business in other countries, they seldom return to Siam, but leave their beloved wives a legacy to the church, who is a very indulgent mother to her termagant daughters.

The natives of both sexes go bare-headed, and their hair cut within two inches of the skin, and gummed, and combed upwards, which makes their head seem very big, and all in bristles like a boar's back. They are well shaped in body and limbs, with a large fore-head and a little nose, and handsome mouth with plump lips, and black sparkling eyes, their ears of a moderate size, but large thick lappets. The men have but little hair on their chins, and they are of an olive-colour, but the women of a straw complexion, and some of the ladies have a little tincture of red in their cheeks and lips, but whether it is natural or artificial I know not. They are very prolific and long-lived, which may be partly imputed to their temperance in eating and drinking.

After the usurper had settled himself on the throne of Siam, he ordered the French to deliver their fort at Bencock to an officer that he sent to take possession of it, but they refused, without first making terms for themselves, on which he sent a part of his army to attack it, and threatened every man's life that returned before it was taken. His orders were punctually put in execution, and all the French got, was the honour of dying bravely in the defence of their liberty. The fort stands still undemolished, but no artillery is in it.

In-

In Siam they have ſeveral ways in puniſhing criminals with death, for [illegible] and other ſuch like peccadilloes. Beheading is the common way. For rebellion or mutiny they are ripped up alive, and their guts and entrails taken out, and their carcaſes woven up in a twig caſe, and tied up to a ſtake for vultures and other voracious fowls, or dogs to feed on. I ſaw eighteen one morning going to be executed ſo for mutiny. They were each put on a triangular ſeat, with their necks and hands in wooden fetters, and carried by three ſlaves in chains through the ſtreets to the place of execution, but they looked as if they had been almoſt ſtarved in priſon, for they were very meagre. Some were weeping, others joyful that they were near the end of a miſerable life.

For treaſon and murder, the elephant is the executioner. The condemned perſon is made faſt to a ſtake driven into the ground for the purpoſe, and the elephant is brought to view him, and goes twice or thrice round him, and when the elephant's keeper ſpeaks to the monſtrous executioner, he twines his trunk round the perſon and ſtake, and pulling the ſtake from the ground with great violence, toſſes the man and the ſtake into the air, and in coming down, receives him on his teeth, and ſhaking him off again, puts one of his fore-feet on the carcaſe, and ſqueezes it flat.

In anno 1717, the King of Siam made war on his neighbour of Cambodia, and invaded his country with an army of 50,000 by land, and 20,000 by ſea, and committed the care of his armies to his barkalong, a Chineſe, altogether unacquainted with war. The China-man accepted of the charge with much reluctancy, but the King would not be denied. The war proved unſucceſsful, but I will leave the particulars till I treat of Cambodia, and return to Siam, where I had ſome difficulties to meet with.

In anno 1719, I went thither with a cargo to diſpoſe of, expecting to trade on the footing of the old treaty concluded at London with the King of England and the King of Siam's ambaſſador, in anno 1684; but, on my arrival, I found that Mr. Collet, governor of Fort St. George, had cancelled that agreement by his ambaſſador Powny, as I have already obſerved, and the new conditions being too hard for me to ſtand to, I ſolicited for liberty to depart again with my ſhip and cargo, which I could not obtain in leſs than four months.

Collet's attorney at the court of Siam was a Perſian by birth, but had come to Siam with his father when very young, and had remained about 40 years at Siam. He was as complete a raſcal as Collet could have found for his villanous purpoſes; for by falſe informations to the King he had brought many honeſt men into trouble, and ſome treaſure into the King's coffers.

When I underſtood that he was the remora that had put a ſtop to my commerce, I tried if I could remove him by large preſents, but all to no purpoſe, for if I traded, it muſt be on the ſcheme laid down by Collet, by the negotiation of Powny, who kept one Colliſon as his reſident at Siam, to conſult and inform the Perſian of the beſt methods to ruin the Engliſh traders that had not Collet's letters of protection.

This Perſian (whoſe name was Oia Sennerat) and I, were diſcourſing one day of my affairs in the Induſtan language, which is the eſtabliſhed language ſpoken in the Mogul's large dominions, and, among other things, I was laying down to him the difficulties that might attend the King of Siam's trade, carried on from Merjee to Fort St. George, becauſe if the reſt of the Engliſh colonies were forbid trading with Siam, they had juſt cauſe to forbid his ſubjects to trade to Fort St. George, or any where elſe, and that other troubles might ariſe to the King's affairs, by thus impoſing on the King, who was ignorant of the conſequences that might follow in breaking the agreement made in England, without ſo much as once giving warning to the Engliſh colonies of other parts of India.

2 He

He answered me, that the King of Fort St. George could best give me an answer, who was able to protect the King of Siam's trade thither, and that His Majesty had no other foreign trade but Japon, that he valued, and the English had no trade that way to disturb his master's commerce; and that if I did not comply with the agreement made by Powny in Collet's name, I might go away when I could.

I told him that I had a mind to see the King, and would make him a present of a 1000 dollars, if he could find means to introduce me to his presence. He answered me, that the English had not good manners enough to be admitted into the presence of so great a King, and therefore I ought not to expect to appear before him, and for fear I should have made application to some other court favourite to introduce me, about two or three days after our confabulation, I heard that there was a proclamation published all over the city, that no foreigner should dare to approach within such a distance of the King's palace, under very severe penalties

About a week after I had a summons to appear before a tribunal, to answer to an indictment of speaking treason of the King. I knew myself innocent, and appeared at the time appointed, which was about eight in the morning The court was held in a large, square, oblong hall, open on all sides. About nine the judge came with some thousands of attendants, and, as he passed by me to take his place, he viewed me very narrowly, as I did him with much attention He was a man of a middle stature, about 50 years of age, of a pleasant but grave countenance, and had a quick sparkling eye He spoke to my interpreter, to bid me have a care of my tongue, lest I should prejudice myself in answering to intricate questions I thanked him for his admonition, and told him, "A word to the wise was sufficient."

Having placed himself, he ordered my indictment to be read, which was accordingly done, and in about half an hour's time it was ended. He asked me by my interpreter, if I understood what was libelled against me. I answered, "No" He then bade the interpreter inform me of the meaning of each particular paragraph, as they were read a second time with deliberation, and, having heard my impeachment, which was grounded only on my saying, "That the King had been imposed upon," I thought fit to deny all, and put my adversary Ora Sennerat to prove that I had said so, but, by the bye, I found, that saying the King of Siam was capable of being imposed on, is rank treason

The judge chose out of the assembly two procurators for each of us, and there were no small debates, for three or four hours, "Whether or not a stranger, who was ignorant of the laws of Siam, could come under the penalty annexed to the transgression of their laws, when they were broken through ignorance, and not with design," but my antagonist at last carried it in the affirmative, though the judge seemed to incline towards the opinions of my advocates.

Then the judge put Ora Sennerat to prove what I was accused of, and he produced two of his own servants, who stood at some distance when we were discoursing of my affairs, but my advocates challenged the laws of Siam for their insufficiency, for that law admits not of a servant's testimony, either for or against his master. Then he proffered to bring an undeniable witness against me, who was the only person with us when we discoursed, and that was Collison, who was presently sent for, and being set by my adversary, the judge asked him by the interpreter, if he was present at such a time, when Ora Sennerat and I were in warm discourse He answered, he was. He then interrogated him, if he had heard me say in my discourse, that the King had been imposed on. He affirmed he had; on which I perceived a cloud overspread the judge's countenance, and many others who had come to hear the trial seemed sorrowful.

After a little pause, the judge, by the interpreter, asked me what I had to say to Collison's evidence. I answered, that I had little knowledge of him, but that he might be an honest man, or otherwise, as his interest led him. All continued mute for a little space, and I broke the silence by desiring the judge to ask Collison in what language I held that discourse with Oia Sennerat, which the judge did, and was answered, that he did not well know, but that he believed it was in the Industan language. I begged the judge to ask him if he understood that language, and he did so. Collison, after some pause, answered, "No." Then the judge asked him angrily, and with an air of disdain, how he could come in as evidence of words spoken in a language that he did not understand, and he simply said, that he thought I had said so; at which the whole crowd gave an huzza, and clapped their hands, and seemed joyful. The judge reprimanded Oia Sennerat for putting him and the court to so much trouble, and complimented me on my safe delivery, and so departed seemingly well satisfied.

I had two British gentlemen that accompanied me all the time of my trial. One was commander of a small ship from Bengal, called Mr. Alexander Dalglish, and one Mr. John Saunders, who was second supercargo under me; and when the judge came, some executioners followed him with their instruments of death, to put the sentence in execution as soon as the judge pronounces it. Our debates held so long, that it was near eight at night before we got home. Had I been cast in my process, my head had been a sacrifice to my adversary's resentment, and my ship and cargo to the much-injured King, and, to sum up all, my ship's company had been the King's slaves. On my returning home victorious, I had the congratulations of all my friends, particularly the Chinese merchants, whose lives and estates might have been endangered by the like villainous informations.

My adversaries being shamefully disappointed in that project, had one more to try their skill in, and that was to bring me in for piracy; for, about four years before, Mr. Harrison, then governor of Fort St. George, had sent a ship to Amoy in China, and some China merchants having taken goods and money, to the amount of 20,000 tayels, or 6700l. sterling; when the term of payment came, they eloped, and the supercargoes could have no redress, which made them give orders to the captain of the ship to make reprisals, which they did on a large jonk belonging to the Barkalong of Siam; which jonk they carried with them to Fort St. George, and which fact my adversaries fixed on me, though, at that time, I was in Arabia or Persia, which I offered to prove by some Mahometan merchants that saw me there; but all that I could alledge would have been ineffectual, if I had not accidentally found some Chinese who belonged to the jonk when she was seized, and who knew both me and Captain Jones, who was the captor, and so it never came to a trial.

It being high time for me to get from Siam at any rate, I applied myself to my judge for his assistance, and carried a present of four yards of scarlet cloth, and some pieces of Surat goods, to the value of 20l. in all He received me very courteously, and promised me his assistance, but would accept of none of my presents. At last, on my pressing him to take it, he accepted of the scarlet cloth, but would not touch any of the Surat goods, though they were very fine in their kind, but recommended me to two officers more, whom I must address to make my request be the easier granted, and he told me, that those Surat goods would serve to make them my friends. I took his advice, and in three days had my clearance, for paying about 200l. for my ship's measurage, (an imposition of Mr. Collet's,) and so I fell down to Bencock, where, according to the Siam custom, I was obliged to put my guns ashore, before I could go up to the city. I lay there four or five days before orders were sent to deliver my

guns, which, as soon as I had got on board, and mounted, I told the officer that delivered them, to give my service to Oia Sennerat, and tell him, that if the King's three jonks arrived on this coast this season, he would hear farther from me by them.

By that time I was clear at Bencock, Captain Dalglish arrived there also, in order to proceed to Bengal. He had fallen into the trap laid by Collet, and had paid measurage and customs, besides the usual presents to the court, according to the old constitution, but he could not get ready to go so soon out of the river as I, otherwise I designed to have brought some troubles on Sennerat, if not on Collet and Powney's affairs at Siam, but Captain Dalglish being still in their power, tied my hands.

Siam bar is only a large bank of soft mud, and, at spring tides, not above ten or eleven feet water on it. It is easy getting into it in the south-west monsoons, because, in two or three tides, with the motion the ship receives from the small waves and the assistance of the wind, she slides through the mud. My ship drew thirteen feet, and we had not above nine on the bar when we went into the river, but coming out with the north-east monsoons, the sea being smooth, we were obliged to warp out with anchors and halsers, and, if the ship draws any considerable draught of water, we are sometimes two springs in warping over, but, at twelve feet draught, I got over in four tides.

And now, having given some particular accounts of my observations on and in Siam, I will also give some general remarks, and begin with the fertility of the country, which, on that point, is inferior to few (if any) in the world.

There are but two parcels of mountains to be seen in the places that I passed through, and they lie between east and north-east from the city of Odia, about ten leagues distant, and they produce good timber for building, and agala-wood for perfumes. They have also mines of iron, tin, lead, silver and gold, but they are all entailed on the crown, who has the sole benefit of them. They breed vast numbers of wild deer, which are hunted and killed for the sake of their skins, which they yearly send to Japon.

The plains produce all sorts of grain necessary for animal and human sustenance. They plentifully bear as good, if not the best oranges, lemons, and limes in the world. Their rivers superabound in fish of several species, very good in their kind. Their villages are numerous, and well inhabited with artificers and peasants; but there are but five walled towns in all the Siam dominions, and Odia is one of them.

They have abundance of wild animals in their woods, such as elephants, rhinoceroses, leopards and tigers; and tame cattle, as bullocks, buffaloes and swine, in abundance about their farms. Temples and priests are more numerous here, in proportion to the laity, than in any country I ever saw out of the dominions of Portugal. Their tallapoys or priests are distinguished from the laity by a cinnamon or orange-coloured cloak which they wear, they again differing among themselves by distinguishing badges, by which they know their degree and dignity. Their heads, beards, and eye-brows are kept close shaven. They are forbidden marriage or meddling with money, and if any of the priesthood is convicted of incontinency with women, he is burned for it alive, and, if only suspected and brought to a trial, he is degraded and banished.

They have sermons or lectures four times in a moon, the gates of the temples being set wide open, and the people meet in good order. Their sermons consist in recommending moral duties to the people, and charity towards one another, but particularly to the church, by which acts it subsists; and, after the priest's benediction, every one goes to an image, and kisses it, or bows to it, and marches off in good order. They have morning and evening prayers, and sing anthems. They visit the sick, and pray for the dead, and accompany the corps to the funeral pile, and sing obsequies. They

 go

go to weddings, and make facrifices for the profperity of the bridegroom and bride, but have no hand in joining them together

Marriages are there made up by parents or near relations, without the confent of the parties to be married; for that reafon they are commonly married very young, but, if they are come to the years of difcretion or maturity, then the fpark gets fome female friend to acquaint his miftrefs with his paffion for her, and if fhe will permit a vifit from him the bargain is as good as made. The civil magiftrate with them officiates the prieft's part with us, and when once they are married, they feldom fue for a divorce, which is very hard to procure, except in cafe of infufficiency in the man, or barrennefs in the women, for adultery, in either party, is not reckoned infamous, and fornication is either allowed or tolerated

The children are carefully educated in fchools by priefts fet apart for that fervice, and it is rare to find a Siamer but who can write. After fchooling, they are put to fuch callings as fuit beft with their genius and quality, and there is generally a reciprocal harmony between parents and children. The children are obedient, and the parent indulgent In childhood and youth the parent furnifhes the child with what is neceffary, and in old age the child fupplies all the wants of his parent, as far as he is able. In marriages they make no account of confanguinity, farther than between father and daughter, mother and fon, and fifter and brother, all other degrees are lawful.

And now it is time to fteer my courfe to the fouthward again as far as Cambodia. Coafting along fhore, the firft place we meet with is Bankafoy, a place not frequented by ftrangers, though it produces much agala and fapan-woods, and elephants teeth, but all are fent to the King, who, for all his gaudy titles, yet ftoops to play the merchant I fuppofe he makes ufe of trading in honour of his kinfman Mercury, who fuperintends merchandizing, but was never reckoned a fair dealer, and in that point the King is nearly related to him but Bankafoy is famous, chiefly for making ballichang, a fauce made of dried fhrimps, cod-pepper, falt and a fea-weed or grafs, all well mixed, and beaten up to the confiftency of thick muftard. Its tafte and fmell are both ungrateful to the nofe and palate, but many hundred tons are expended in Siam and the adjacent countries

Bankafoy river lies but four or five leagues to the eaftward of Siam bar, and there are two iflands, called the Dutch iflands, where great fhips are obliged to ftay in the fouth-weft monfoons, when they cannot get water over the bar that bears off it fouth-eaft and by fouth, about nine leagues diftant.

I obferved before, that the Company fent the Herbert and another fhip from England in anno 1685, and 1686. As the Herbert lay at thofe iflands, one Captain Udal, who commanded her, died, and the fucceeding captain carried his corpfe afhore, and buried it in a pretty deep grave. Two days after, fome of the fhip's people going afhore, had the curiofity to go and fee the grave. When they came near, to their great wonder, they faw the corpfe ftripped of its winding-fheet, and fet upright againft a tree. It was afterwards put again into the coffin, and buried in the fame grave, with a quantity of heavy ftones on it, and next day they came to the grave, and found it opened a fecond time, with the corpfe ftanding upright againft another tree; fo they made faft fome ftones to it, and carried it a pretty way into the fea, and buried it in the water, where it remained undifturbed. This ftrange refurrection left room for various conjectures, but the moft probable feemed to be, that fome forcerers took it up, and put it in that pofture, whilft they, by their forceries or incantations, interrogate it about future events, and received anfwers through human organs. The matter of fact I have heard often affirmed by feveral who were there at the time and faw it, which made me enquire, if

any

any people in Siam uſed to enquire about future events after that manner, and I was told that they did.

The coaſts of Liampe and Chiampo are in the territories of Siam, but for 50 leagues and more along the ſea-ſhore, there are no ſea-ports, the country being almoſt a deſert. It produces good ſtore of ſapan and agala-woods, with gum-lack and ſtick-lack, and many drugs that I know but little about.

CHAP. XLVIII —*Gives an Account of Cambodia, its Trade, alſo of a late War brought into their Country by the Siamer, and the ill Succeſs they had.*

THE firſt ſea-port to be met with is Cupangſoap, a town in the dominions of Cambodia. It affords elephants teeth, ſtick-lack and the gum cambouge or cambodia, but there is no free commerce allowed there, without a licence from the court of Cambodia.

The next place is Ponteamaſs, a place of pretty good trade for many years, having the conveniency of a pretty deep but narrow river, which, in the rainy ſeaſons of the ſouth-weſt monſoons, has communication with Banſack or Cambodia river, which conveniency made it draw foreign commerce from the city of Cambodia hither, for the city lying near 100 leagues up the river, and moſt part of the way a continual ſtream running downward, made the navigation to the city ſo long and troubleſome, that few cared to trade to it, for which reaſons foreign commerce choſe to come to Ponteamaſs, and it flouriſhed pretty well till the year 1717, that the Siam fleet deſtroyed it.

When the Siam army and fleet threatened Cambodia, the King knew his inability to withſtand the Siamers, ſo the inhabitants that lived on his borders had orders to remove towards the city of Cambodia, and what they could not bring with them, to deſtroy it, ſo that for 50 leagues the country was a mere deſert. He then addreſſed the King of Couchin-China for aſſiſtance and protection, which he obtained, on condition that Cambodia ſhould become tributary to Couchin-China, which was agreed to, and he had an army of 15,000 to aſſiſt him by land, and 3000 in nimble gallies well manned and equipped, by ſea.

The Siam army by land was above double the number of the Cambodians and Couchin-Chineſe in conjunction, and their fleet above four times their number. The land army finding all the country deſolate, as they marched into the borders of Cambodia, ſoon began to be in diſtreſs for want of proviſions, which obliged them to kill their carriage beaſts and their elephants and horſes, which they could get no ſuſtenance for, and the ſoldiers being obliged to eat their fleſh, it being a diet they had never been uſed to, an epidemic flux and fever ſeized the whole army, ſo that in two months one half was not left, and thoſe were obliged to retreat towards their own country again, with the Cambodian army always at their heels.

Nor had their navy much better ſucceſs, for they coming to Ponteamaſs, ſent in their ſmall gallies to plunder and burn the town, which they did effectually, and, of elephants teeth only, they burnt above 200 tons. The ſhips and jonks of burden lying in the road, above four miles from the town; the Couchin-Chineſe taking hold of that opportunity, attacked the large veſſels, and burned ſome, and forced others aſhore, whilſt their gallies were in a narrow river, and could not come to their aſſiſtance till high-water that they could get out. The Couchin-Chineſe having done what they came for, retired, not caring to engage ſuch a ſuperior number, and the Siamers fear-

 ing

ing famine in their fleet, fteered their courfe for Siam with difgrace. In anno 1720, I faw feveral of the wrecks, and the ruins of the town of Ponteamafs.

The city of Cambodia ftands on the fide of the great river, about 50 or 60 leagues from Ponteamafs by land, or by water in the fouth-weft monfoons. The country produces gold of 21 carats fine, raw filk at 120 dollars per pecul, elephants teeth at 50 to 55 dollars for the largeft. The fmall are of different prices. They have alfo much fapan-wood, fandal-wood, agala-wood, ftick-lack, and many forts of phyfical drugs, and lack for japanning. They are very defirous of having a trade with the Englifh; but they will not fuffer the Dutch to fettle factories in their country.

Provifions of flefh and fifh are plentiful and cheap, and are the only things that may be bought without a permit from the King I have bought a bullock, that weighed between four and five hundred weight, for a Spanifh dollar, and rice is bought at eight-pence per pecul, which is about 140lbs.; but poultry are fcarce, becaufe the country being for the moft part woody, when the chickens grow big they go to the woods, and fhift for themfelves. Tigers and wild elephants are numerous in the woods, and there are alfo wild cattle and buffaloes, and plenty of deer, all which animals every body is free to catch or kill.

There are about 200 Topaffes, or Indian Portugueze fettled and married in Cambodia, and fome of them have pretty good pofts in the government, and live great after the fafhion of that country, but they have no priefts, nor will any venture to go among them; for in anno 1710, a poor capuchin went there to officiate, and finding one of the toppingeft of his congregation to have two wives, ordered him, by virtue of his facerdotal power, to put one of them away, but his parifhioner would not obey in that point, which made the prieft ufe the weapon of excommunication againft him, which the other took in fuch dudgeon, that he knocked his fpiritual guide's brains out for his unfeafonable feverity Since that time they wrote to Siam and Macao in China for fome more ghoftly fathers, but not one will go, though perhaps they might have the honour of dying martyrs.

They all of them have fmall penfions from the King, but too narrow to maintain them, fo they go to the woods with fire-arms, and kill wild elephants for their teeth, which they fell to foreigners, and their way of killing them is very fingular; for they form a piece of iron like a flug, and the foremoft end is made fharp: in the woods grow certain trees with a thick bark of a violent poifonous quality; they drive the fharp end of the flug into the bark, and let it ftay a fhort time in it, then put the flug into their gun charged with powder, and coming near the beaft, fire the flug into its body, the elephant being thus wounded, flees from the man, but the man keeps fight of it for a fmall fpace of time, and then it drops down dead.

And with the fame poifoned flugs they kill cattle and buffaloes, for their tongues. This fubtil poifon has alfo another ftrange quality, that if men become hungry or thirfty (as they often do in the woods), they fqueeze a few drops of it on a leaf of a tree, and they licking the leaf, it gives immediate refrefhment; but if the fkin be broken, and the juice touch the part, it proves mortal without remedy.

When I arrived at Ponteamafs, an officer came on board who could fpeak a little Portugueze. He brought a prefent of refrefhments along with him, and advifed me to fend to the King, to give him an account of my arrival, and acquaint him that I defigned to trade with his fubjects by his permiffion, which I did, and in twelve days received an anfwer that I might, but defired me to fend fome perfon up with mufters of my goods, that he and his merchants might fee them, and fent two Portugueze for interpreters, one to ftay with me on board of my fhip, while I ftaid, and the other to accompany the perfon

perſon I deſigned to ſend him with the muſters. On their arrival I diſpatched my ſecond ſupercargo, with an equipage of 25 men, well armed with fuzees and bayonets, with two ſmall bales of muſters, and preſents for the King, with inſtructions to let me hear from him once a week by an expreſs, if no other opportunity offered.

After he arrived at the city, he had a large houſe allowed him for the accommodation of him and his retinue, and had ſtore of proviſions ſent him, and many folks of diſtinction viſited him, but ten days paſt before he could ſee His Majeſty, who at laſt received him in great ſtate, ſitting on a throne like a pulpit, with his face veiled below his eyes, and after many gracious ſpeeches, ſome whereof were pertinent to my purpoſe, but many not, he gave me liberty and encouragement to trade.

I had ſtaid above three weeks in expectation to hear from my ſecond ſupercargo, but could get no account from him. I beginning to be uneaſy, got an expreſs to carry letters to him, and ordered him to ſend it back with as much ſpeed as was poſſible, but had the mortification to find he had been ſtopped at the city. I was extremely uneaſy for want of advice what was become of my people, and the approaching of the ſouth-weſt monſoons, which would have made that coaſt a lee-ſhore, and would have obliged me to take ſanctuary in one of their harbours for five or ſix months, and was not certain whether I was in a friend's or an enemy's country. In this labyrinth I continued a week, and at laſt reſolved to depart by a certain day, and leave my people to come after me to Malacca, if they were alive and at liberty The goods I had ſent up with them would have been ſufficient to have hired a veſſel to carry them thither. I told my reſolution to my interpreter, and that I ſhould be obliged to carry him and ſome more of the King's ſubjects along with me, as hoſtages for the civil treatment of my people at Cambodia. He ſeemed ſurpriſed at my reſolution, and got a perſon to go to the city in all haſte to give an account of my impatience and deſign, who returned in fourteen days, about two days before my term was expired, that I had ſet for my departure. There accompanied him three Portugueze, who brought me letters from my ſecond ſupercargo, that he had taken leave of the King, and was coming to me with all haſte, and in three days after the Portugueze came, he arrived with all his retinue, with a letter of compliment to me in the Portugueze language, and one directed to the governor of Bombay, to invite the Engliſh to ſettle in his country, and to build factories or forts in any part of his dominions to protect trade.

The reaſon why he kept us ſo long in ſuſpence, was, that he would enter into no correſpondence with us without the knowledge and conſent of his guardian, the King of Couchin-China, who at laſt conſented to allow us commerce, both in Cambodia and in his own proper dominions, but that the Siamers had deſtroyed the country where they had been, and they had nothing ready for barter with my cargo then, but in a year or two they would be provided.

When the King beſtows his favour on any perſon whom he has a mind to honour, which he never does without a conſiderable preſent, he preſents the perſon with two ſwords to be carried always before him when he goes abroad in public; one is the ſword of ſtate, and the other of juſtice. All people that meet him when thoſe ſwords are carried before him, muſt give him place, and ſalute him by a ſet form of words; but if he meets with another court minion, then they compare the dates of their patents, and ſeniority takes place, and muſt be firſt ſaluted. Wherever thoſe Mandareens go in the country, they hold courts of juſtice, both civil and criminal, and they have the

power

power of laying on fines, but they are paid into the King's treasury; but in capital crimes, his sentence is law, and speedy execution follows sentence.

The Cambodians are of a light brown complexion, and very well shaped, their hair long, and beards thin. Their women are very handsome, but not very modest. The men wear a vestment like our night gowns, but nothing on their heads or feet. The women wear a petticoat reaching below the ancle, and on their bodies a frock made close and meet for their bodies and arms, and both sexes dress their hair.

I saw none of their priests, but understood from my interpreter, that they worship the same gods that are adored in Siam. They worship the great God under the name of Tipedah, and Praw Prumb, and Praw Pout, are his sons. The church subsists by free-will offerings, and their priests are not much respected, being generally chosen from among the lower sort of the laity.

The kingdom of Laos borders on Siam, Cambodia, Couchin-China, and Tonquin. It produces gold, and raw silk, elephants teeth are so plentiful, that they stake their fields and gardens about with them, to keep out wild hogs and cattle from destroying their fruit and corn. They are all Pagans in religion.

The natives of Laos are whiter in complexion than their circumjacent neighbours. I saw some of them at Siam, of both sexes. Their women were little inferior to Portugueze or Spanish ladies.

There are several islands that lie off the coast of Cambodia, but none are inhabited, because the falcceters or pirates that infest that coast, rob them of what they get by pains and industry, though there is one about three leagues west of Ponteamass called Quadrol, that has good qualifications for a settlement. It is about three leagues long, and one broad. Wood and fresh water are plentiful, the ground of a moderate height, the soil black and fat, except along the east side which faces Ponteamass, and that has several fine sandy bays, and they are good safe harbours in the rainy and windy seasons.

About 30 leagues east-south-east from Ponteamass, is the west entrance of Cambodia river, generally called Bocca de Carangeira. The shallowest place in the channel in going in, is four fathoms, and within it deepens to twenty in some places. The north entrance is broader, but much shallower, and lies about ten leagues distant from the west channel, but is little frequented. Between Ponteamass and the river, are several small uninhabited islands. Pullo-panjang is the largest, and consists of a cluster of eight islands, which form a pretty good harbour. Pulloubi is the eastmost, and affords good masts for shipping.

Pullo-condore is the largest and highest, composed of four or five islands. It lies about 15 leagues south of the west channel of Cambodia River. Pullo-condore had once the honour of an English colony settled on it, by Mr. [illegible]lan Ketchpole, in anno 1702, when the factory of Chusan, on the coast of China, was broke up, he being then director for affairs of the English East India Company in those parts.

He made a bad choice of a place for a colony, that island producing nothing but wood, water, and fish for catching. He got some Maccassers to serve for soldiers, and help to build a fortification, and made a firm contract with them to discharge them at the end of three years, if they were minded to quit his service, but did not perform what was contracted, which was the cause of his own ruin, and the loss of the colony, for those eastern desperadoes are very faithful where contracts and covenants are duly observed when made with them, but in defailance, they are revengeful and cruel. Mr. Ketchpole having detained the Maccassers beyond their time of agreement, still entrusted.

entrusted them with the guard of his own person and the garrison, and then taking the opportunity of the night, when all the English were in their beds, who lodged in the fort, they inhumanly murdered them all. There was some noise made by those that were awake, which a few who lodged without the fort, hearing, took the alarm and fled to the sea side, where kind Providence directed them to a boat ready fitted with oars and sails, which they embarked in, and put off from the shore, and they were not a stone's throw off, when the bloody villains on the shore were in quest of them that were in the boat; with much fatigue, hunger, and thirst in sailing, and rowing above 100 leagues, they got to some place of the King of Johore's dominions, where they were treated with humanity. The reverend and ingenious Doctor Pound was one of those that escaped, and Mr. Solomon Lloyd (an old acquaintance of mine) was another.

There were two harbours, or anchoring places at Pullo-condore, but neither of them good. One at the north-east end, they were forced to use in the south-west monsoons, the other on the west-side for the north-east winds, the bottom of which is rocky, and therefore dangerous for losing anchors and cables, yet that was the place chosen to build their fort on; but since a factory was thought necessary to be settled on that coast, I wonder why they chose these islands, rather than Quadrole which I mentioned before.

The city of Cambodia is reckoned to lie 100 leagues up from the bar, and the river filled with low islands and sand banks. The country of Laos is about 40 leagues farther up, but what navigation is used above the city of Cambodia, is done by small rowing vessels, and the river being one of the longest in the world, employs great numbers of those rowing boats.

Chap. XLIX. — *Treats of Couchin-China and Tonquin; their Religion, Laws, and Customs.*

COUCHIN-CHINA is only divided from Cambodia by the river, which in some places is three leagues broad. It is a country far larger than Cambodia, and much richer, and the inhabitants more courageous and hardier for enduring fatigues in labour or war, than the Cambodians, but are not so conversable and civil to strangers. The Couchin-Chinese draw one half of the customs and taxes raised in Cambodia by commerce and merchandizing, but they give little encouragement for strangers to trade with them. Their country abounding in gold, raw silk, and drugs, they bring them to Cambodia, to dispose of there, except what they send yearly to Canton in China; and I have seen some of their jonks trading at Johore and Batavia.

Their religion is Pagan, after the China way, worshipping the same gods, after the same manner as the Chinese do. Their laws are severe and bloody for crimes of treason; for not only the guilty person suffers a painful death, but the relations within the bounds of consanguinity suffer death also. Their cities and towns are divided into wardships, and at the ends of each street are railed gates, placed to confine each ward within its own limits. These gates are shut and locked every night, so that they have no communication by night; but if a fire breaks out in one of the wards, its whole inhabitants are cut off, except the women and children.

There are but few Christians tolerated in Couchin-China, yet there was (and perhaps is) a French priest in great esteem among them, but it is capital for any other priest to be found in their country. This Frenchman kept a correspondence by writing, with Mr. Ciffie, bishop of Siam, and he having a relation of the danger Christian priests were

were in there, made the old zealot half mad to get thither, to receive the honour of martyrdom, and had he been honest in his promises to me (which was only not to protect any of my fugitive seaman at Siam), I would have favoured him with a passage to Cambodia, from whence he might have easily gone to get that glorious crown.

Couchin-China has a large sea-coast of about 700 miles in extent, from the river of Cambodia, to that of Quambin, and it has the conveniency of many good harbours on it, though they are not frequented by strangers; and along the east coast it is very deep, for in several places I sounded the depth, and found between 60 and 80 fathoms within half a league of the shore.

There are several islands on this coast. Those nearest the shore are not dangerous. Pullo-secca de Terra, lies most southerly, and nearest the shore. It is uninhabited, and looks only like a parcel of scorched rocks, without either tree, bush, or grass to be seen on it. I past within a mile of it, and it lies about a mile from the shore. Pullo-secca de Mare, and all the chain of islands that stretch from the dangerous shallows of Paracel, are rather to be accounted rocks than islands. Pullo-cambir lies about 15 leagues off the shore, near the Paracels. It is uninhabited though pretty large. Pullo-canton lies near the shore, and so do the islands of Champello, but there are no dangers lie off from them. There are strong currents that run to the southward in the north-east monsoons, which makes pilots take care to keep near the Couchin-China coast, for fear of being driven among the Paracels, which are a dangerous chain of rocks, about 130 leagues long, and about 15 broad, and have only some islands at each end. There are several inter-currents among those rocks, but no known marks to keep clear of dangers by, yet I knew an English ship from Surat, that drove accidentally through them, and neither knew nor saw their danger till it was over, when they unexpectedly saw the coast of Couchin-China.

In anno 1690, a Portugueze ship was lost on one of the northernmost islands of the Paracels, and all were lost but three or four persons who swimmed ashore. There were many pieces of the wreck followed them, and some cannisters of flour were accidentally thrown ashore, whereby they were supported. They built an hut of what timbers and boards they could use for that purpose, and they found some fresh water in the caverns of the rocks, and in one place they built a cistern to save the rain water for the dry season. They took sea weeds and mixed with mud that they found about the coast of the island, and placing that mixture in a convenient part to retain the rain water, they subsisted by that means a dry season. Their food was sea fowls, and tortoises which frequented that island in great numbers. In three years they all died but one, and in anno 1701, a ship bound to Maccao, coming near the island against their will, seeing the figure of a man waving his hands over his head, they had compassion and sent their boat to the island, and were astonished to find the person to be one of their own countrymen, and much more when he told them his misfortunes, and how long he had been alone on that island. They clothed him and fed him, and carried him to Maccao, where I saw him in anno 1703, and had the account from his own mouth.

But it is time to return back to Couchin-China, which about three or four centuries ago was but a province of Tonquin, at least they were both under the dominion of one King, who dying without issue, divided the government of his dominions between a brother and a sister of his, whom he very much esteemed for their good qualities. He ordered his brother to reside in Couchin-China, and take care of affairs there, while the sister took care of the government of Tonquin, but to have a meeting once a year to consider and consult of matters for the good of the state.

The lady being young thought fit to marry, and the harmony of ſtate ſoon ended by the marriage. The huſband grew ambitious, and wanted the government wholly in his own hands, but carried fair with his brother-in-law, and one time talking with the Queen of the neceſſity of uniting both kingdoms into one, as formerly, and that of right both belonged to her, as being poſſeſt of the moſt ancient and noble kingdom, and that in order to get both kingdoms into her hands, he would find a way to cut off her brother, without ſuſpicion of their being acceſſary to it. The Queen ſeeming to approve of the deſign, privately let her brother know his danger; being then at the court of Tonquin ſhe adviſed him to pretend to go a hunting for a few days, but to make what haſte he could unto his own government, where he might be ſecure from conſpiracies on his life, which advice he followed, and got ſafe into Couchin-China, and calling a council of his nobles, related the whole affair to them.

The Couchin-Chineſe took the deſigned injury to their Prince ſo ill, that from that time they renounced all friendſhip and commerce with the Tonquiners, and the river Quambin being made the bounds of Tonquin dominions to the ſouthward, and of Couchin-China to the northward, they both raiſed armies of 40 or 50,000 men each, and they continue ſtill facing one another, the river lying between them, and nothing of action has happened all this while. If any Couchin-Chineſe happens to flee from the juſtice of his own country, to the Tonquiners, they receive him kindly, and treat him civilly, but if a Tonquiner fall under the ſame circumſtances, and go for ſanctuary to the Couchin-Chineſe, he is condemned to ſlavery, and ſo muſt continue till he gets a pardon from his own court, and pay his ranſom.

Tonquin is the next kingdom I muſt ſteer to of courſe, where the Engliſh and Dutch both had their factories, but the Engliſh Company's affairs being a little out of order, they withdrew theirs in January 1698, and the Dutch finding but little advantage by their trade in Tonquin, withdrew theirs about ſix years after. However the Engliſh had a private trade pretty good till the year 1719, that an Engliſh ſhip from Bengal ruined it by an act of violence.

The ſhip being laden and ready to ſail, fell down the river from Catcheo, the capital city of Tonquin, and in defiance of the known laws of the country, the ſupercargo got a Tonquin girl on board, in order to carry her with him, but her friends miſſing her, informed the civil magiſtrate, who ſent to demand her, but the ſupercargo would not reſign his miſtreſs, whereupon acts of hoſtility enſued, and ſome were killed on both ſides, and Captain Wallace who commanded the ſhip, had the fortune to be one of the ſlain, however, the Engliſh bravely carried off their prize, but I never heard any more of the Tonquin trade ſince.

Tonquin is bounded with Couchin-China on the ſouth, Laos on the weſt, Quanſi, a province of China, on the north, and the ocean on the eaſt. The country is prodigiouſly fruitful in all things neceſſary for the conveniency and ſupport of life.

It produces gold and copper, but neither of them fine. They have abundance of raw ſilk, and manufacture part of it in wrought ſilks, but none fine. Their baaz is the beſt, which they generally dye black. It wears very long, becauſe it is ſoft and well ſpun, and the oftener it is waſhed, the colour looks brighter, if blacker may be ſo called. They make bowls, cups, and tables, of rottans, and cover them very neatly with lack of divers colours, and gild them. They have alſo ſome porcelain, but very coarſe and ill painted. And thoſe are the commodities for exportation from Tonquin.

There is a great chain of impaſſable mountains that run from the ſea above 150 leagues, along the confines of Quanſi and Quichew, provinces of China, which ſecure Tonquin from any invaſions that may come that way from China, and thoſe mountains

 are

are covered with thick woods well stocked with wild elephants, tigers, and deer, but the use or ostentation of training up tame elephants is not much minded in Tonquin, nor in China.

The Christian religion is strictly forbidden to be preached in Tonquin, yet there are some Christians of the Romish church there. Their own religion is Pagan, according to the doctrine of China. And they have a tradition, that many ages ago, Tonquin and Couchin-China were both provinces of China.

The Tonquiners used to be very desirous of having a brood of Europeans in their country, for which reason the greatest nobles thought it no shame or disgrace to marry their daughters to English and Dutch seamen, for the time they were to stay in Tonquin, and often presented their sons-in-law pretty handsomely at their departure, especially if they left their wives with child, but adultery was dangerous to the husband, for they are well versed in the art of poisoning.

The men and women are both well shaped, and tolerably beautiful, but of a low stature. The maids keep their teeth very white, till they have lost the blue of their plumb, and then they dye them as black as jet, with the juice of a certain herb which they hold in their mouths for three days successively, and the black tincture continues ever after; but while that juice is in their mouths they dare not swallow their spittle, it being of a poisonous quality.

CHAP. L.—*Gives some Accounts of the Religion, Laws, Customs, Commerce, Riches, Cities, Temples, Gods, and Goddesses, Priests, Military Forces, Produce, and Manufactories, &c. of China.*

THE island of Aynam lies in the bay of Tonquin, and not above 12 leagues distant from its northern confines. The island is large, being about 180 miles in length, and 120 in breadth. It was formerly under Tonquin, but at present a part of the dominions of China. Its greatest product is salt, and is not frequented on account of trade. There is no passage for vessels of burden between it and the continent, being so full of dangerous banks and rapid currents. The midlands seem very mountainous. The east and south sides are low, but clear of danger. About two leagues from its shores, is from 20 to 25 fathoms water.

The next course I steer is into Quansi, the southernmost province of China, and as yet has not been brought to acknowledge the Tartar domination. It admits of no commerce either with foreigners or Chinese, that are under the Tartar government, but on all occasions commit acts of hostility on them, and are so bold and courageous, that one of their little gallies will attack four of the Emperor's, and make them flee before them, for they give quarter to none that bear arms under the Tartar prince, as they call the Emperor. The country is fruitful and populous, and produces much raw silk and drugs, such as China root, gallingal, &c. It has 80 leagues of a sea-coast, and is bounded by the Limpacao islands, and Canton river.

Canton or Quantung (as the Chinese express it) is the next maritime province; and Maccaw, a city built by the Portugueze, was the first place of commerce. This city stands on a small island, and is almost surrounded by the sea. Towards the land it is defended by three castles built on the tops of low hills. By its situation and strength by nature and art, it was once thought impregnable. Indeed their beautiful churches and other buildings gave us a reflecting idea of its ancient grandeur; for in the forepart of the seventeenth century, according to the Christian æra, it was the greatest port for trade in India or China.

The

The largest brass cannon that ever I saw are mounted in proper batteries about the city. I measured one (amongst many) out of curiosity, and found it 23 feet from the breech to the muzzle ring, nine inches and a quarter diameter in the bore, and it was 12,250 rotullaes, or lbs. weight of solid metal.

The city contains five churches, but the Jesuits is the best, and is dedicated to St. Paul. It has two convents for married women to retire to, when their husbands are absent, and orphan maidens are educated in them till they can catch an husband. They have also a nunnery for devout ladies, young or old, that are out of conceit with the troubles and cares of the world. And they have a *Sancta Casa*, or the Holy House of the Inquisition, that frightens every Catholic into the belief of every thing that holy mother church tells them is truth, whether it be really so or no.

The forts are governed by a captain-general, and the city by a burgher, called the procuradore, but, in reality, both are governed by a Chinese mandereen, who resides about a league out of the city, at a place called Casa Branca. The Portugueze shipping that come there are admitted into their harbour, and are under the protection of the town, but the Chinese keep the custom-house, and receive customs for all goods imported.

That rich flourishing city has ruined itself by a long war they made with Timore, as I have observed before. They exhausted their men and money on that unsuccessful project of domination, so that out of a thousand creditable housekeepers that inhabited the city before that war, there are hardly fifty left; and out of forty sail of trading vessels, they have not above five left; so that in the whole city and forts, there are computed to be about two hundred laity, and six hundred priests, and about fifteen hundred women, and many of them are very prolific, for they bring forth children without husbands to father them.

In anno 1703, I was bound from Surat to Amoy, and off the Maccao islands, in the month of August, I met with a severe hurricane. We had visible signs of an approaching storm before it came, the air was in great agitation by much lightning continually flashing, but no thunder nor rain. We prepared for its coming from noon to sunset, making every thing in the ship fast, our yards lowered as low as conveniently they could be, and our sails made fast with coils of small ropes, besides their usual furling lines. At nine in the night it laid our ship's gunnel under water, and I wished our main-mast had been away, which about ten was effected, and it carried our mizen-mast along with it. On its going overboard our ship came to rights a little, and her lee-gunnel was clear of the water, but much water getting down at the hatches, we had five feet water in the ship, and no possibility of getting it out by pumping, for our main-mast breaking in the parteners of the upper-deck, disabled both our pumps. About midnight we had cleared the ship of the main and mizen-masts, by cutting the rigging that kept them fast to the ship. By this time the wind had shifted from north-east to south-east, and had rather increased than assuaged, and those two winds had put the sea in two violent motions; however we got our ship before the wind, but broaching-too brought her head almost to the sea, which met her so violently, that it broke quite over the ship, carrying away our fore-mast and bowsprit, two anchors from the lee-bow, three great guns of twenty-two hundred each, with our pinnace and yaul. We soon cleared ourselves of the anchors, by cutting the cables, and, before day, we were quit of our fore-mast and bowsprit. About eight in the morning the storm abated, and at ten I called over the muster-roll, and found none wanting, but between seventy and eighty bruised and wounded, who were carefully dressed by our surgeons, and all recovered. The sea continued turbulent, but we having two spare top-masts,

rigged

rigged them up, and having saved our mizen-yard and ensign-staff, fitted them for yards, to which we bent sails, and stood towards the land, and, before it was dark, anchored near some islands called Les Ilhos de Viados by the Portugueze. Next morning we had much trouble to get our long-boat out of the ship. It was about ten tons of burden, and strongly built, but, after four hours labour we put it into the sea, and sent it ashore to try if we could get a pilot, but found nobody on that island, however, they met with two pieces of masts of small vessels that had been cast on the island, and those they brought with them, which did us very great service in bringing us to the Maccao islands, which were about 15 leagues from us.

We kept the boat sounding the depths before the ship, till we got about eight leagues on our way, and anchored in good oozy ground, under an island that kept the rolling seas from disturbing us, and in the morning, by break of day, we dispatched the boat in quest of Maccao, and to bring us pilots. Before night they landed at the city, and next day returned with a pilot and a junk to attend us, and, in two days more, the pilot brought us safe to an anchor in Teipe Quebrado, a very secure place for shipping to ride in. It is about four miles from the city of Maccao, where I found a company ship called the Canterbury, commanded by Captain Kinsford, who had come from Amoy in March, and could not reach the Streights of Malacca, so was forced to pass the south-west monsoons in this harbour.

I went to the city, and applied myself to the captain-general and the procuradore for assistance, and they made large promises. I addressed each of them with a present of scarlet cloth, and Surat atlasses, which they thankfully received, but soon after I found they were in no condition to assist me. They indeed designed to compliment me with some fresh provisions, but had not interest enough with the China mandereen to get liberty to send them on board of my ship.

Nor would he suffer any body to supply me with necessaries, till he received orders from the Chontock or Viceroy of Canton. That incivility presaged but ill success to my affairs there, however, I went and paid him a visit, and presented him with a silver salver and a piece of atlas on it, both in value about 45 tayels, or 15l. sterling, which he received, and made an apology for his prohibiting commerce with my ship till he had received advices from the Viceroy.

He treated me with Tartarian tea, which I took to be beans boiled in milk, with some salt in it, and it was served in wooden dishes, as big as chocolate cups. When our regailia was over, I took leave, and he loaded me with fair promises, and sent after me a present of an hog, two geese, a goat and some wheat flour, and a small jar of samshew, or rice arrack

Having nothing to do till the Viceroy's orders came, I went among some islands to find a watering-place, and, on a pretty high island about a mile long, and half as broad, I saw a fine clear stream trickling down the face of a rock, about half a league from our ship. I ordered my men to fill about twenty tuns of it, and being clearer than we had before, we made use of it for drinking and boiling rice. About ten days after we had made use of it, all my men were affected with a violent heach-ache, and, among the rest, myself, which was a distemper I never had been troubled with before.

I began to suspect that the water might be the cause, and ordered a large copper-pot to be filled with it, and to boil one half of it away, and set the rest to cool a day and a night, which was accordingly done, and, on pouring off the water, I found about a large handful of a dark grey salt at the bottom, of a sharp unsavoury taste, which made me empty what remained of it into the sea; but there was an high large island about two leagues from our ship, that had many springs of water, which I tried, and found to be good.

One

One day I was discoursing with a Portugueze physician of the quality of the water we first used, and he told me, that most of the springs in China had pernicious qualities, because the subterraneous grounds were stored with minerals, as copper, quicksilver, alum, tutenague, &c. and the springs running through or near those mines, the water becomes affected with their natural qualities, which was one reason why the Chinese boiled all their water before they drank it, and as the boiling causes the spirits of water to evaporate, they used tea to infuse new spirits in the place of the old; so that it was more out of necessity than choice that the Chinese drank so much tea, though they do not drink it half so strong as generally we do in Europe.

It was near a month after my arrival before the Viceroy's order came to settle my affairs. They had represented to him, that our ship was a wreck, and, by the laws of the country, she fell to the King, but the Viceroy distrusting the report of the Chinese, sent a French gentleman to bring him true accounts of our condition, and what merchandize we had to dispose of. When the Frenchman came on board, I entertained him civilly, and gave him a sight of the musters of our goods and their quality, and we had fished up some small fir-trees, which we had converted into masts and yards.

On the Frenchman's return, and giving the Viceroy an account of what he had seen, he seemed amazed at the false information he had from Maccao, and ordered the hapoa or custom-master to go and take an account of our goods, and take the Emperor's customary dues, and give me a free toleration to trade. Accordingly the hapoa came and brought three merchants along with him to buy our goods. When they came on board, they were surprised to see so large a ship, with so many guns, having forty mounted, and such a number of men, I having above an hundred and fifty. I saluted the hapoa with some guns and treated him with a dinner after the European fashion, and gave him good store of wine to wash it down, but he liked Canary best and drank of it till he was well flustred. Then he ordered the length of the ship to be measured on the upper-deck, and the breadth at the main-mast, and departed.

Next day I went to visit him, and carried him a present as customary. In our discourse he told me that he had brought a very honest man along with him, who spoke the Portugueze language, and that he must be my interpreter at Maccao, and buy all my provisions spent in the ship, and on my table ashore, and that he had also brought three merchants to agree for my cargo, all men of substance. I answered, as to the buying provisions, I had no occasion for any, and for making a contract with those merchants, I had no mind to it, because I designed to carry my cargo to Canton in small jonks, and when I arrived at Canton with my goods, and had inquired into the market, it would be time then to make bargains. He seemed to be angry that I was not directed by him, and told me, that he had taken much pains to serve me, but that I slighted his service. I answered, that being a stranger, I might be allowed to walk cautiously till I had informed myself of the current prices of goods, and the King's duties to be paid on them, but I should always have a great regard to his friendship. He alledged that there was great danger in carrying goods between Maccao and Canton, because there were many pirate vessels in the way, belonging to Quansi, and that neither the Emperor nor the Viceroy could be accountable for what robberies might be committed by these pirates. I replied, that I desired none to answer for such losses, but would be very glad to meet with those scarecrows, that I might have an opportunity to make a present of some of them to the Viceroy.

When he found that none of his arguments prevailed, he gave orders to have my [illegible]s put on board of small jonks, and that I might put five men of my own in each [illegible]oat for a guard, and ordered one of his merchants to accompany me in that which I went

were [illegible] twenty-five Europeans well armed, in our little fleet. We took the [illegible] passage, which was the nearest, and sailed by several islands on both sides of us. I kept in the headmost jonk, and a good officer in the sternmost; and every vessel we saw, they told us they were pirates. I answered them, I wanted to be near them, but I could not persuade them to steer towards them.

After we had sailed about 18 leagues from Maccao, we came to a small city called Jansan. The teytock or governor sent me a compliment, and invited me ashore; but I excused myself, because the wind was fair, and I was in haste to be at Canton. About five leagues above Jansan, we entered into a canal cut through a large plain of corn-fields, where we saw many large flat-bottomed boats built to breed ducks, which they bring up for sale, and to weed the rice grounds for hire. They have three or four stories over one another, where are the ducks nests. On the uppermost they sit and hatch eggs. In the others they lodge all night, and it is wonderful to see what order and œconomy those ducks keep, for some old drakes (on the winding of a whistle) drive all the younger novices into the water, some going foremost to shew the way, while others take care that none loiter behind. There is a small port made about a foot high from the water, and a piece of deal board laid in it, whose other end lies in the water on a gentle descent, that serves them for a bridge to go out, and come in at when they are out about service. The master goes in a small boat among the rice-grounds, (for that grain always grows among water), and winding his whistle, they all follow his boat, and fall to their work, to destroy frogs and small fish, with the weeds that would hinder the growth of the corn. About noon he winds his whistle again, on which they all repair on board of their own vessel in good order, some of the old drakes bringing up the rear, whilst others guard the bridge, to take care that no stranger ducks enter with their own tribe; and when all are in, the old guardians enter also and take their proper posts.

Sometimes when two or three of those boats are employed in one field, and their ducks mingle, and some young novices, which do not understand their proper master's whistle, chance to come in company to another boat, and would enter with the rest, the old guardian drakes soon spy them out, and beat them away from the bridge, and on no account will they suffer them to enter, more than an established company will admit interlopers to enter into their trade.

Between Jansan and Canton, which is about twenty leagues, there are many pretty villages seated in the plains, and the peasants bring fish, fowl, eggs, &c. eatables to sell at very moderate prices; and there are also some small high towers built on high grounds. The reasons why they were built I could not be informed of by my companions, but the foot of their covering is hung round with pieces of glass of several sizes, so near, that, with a small gale of wind, they beat against one another, and make a pretty agreeable noise.

When I arrived at Canton the hapoa ordered me lodgings for myself, my men and my cargo in an haung or inn belonging to one of his merchants, where none but the French, who had then a factory there, had liberty to visit me, and when I went abroad, I had always some servants belonging to the haung to follow me at a distance. I had staid about a week, and found no merchants came near me, which made me suspect, that there were some under-hand dealings between the hapoa and his chaps, to my prejudice, but I could not be informed what they designed. At length, one night I had supped in the French factory, and began to make my complaint to Mr. Petchbertie, the chief, of the strange method I was treated in, that all merchants shunned my company, but for what reason I knew not. He winked on me to follow him into his bed-chamber,

and,

and, ſhutting the door, told me, that thoſe three merchants, or rather villains, Linqua, Anqua, and Hemſhaw, had paid to the hapoa 4000 tayels for the monopolization of my cargo, and that no merchant durſt have any commerce with me but they; but withal adviſed me to carry fair with them, and bargain with them on whatſoever terms they would allow me.

Accordingly I had a meeting with my chaps, and in my diſcourſe, I told them what the current price was in town for every ſpecies of my goods, and deſired to know what they would give. They ſeemed ſurpriſed that I knew the market, and would fain have known who had informed me of the prices, but I deſired to be excuſed on that point, and to proceed to bid for themſelves. My cargo conſiſted in cotton, putchock or radix dulcis, roſamalla or liquid ſtorax, and Surat coarſe chints, which, according to the current market, would have come to 14,000 tayels, but they would not come within 80 per cent. of the market price

I finding myſelf inſulted, had a mind to wait on the Vice-king, who reſided at a town called Sachow, about twenty miles up the river, and, in order to go thither, I applied myſelf, by the aſſiſtance of the French linguiſt, to a mandereen called the chumpin, for licence to go to Sachow, and for his letter of recommendation to the Viceroy. The news of my being with the chumpin alarmed the hapoa and my merchants, who found no way to impede my going but by ſeizing any linguiſt that ſhould ſerve me, either in Canton or in my journey, and accordingly, as I was going next day to receive my letters, and the French linguiſt along with me, he had a ſmall iron chain thrown over his head, (a cuſtom that is among the Chineſe when they arreſt a man), and he was dragged before the hapoa, and was accuſed of aſſiſting the French in running goods on board of their ſhips, for they had two lying at Whampoa, a village about four leagues below the city The poor man was kept in priſon as long as I ſtaid at Canton; and his impriſonment ſo terrified others, that I could get none to ſerve me but whom thoſe villains of merchants recommended to me, and none durſt ſerve me as linguiſt.

I finding no remedy but patience, to my diſturbed mind, was forced to comply with the unjuſt impoſitions of the hapoa, and ſo ſtruck up a bargain at the villainous merchants rates, but to receive ſilver for my goods, and after I had delivered them, I deſired to ſettle accounts, and to have my money according to contract. They made up a large account of charges, as 3000 tayels for the meaſurage of my ſhip, 1000 for liberty to buy maſts, cordage, and proviſions, and 1000 tayels for preſents to ſome mandereens, and then they told me, for what remained I ſhould have goods at the current price of the market, though I was obliged to take them between 40 and 50 per cent higher. They made me pay 13 tayels per cheſt for Japon copper, which I could have bought for 9 tayels, and for China copper I was charged ten and a half, which I bought at Maccao for ſeven, ſome fir maſts that I cheapened for 60 tayels they made me pay 250. It was the middle of January 1704, before I had ended my accounts with them, and I wanted permiſſion to go to Maccao, but that I could not have. They put me off, from day to day, about a week. At length I viſited the French chief, and he frankly told me that they would not let me go till I laid out 10,000 tayels of ſilver with them, which they were informed I had on board of my ſhip, and that my merchants had told him ſo. I anſwered, that being bound to Amoy, I had bills on merchants there for near that ſum, which, with my goods, had been ſufficient to have loaded my ſhip there, for which reaſon I had brought no ſilver with me, but I found there was no end to their villainy, and therefore I would go without leave, if I had it not in three days. He told me of many ill conſequences that would attend violent courſes; but I anſwered him, that I could no longer bear their inſults; and, if I had not my permiſſion

in three days, I would run a muck, (which is a mad custom among the Mallayas when they become desperate,) and that I thought twenty-five men well armed were sufficient to go off by violence, when by fair means they could not obtain it, that being the last remedy, what blood might be spilt in the action, the hapoa and his chaps would answer to the Emperor for, who, no doubt, would enquire into the cause.

I then bade farewell to all the gentlemen of the French factory, and left a present of 50 tayels for the linguist that lay in prison, and came home to my inn, and acquainted my men with my resolution, who unanimously approved of it, promising to live and die with me, and immediately we new cleaned our arms, and new loaded them with powder and ball; which the servants of the haung taking notice of, went and informed my merchants what we had been doing, and that we looked brisker than usual. The merchants went to the French chief, to see if he knew what design we had, and he frankly told them all that I had told him. They immediately acquainted the hapoa, who forthwith sent us a permit for ourselves and goods, and next day I departed with twelve of my crew, and some goods, leaving the rest to follow with the rest of my goods and masts.

In three days we got to Maccao, and got all things in readiness to sail. There were two Portugueze lying in Tiepe-queberado, waiting for me to accompany them for fear of a French cruiser of 32 guns that had been at Manilla. One Mr. Burno commanded her, who had made his brags to the Spaniards, that he would bring all the English and Portugueze that were bound from China to the Streights of Malacca, into Manilla, and make a present of our ships to the Spaniards, which frightened the Portugueze. One was a ship of two-and-twenty guns, and the other of sixteen.

However some China merchants contracted with me to carry them, and about 150 tons of bricks and Chinaware, to Pullo-condore, and were to pay me 1000 tayels. Three days after my arrival came my masts, and as they were passing through the harbour of Maccao, towards my ship, they were stopped by the procuradore of the city. When word was brought me, I sent my purser, who spake good Portugueze, that if my masts were not delivered the same day, I would take the masts out of their ships that lay close by me, let the consequence be what it would. So to avoid trouble, my masts were cleared.

Two of my merchants came to Maccao, under pretence of clearing accounts fairly. I invited them on board to dine with me, but they would not do me that honour. They had heard of the contract I had made with the China merchants to carry them and their goods to Pullo-condore, which contract they broke, for that strong reason, that they had bought me of the hapoa, and that freight I had no power to contract for, but they would furnish them with a passage for them and their goods, on the same terms that I had agreed on, so I was obliged to lose my freight.

I received what goods they were pleased to bring me, but I found wanting 80 chests of Japon copper, and some toothenague that I had weighed off at Canton, and put the stock's mark on them. I asked the reason why they did not deliver those goods, since, according to their own account, there was a balance due to me of 1800 tayels. They told me that they would give no more, and the balance they would keep, for fear they should lose on my imported cargo. I bid them farewell, and promised to let them hear from me by the first jonk of theirs that I met with. Next day I sent them my account, wherein I shewed that they and the hapoa had cheated me of 12,000 tayels, and that I should not fail to make reprisals when I met with any effects of theirs. Accordingly I did at Johore, by the King's permission, seize a jonk of theirs, and secured their books of accounts, having two Portugueze natives of Maccao, who could speak and write Chinese

Chinese, and they found out what merchandize belonged to those villains, which I took on board of my ship, among which was my 80 chests of copper, and 250 peculs of tootheneague, with my own mark on them. I drew out a fair account, and sent them with a letter of advice, that I had received but one third part of the balance due to me, but upon their fair dealing with the English for the future, I would forgive the rest, but if they continued to act like villains, I would prosecute my resentment till I had recovered the last penny of my balance.

When I gave the King of Johore an account how they had used me in China, he wondered that I did not seize all the other merchant goods that were in the jonk, and sell the men for slaves. So having ended this short digression to Johore,

I return back to Canton, to give an account of my observations on that fine city and country.

CHAP. LI. — *Some Observations and Remarks on the Province and City of Canton or Quantung, and of the Province of Fokein, with some Occurrences that happened there.*

CANTON was once a kingdom of itself, and was called Nangvee. It had been several times conquered by the Emperors of China, and shaked off the yoke when they found opportunity. At last, about three centuries ago, it was subdued and made a province of China. It borders on Quansi to the westward, Kiangsi to the northward, Fokien to the eastward, and the ocean washes about 100 leagues of its coast to the southward. The country is as pleasant and profitable as any in the world. The ground yields two crops a year of rice, wheat, and legumen. The people are ingenious, industrious, and civil, but are too numerous, which makes them tolerate a base and cruel custom, that when a man thinks he has too many daughters, he may destroy as many as he pleases of them, but they do not kill them outright, but serve them as Moses was in Egypt, by laying them on an ark of reeds, and letting them float on the stream of a river, while they are infants, and if any charitable persons see them, and commiserate their condition, they may take them out, and bring them up as their own, either for marriage, concubinage, or slavery.

The abominable sin of Sodomy is tolerated here, and all over China, and so is buggery, which they use both with beasts and fowls; insomuch that Europeans do not care to eat duck, except what they bring up themselves, either from the egg, or from small ducklings. Whoredom is not punished in this province, though very severely in some others.

The city of Canton stands upon the east-side of a pretty large river called the Taa. Its walls are high towards the river, but towards the east the ground is a little hilly, and the walls are much lower. The walls are about ten miles in circumference, but some reckon them twelve, though there are large spaces towards the east and south, kept for gardens, and no buildings but summer-houses are there.

There is a large building of timber on the highest of the little hills to the east, that stands close to the wall, and it bears the name of the King's banqueting-house. It is four story high, supported with great fir masts, very finely painted with vermilion, and japanned and gilded, as are all the walls and ceilings within it. From it a very fair prospect of the city and suburbs may be had. The suburbs are so large, that some of them look like cities. Half of the number of houses built in the garden-plots, would fill them up, and all the other vacant places in the town.

 There

There are many ſtately buildings in the city of Canton, and above a dozen of triumphal arches in ſeveral places of the city, and a great number of temples well ſtocked with images. The Italian church makes an handſome figure, but the French chapel is but mean on the outſide.

There was a new temple built by the King of Couchin-China, and dedicated to one of his gods called Migleck, whoſe image is placed in it, in a lazy poſture, ſitting on a carpet, with his heels drawn almoſt to his buttocks, clothed in a looſe robe, with his breaſt and belly bare, and leaning on a large cuſhion or bolſter. He is very corpulent, and always laughing, which merry aſpect made me think that he might paſs for Democritus of Abdera in Greece. There is another image of a young god that died before he reached twenty. He is placed ſitting on a chair, and as we approach near him, he nods his head, by means of ſome ſprings that reach from the pavement that we tread on: However, this young dead fellow ſhews as great a wonder in nodding to his viſitants, as St. Charles of Milan does to his devotees on the anniverſary day of his canonization.

Canton was the laſt great city of China that the Tartars conquered, when they over-ran that country about the year 1650, and had it not been for the cowardice and treachery of the governor, it might ſtill have been an independent province as well as Quanſi. The Tartars loſt above 100,000 men in reducing it, for they lay nine months before it, and the city nowiſe diſtreſt for want of proviſions, having the river free for communication with foreign places; but upon the governor's ſurmiſe that it might be taken at laſt, and he and his family ſacrificed to the reſentment of a barbarous enemy, he ſecretly articled with the general of the Tartars, and perfidiouſly opened two gates in one night, and the Tartars entering horſe and foot, ſoon made the city a theatre of horror and miſery.

I made a calculation of the number of inhabitants within the walls of Canton, by the quantity of rice daily expended in it, for they reckon 10,000 peculs is the daily import of that grain. It is alſo reckoned, that every perſon conſumes one pecul in three months, ſo that by that calculation, there muſt be above 900,000 people in it, and the ſuburbs one-third of that number, and there is no day in the year but ſhews 5000 ſail of trading jonks, beſides ſmall boats for other ſervices, lying before the city.

A little way below the city, are two ſmall iſlands in the river; they have each a caſtle built on them, and their garriſons examine all veſſels and boats that paſs by them.

The product of the country, beſides corn and fruits, is gold, quick-ſilver, copper, ſteel, iron, raw and wrought ſilks, and beſides the ſilk manufactories, there are lacked or japanned ware, and at Sachow there are much porcelain or China-ware made. We have the ſame ſort of clay, in ſeveral parts of Great Britain that porcelain is made of, but we want the warm ſun to prepare it.

They reckon that the province of Canton or Quantung, pays yearly to the Emperor 1,200,000 peculs of rice, and 20,000 peculs of ſalt, out of which is ſerved out to the military (who are reckoned 80,000 continually kept in the Emperor's pay) 320,000 peculs of rice, and 8000 peculs of ſalt. The reſt is ſold in markets, at the common price of 5 macas a pecul, which may amount to 446,000 tayels, which is appropriated towards the payment of the military expence, which may amount to 1,000,000 of tayels yearly. The cuſtoms on merchandize and poll-money amounts to prodigious great ſums, all which are gathered according to the book of rates, and ſent to the treaſury of the province, for the uſe of the empire, which makes the Emperor's treaſury always full.

Fokien

Fokien is the next maritime province to the eastward of Canton, a very mountainous country, and has about 90 leagues of a sea-coast. It reaches from the island Lamoa, which lies directly under the tropic of cancer, and makes a very spacious secure harbour for shipping between it and the continent; but no stranger frequents it, but to shelter them from storms, because they admit of no trade with foreigners. About three leagues without the Great Lamoa, are some small islands uninhabited. They are called the Small Lamoas. There is a good clear channel between those small islands and the great one, of 15 fathoms, on a good oozy bottom.

The next place of safety for shipping is the island of Amoy, where the English once had a factory, and a good trade, but now it is shut up from foreign trade by the Emperor's order. There are several small islands lie off it, particularly the island Tangsi, by the English called Chapel Island, and by some the Hole-in-the-Wall, because there is a large hole that passes quite through it, being undermined by the sea below, but above all is fast without fracture. It appears like the arch of a large bridge. About seven leagues within it is the inner harbour of Amoy, where ships lie very secure in 12 fathoms oozy ground, within 200 yards of the shore. The town is built close to the sea, and some houses in it at high water, are washed by the sea.

About the year 1645 the Dutch had a great mind of possessing Amoy, for the conveniency of its situation and trade. They came to an anchor with five large ships in the outward harbour, and landed about 300 men. There were none to oppose them but a few merchants and mechanics, who were soon frightened, but were so cunning, that before they left their town, they left their houses well stored with samshew, a kind of strong arrack made of rice, and with hockshew, a kind of strong ale made of wheat-malt, by fermentation.

The Dutch fearing no enemy, or design against them, entered the town, and some inconsiderable people being left in it, were civilly treated by the Dutch, and those poor Chinese shewed their new masters the best houses in the town, where the Dutch took up their lodgings, and, according to custom, caroused heartily, that before midnight there were few of them sober, and so went to sleep The Chinese who were left in the town, went and informed their countrymen what posture the Dutch affairs were in. They armed all they could get with swords, lances, bows and arrows, to the number of 2000, and came on the Dutch before they could put themselves in a posture of defence, and cut them all off; which disaster made the Dutch depart without making any farther attempt.

This history is written in large China characters, on the face of a smooth rock that faces the entrance of the harbour, and may be fairly seen as we pass out and in to the harbour.

Amoy was famous in the Tartar war, between the years 1648 and 1675, by the diversion it gave to the Tartar forces at sea, by the courage and conduct of one Cocksing, a native of Amoy, who gave them many defeats, and could never be brought to comply with the Tartar usurpation, though he had many advantageous offers to submit, but his death gave the Tartars a quiet possession of the whole province.

About the year 1648, the Tartars took Chinchew, a very large city, reputed to be as large and rich as Canton. They did not stand out above nine weeks, because they foresaw that want of provisions would compel them to a surrender at last, upon worse terms than they might have had, if the siege had been but short, however, they capitulated to have their lives and fortunes secured, and submitted in all other things to the Tartar government and customs.

 This

This province of Fokien borders on Chequiam to the north-east, on Kiamsi on the north-west, on Quantung on the south-west, and the sea washes the south-east part of it. There are several islands lie on its coast, and Quamoy is but two leagues from Amoy, and is much larger, but not so well inhabited, because of the near neighbourhood of Chinchew.

In anno 1693 I was at Amoy, and then the island was governed by a chungcoun, or a general of 10,000 men. He was a man of about eighty years of age, of a very agreeable aspect. He had done many singular services to his country, particularly in suppressing pirates that mightily disturbed the province, and governed with much justice and moderation, but next year he died, and was succeeded by a teytock, or deputy-general of 5000. In anno 1697 I went thither again, and found a new temple built in honour to the old chungcoun, and his image placed in it, as much like his person while alive, as ever I saw any thing represented in my life, with every lineament and feature in his face, and I saw many votaries worship his image. It seems the Chinese are speedier in their canonizing than the Romans are.

The teytock has a deputy called the chungnae by title, and another officer called the chumpin, who superintends the affairs of the sea and rivers. In those three persons hands is the management of the affairs of the island, except the customs on goods imported and exported, and these are in the hands of the hapoa, who farms those customs of the court at Peking, but the other three are put in by the chungtock, who keeps his court at Hocksew, a large city about 200 miles north-east of Amoy.

There are no beautiful buildings in or about Amoy but some temples, in one of which I saw hell painted in fresco, on a wall, according to Des Cartes's system of demonology; the demons being painted in the same shapes and figures as are in the cuts of Des Cartes's book, their methods of tormenting the damned very near the notions delivered by Christian doctors, and purgatory better represented according to the doctrine of the church of Rome, than I saw it in a church in the city of Antwerp.

There are some curiosities in Amoy. One is a large stone that weighs above 40 tons, that is set so dextrously on a rock, in such an equilibrium, that a youth of twelve years old can easily make it move, but an hundred men can make it move in no greater motion than that single youth can. I saw it tried with a pair of hand-screws, but to no purpose.

Another rarity is of five large stones, as big or bigger than the last mentioned, placed in an hollow at the foot of a mountain (whether by nature or art I cannot tell), they are each about thirty feet long, and twelve or fourteen diameter. They lean their heads against one another, and form an alcove at their feet, wherein is placed a table and benches around it, of stone, and there is a pretty clear rivulet runs close by the table. We Europeans frequented that table on Sundays, for we often dined there.

There is a fine large citadel at the backside of the town, with good high, thick stone-walls, and two gates that face one another; and in the middle stands the teytock's palace. The front of it is built of wood, and the back and sides of stone, as most mandareens houses are in this province, as well as the temples. There are sentinels and guards always in the gateways, but I saw none any where else, except when he gave public audience to strangers, then he had about 50 men attending at the palace.

There are about fifty Christians in Amoy, and they have a chapel served by French missionaries; but the parishioners are of the scum of the people, as they are of Christianity.

I heard

I heard a pleaſant and true ſtory about the famous chunghee, who died in anno 1723, and the chungtock of Fokien, who was alive in anno 1700, which I had from Mr. le Blanc, a French miſſionary, as well as from ſome eminent China merchants, and it happened about the year 1690, the chungtock being then chungnae, or deputy-governor of the iſland of Quamoy, that iſland having about 30,000 inhabitants, not reckoning women and children; they were all poor, and had their ſuſtenance by their hard labour, in manuring the ground and fiſhing.

A great part of the iſland being low and marſhy, by the overflowings of ſpring-tides, made travelling very incommodious. The chungcoun being a man of pleaſure, could not bear living at home in rainy weather or ſpring-tides, and in going to hunt, he was obliged to go a great way about, before he could reach the places where the game was.

One day in council he propoſed to take one half of the miſerable inhabitants from their daily labour, to bring ſtones from ſome neighbouring mountains, to build a bridge or cauſey over the moraſs, which was above three leagues long, and being the Emperor's work, it muſt be done gratis.

The chungnae oppoſed it, laying down the difficulty, if not the impoſſibility for thoſe poor people to carry on ſuch a work, which could not be finiſhed in leſs than three years. He laid before the council, that the inhabitants could hardly live by their labour, when every one of them were employed, and how could they ſubſiſt on the labour of one half; that he could foreſee the ruin of the whole by taking off the half from their manuring the land, and fiſhing. However, it was put to the vote, and the chungcoun carried it, on which the chungnae laid down his commiſſion, and proteſted that he would not be acceſſary to the deſtruction of ſo many innocents, whom he foreſaw would be wrought and ſtarved to death, and ſo bade the chungcoun, and the reſt of the council adieu.

The chungnae having ſpent moſt of his time in the ſtudy of letters and philoſophy, had made a good progreſs in both, and having a ſmall fortune of ten or twelve thouſand tayels in money, took a journey to Pecking, to try if he could get into ſome convenient poſt in the government there, but found that none was to be got without friends and money, ſo that he took a reſolution to lead a private life on the intereſt of his money, and to follow his ſtudies; and hiring a chamber in a bye-lane of the city, he fell to writing a tract of moral philoſophy, being well qualified in writing a good hand, and a good ſtyle. He began to write on the imbecility of human nature, when our paſſions were more followed than reaſon, of the diſmal conſequences of tyranny when ſupported by power, and ſeveral other ſuch uſeful and commendable topics, and having carried his work pretty well forward, one morning he went to a neighbour's houſe to drink tea, and forgot to ſhut his chamber door or windows, which being on the lower ſtory of the houſe, and facing the lane, any body that paſſed by could ſee what was in the room.

The Emperor had gone abroad that morning incognito, to hear what news paſt current in the city, and accidentally came into that lane while the gentleman was at his tea, and looking in at the window ſaw a book lying open on the table, and the writing ſeemed to be extraordinary fine, which made him have the curioſity to enter at the door, and to ſit reading till the owner ſhould come in, that he might know both the ſubject written on, and the author.

It is the cuſtom in China for a ſtranger to read on any book that he ſees lying on a table. If it be a merchant's book of accounts, they take that liberty, and the Emperor having read above half an hour, was mightily pleaſed with the fine writing, and ingenious reflections made on each ſubject by the author. At laſt the gentleman came in, and was ſurpriſed to find another in his chamber, but the Emperor addreſſed him in ſo

 obliging

obliging terms for his intruding into his chamber without leave, led by the strong chains of curiosity, and the opportunity that offered to give him satisfaction, by the door being accidentally left open, that the chungnae could take nothing ill that was done.

The Emperor asked him of what country he was, and what had brought him to Peking, and the chungnae satisfied him that he was a native of Fokien, and recounted the history of his affairs in Quamoy. The Emperor was much taken with his story, and the modest way he expressed himself in it, and told him that he found his actions to quadrate with his doctrine. Then he asked the chungnae if he had an employment, or if he had a mind to accept of one. He answered, that he had been in Peking above a year, and could observe, that merit was but a weak recommendation to preferment, and he did not design to buy it.

The Emperor told him, that he was nearly related to a great mandereen at court, and that if he would accept of a post, he would use his endeavours to procure him one, for he found him recommended by two good qualifications, ingenuity and honesty. The chungnae thanked him in very obliging terms, and told the Emperor, that he was willing to accept of a post, providing it was not too high, because his fortune was too low to support the necessary expence, nor too low, lest it should make him contemptible. The Emperor assured him, that his kinsman had several posts to dispose of, and that he might depend on one suitable to his mind, and giving the chungnae his fan, ordered him to call at a gate of the palace, called the Elephant-gate, and deliver that fan to the captain of the guard, and tell him that you want to speak to a mandereen of such a name (as the Emperor borrowed for that time), and the captain would conduct him to his apartment; but withal he begged the use of his book for a few days, and, as he was a man of honour, he would return it.

The chungnae complimented him with the use of the book, making a modest apology for its incorrectness, and so they parted for a short time.

The Emperor sent for some coleas, mandereens of the first order, and gave them a pleasant account of his morning's adventure, and shewed them the book, which they were highly pleased with, and the Emperor told them, that he had promised the author an handsome post, and desired to know if any were vacant. One mandereen told His Majesty, that he had received private advices that morning, that the chungtock of Fokien was dead, and that there would be certain information next day at court, if it was so or not, and that if it was true, His Majesty might bestow that post on him, he being a native of that country, and consequently knew the manners and customs of his own country better than a stranger could. His Majesty approved of his advice.

And next morning, according to appointment, the chungnae went to the Elephant-gate, and enquired for the Emperor by the borrowed name, and, on sight of the fan, was conducted by the captain of the guard to an apartment in the grand palace, and was ordered to stay till the captain came back to him. When the Emperor knew of his being in the palace, he ordered a council of mandereens to be summoned forthwith, and when they were convened, and himself seated on the throne, the chungnae was sent for, and he paying the usual compliment of falling on his knees, and bowing his head three times to the ground, the third time to continue in that posture till he was ordered to rise, the Emperor ordered him immediately to stand up. The chungnae soon knew who had been his guest the day before, and would have begged pardon for the freedom of speech he had used to the Emperor in disguise, but the Emperor prevented him by beginning an allegorical discourse, recounting the chungnae's adventure at Quamoy, as if it had happened in a foreign country, and when he had made an end, he asked the opinion of the assembly, what both the chungcoun and chungnae deserved. They unanimously

mously condemned the chungcoun, and commended the chungnae, and were of opinion, that the chungnae deserved a better post than he had before.

The Emperor told them, that this was the case of the person before them, and that the government of Fokien was vacant by the death of the chuntouck, which advices he had received that morning, and that he had thoughts of bestowing that place on him before them, which they all approved of, on which he ordered robes of the second order to be brought, and invested him in the office and dignity, and ordered 100,000 tayels to be paid to him, in order to equip him for his journey, and withal told him, that he expected he would govern his province according to the doctrine that he preached to others.

Accordingly the new chuntock took his journey to Hockshew, where, on his arrival, all the mandereens of note in the province came to compliment him, and none must come to wait on him till first introduced by a present, which is punctually set down in a book kept for that purpose.

And among the crowd of visitors came his old friend the chungcoun of Quamoy. After the common compliment of genuflexion and prostration was done, he ordered him to stand up, and asking him if he did not remember him, he received a negative answer. He asked him how his government of Quamoy thrived, and how far the bridge was brought forward. The chungcoun gave him a sad account of the state of his island, which, he alledged, was occasioned by a raging plague, that had swept off above the half of the people, and the bridge was not carried one quarter of the way forward.

Then the chungtock made himself known to him, and upbraided him with his cruelty, and the chungcoun having little to say in his own defence, fell at his feet, and implored mercy. The chungtock bade him rise, and told him, that for the sake of his family, he would save his life, which he had justly forfeited, but withal banished him to a palace on the side of an hill on the island of Quamoy, where he should be allowed 2,000 tayels yearly, for the subsistence of his wives and children, but he was never to meddle in government again, and so dismissed him, and sent one along with him to take possession of his government, with orders to rectify all things that had been amiss in his government, and to invite people to the manuring of the ground and catching of fish, on easier terms than had been before. Those just and generous actions of the Emperor and chungtock were worthily admired by all who loved justice and generosity; and I have borne no small veneration for both their persons ever since.

I must now give an account of the chuntock's justice and generosity in an affair relating to some shipwrecked Englishmen at Amoy.

CHAP. LII. — *Is a Continuation of the History of the Chungtock of Fokien, in relation to some Occurrences that happened among the English at Amoy in anno 1700.*

I BEING then bound to Amoy in a ship from Surat, employed by Sir Nicholas Waite, the new East-India Company's president there, and Commodore Littleton being then at Surat with a squadron of four men of war, by some considerable reasons was persuaded by Sir Nicholas to let one of his squadron go as far as Amoy to look after the English pirates that then infested the streights of Malacca.

The Harwich was the ship pitched on, a 50 gun-ship, commanded by Captain Cock, and we sailed in company as far as Atcheen, and there we were parted by a storm. He called at Atcheen, but I made what haste I could for the port of Malacca. I staid there above a fortnight for him, and when he had taken in such provisions as he wanted, take that I had paid for them, we sailed from Malacca, in order to proceed for Amoy. ...h ob- ...them, I ...bought

When we arrived there, we found three European ſhips, and a country ſhip from Surat, employed by Sir John Gayer, preſident for the old Eaſt-India Company. The ſupercargoes of thoſe ſhips, on ſight of a man of war, ſent a compliment of 500 tayels to the teytock, to diſſuade him from giving the Harwich permiſſion to come into the harbour, for fear of loſing a feather that they had put in their own caps, of wearing a pendent at their top-maſt heads, ſo that when I went to pay my compliment to the teytock, and give him an account of our cargo, and to deſire liberty for the man of war and my own ſhip to come into the harbour, he told me, that my own ſhip was welcome, but he could not, with ſafety, admit of the King's ſhip into the harbour, but that ſhe might be ſupplied with what ſhe wanted in the road.

I told him, that the King's ſhip's bottom wanted repair, and that if he would not permit her to come into the harbour, both ſhe and I muſt go to Canton, and if the captain of the man of war reſented the ill uſage he was like to meet with at Amoy, thoſe ought to anſwer who had given the teytock that ill advice, and ſo I took leave very ill ſatisfied.

The linguiſt and I had been acquainted ſome years, and, on our way from the citadel, I told him, that if the teytock continued his reſolution of denying our King's ſhip the ſame civilities that he granted to merchant ſhips of our nation, I could not anſwer for the ill conſequences that might attend that affront, and, if ſhe had not permiſſion in three days to come in, on the fourth we would proceed for Canton.

He then very frankly told me, that it was none of the teytock's fault, but the Engliſh captains and ſupercargoes, who had ſent him with a meſſage to the teytock, to acquaint him, that if the man of war was permitted to come into the harbour, their men would be rude to the merchants, and would be tied up to no rules or laws which the merchant ſhips obſerved, that the women would be debauched, and many other aggravating crimes, they alledged, the man of war's men would commit, and withal had ſent the teytock a preſent of 500 tayels to keep her out of the harbour.

I carried the linguiſt into a merchant's houſe that was my acquaintance, to conſult with that merchant about removing that remora that ſtopped the man of war from entering into the harbour, which could be done no other way than my being bound for the good behaviour of the people belonging to the man of war, and to give a preſent ſuperior to theirs, which I conſented to.

Then we conſulted how the captain of the King's ſhip ſhould be received by the teytock, when he ſhould make his viſit, and we agreed, that all the captains and ſupercargoes ſhould be called to the teytock's in company with Captain Cock, and that he ſhould enter before us, and have an high chair placed a little before the teytock's chair, on the left hand, which, among them, is the place of honour, and we captains and ſupercargoes to be ſet on felt cuſhions on the floor, and on the right ſide of the teytock's chair, which was raiſed on a platform of deals, with three ſteps of aſcent.

We had no ſooner done with our conſultation than I diſpatched my friend Shawban, for that was the merchant's name, with the linguiſt, to acquaint the teytock with what we had reſolved on, and he approved of all, and two days after ſent a ſummons for the captains and ſupercargoes to accompany Captain Cock, and all obeyed but one, who pretended indiſpoſition; however he ſent his ſecond ſupercargo to ſupply his place.

As ſoon as we were in the citadel, we were conducted to the teytock's palace, and entered the chamber of audience, and were ſeated according to the method before agreed on. The teytock being ſeated before, he made a ſpeech pretty long, wherein he told how he had been informed of the looſe behaviour of men of war's men, which it hamed him with caution, but that he knew of a more convenient place on an iſland nion, within

within three leagues of the town, for the man of war to hale ashore, if we would be ruled by his advice. The captain made a bow and acceded to that motion.

He then wanted to know who would be surety for the captain and men belonging to the man of war, that they should observe the laws and customs of the place, without being molestation to the natives. I found none cared to enter on so hazardous an affair, so I stood up, and proffered myself, ship and cargo for security. The rest not expecting that the captain could have found such security, one, who made a good figure among us, told me, I was too forward in my proffer. I answered him, that I only engaged what I had the command of, but meddled with nobody's affairs else.

The teytock seemed well satisfied, and gave us a very handsome entertainment, and then dismissed us. The man of war went to the island, and landed some of her greatest guns, but found so much difficulty in carrying things ashore, that we got an order from the teytock to bring her into the harbour, and accordingly she came in.

There is an island opposite to the town of Amoy, called Cullemshoe, about half a mile distant, and it has two convenient places to lay ships on, in order to clean their bottoms, or repair them, and there are some rocks that lay between those places, that appear dry at low water. In one of those bays the Harwich was haled ashore, and cleaned, and her sheathing being much worm-eaten, it was repaired with a great deal of new sheathing, all which charges I had orders from my employers to disburse on their account, in expectation, that carrying back 200 tons of China goods would sufficiently reimburse them; but Captain Cock being a young man, not very well versed in the affairs of shipping, took advice of some other captains of better knowledge, and daily carousing with them on board of his ship, chanced, that day that his ship haled off, to be a little inebriated, as well as his tutors. I was none of the cabal, and so staid in my factory. The tide of ebb was made before they began to remove the ship from the bay that she had been fitted in, and in haling off, the tide set her upon the rocks abovementioned, and on them she was lost.

As soon as the ship sat fast on the rocks, his counsellers left him to think on his misfortune, Next morning all the captains and supercargoes went over to the island (where he and all his men were lamenting their condition) to condole his misfortune, but not one had the charity to invite him to a dinner. About ten I went over to visit him, and found him weeping. I dissuaded him from grieving at what could not be remedied, and invited him to dine with me, if he was not pre-engaged. He then wept very bitterly, and told me, that not one of all his companions that had been visiting him, had the good manners to give him an invitation, and that I, who had just cause to be angry with him for his folly and contempt of my counsel, had shewn him more humanity than those who had sworn eternal friendship to him.

I carried him and his two lieutenants along with me to dinner, and allowed them a chamber in my factory to lodge in, and to shew a good example to the rest of the captains, I took forty of the poor seamen on board of my ship, and gave them provisions. They were in all one hundred and eighty two men and boys in the crew, and there being five ships, I thought I had taken a large quota for my share, but not one of the rest would follow my example, so the remainder of the crew were in distress for want of food and raiment. I went over one morning to see what condition the poor men were in, who had made tents of the ship's sails, and I saw one newly dead for hunger and cold.

I used all my rhetoric amongst my brethren the captains and supercargoes, to take pity on the poor shipwrecked men, but they were all deaf to my petitions, which obliged me to allow them a pound weight of rice per day each man: and to clothe them, I

 bought

bought three thousand yards of blue cotton cloth about a groat per yard value, and bought them needles and thread, and gave them about 1000lb. weight of cotton for quilting, and so every man was his own tailor.

But finding my charges would be very great in maintaining such a number of men, and in carrying them passengers would take up too much room in my ship, which I could much better employ in carrying China goods to Surat, I went to my old friend Shawban, with my confidant the linguist, and held a consultation how we might compel my brethren to be humane, and force them to take their quotas of the poor distressed men, and we fell on the project to write to the noble and just chungtock at Hocksew before mentioned, to get an order from him, that no ship should have liberty to lade their goods aboard, that did not first take their quota of the shipwrecked men. We went to the teytock, and acquainted him with our design, who much approved of the project, and he seemed surprized, that any of those ships durst go into our King's dominions, who had denied to assist, not only his subjects, but immediate servants. He was very humane, and sent the poor seamen presents of pork and hocksew, (a strong fermented liquor like our strong ale), for me to distribute among them, and those presents he frequently sent.

I provided a present to accompany my letter to the chungtock, to the value of 40 pounds sterling, and got the best scribe in the place to write my letter, laying down the misery the poor men were in, and how easily and justly they might be relieved by such an order.

I sent my letter and present by an express, who returned in sixteen days with a satisfactory answer, and an order to the hapoa, to suffer no goods to be shipped off without consulting me. The hapoa came to my factory, and congratulated me on the honour that the chungtock had done me, and promised to obey his orders in relation to shipping goods off.

A gentleman who was supercargo of the ship Dorrel, bound directly from Amoy to England, was the first that was denied a permit to ship goods off. He had sent for the ship's boat to carry off some chests of silk, but the waiters stopt them from putting them into the boat, on which the linguist was sent for to know the reason, and he told the supercargo, that the hapoa had received orders to let no goods be shipped off withot consulting me first about taking a quota of the man of war's men, on which my antagonists held a council, and resolved to continue obstinate, and that supercargo before mentioned came early next morning to my house. When my servants informed me that he was in the court, I went and invited him in. I guessed his errand by his countenance, and asked him to sit down, but he refused. I asked him if he would drink any coffee or tea, but he would not. He then, in a fret, asked me if I was governor of his affairs. I answered, no, nor did I know how he could ask me such a simple question. He swore that he found I was, and that if I were in another place than Amoy, I durst not act as I had done, and swore again, that not one man of them should be entertained on board the Dorrel. I told him, that I durst do any thing that was honest and just, and was always ready to defend what I had so done; but as to his taking his quota of the shipwrecked men, he must comply with it, if he had a mind to save his passage to England that season. He still continued cursing himself if he took any of them, and went away in a very great huff, which I little regarded.

It was, and I believe is, still the custom on board the English Company's ships, for the captain to give a remonstrance and a protest thirty days before the expiration of the term for their departure, to the supercargo or factor for the company, according as it is stipulated by charter party. Accordingly the captain of the Dorrel gave in his protest about

about that time to the aforesaid supercargo, which aggravated his chagrin, and he told the captain, who was my friend, what troubles I had brought him and the rest into. The captain advised him to consider what time might be spent in contention; and that I, having the government on my side, would certainly carry my point in spite of all the opposition they could make, and that it would be much better to comply in time than to stand out, and be forced to comply at last.

He told the captain that he might do as he pleased, but he was resolved to give him no orders on that head. The captain bade him look what was agreed on in charter-party; where they found, that the commander of a company's ship was to take no passengers on board of his ship on penalty of 100l. for each passenger, without a written order from the Company's agent where he should happen to be; but where no agent was, he was then at his liberty.

After a little deliberation, he bade the captain speak to me of the hardships they would be under in carrying such a number of passengers so long a voyage, and to try me, whether I would favour them in the number of the quota that they must be obliged to carry: and the captain came to discourse me about it, and I agreed that Capt Cock, his lieutenants, and seventeen more, should have their passage on board his ship to England, and that those seventeen should be such as Captain Cock should choose, that the captain and his two lieutenants should have Captain Hide's table, they paying him 20l. each for that favour, all which the captain consented to, and the supercargo and I became friends again.

The other sticklers soon complied, and took thirty six each for their quota, and the rest I provided for, and they were as forward to work and obey my orders as my own seamen, though they were not so on board of the other Surat ship, where they were like to mutiny for want of victuals, even before they went to sea, for the captain of that ship pretended that he would allow them no victuals before they went to sea, and the poor indigent fellows fasted twenty four hours on that pretext. At last hunger compelled them to make their complaint to me, and I furnished them with a supper, and bade them be easy till next noon, and if there was no provision made for them, when the ship's company's dinner was ready, to seize on it for their own use, and let the others stay till more was drest, which advice, they took to be very wholsome, and punctually followed it.

The captain complained to me of the passengers rudeness. I told him, that they only followed my advice, for I could not see what pleasure he could take in starving poor men, since what they did eat was nothing out of his pockets, for I knew the charges would be allowed in his accounts with his employers, and advised him to treat them civilly at sea, since they being superior in number to his ship's company, might make them use force to obtain what they ought to have by fair means: nor was I out in my conjecture, for at sea he put them to so small an allowance, that they mutinied, and threatened to carry him and the ship to Madagascar, and deliver him to the pirates.

About Christmas I broke up house-keeping, and paid house-rent for Captain Cock and his officers to remain in it a month after me, and knowing the scarcity of money among him and his family, I gave him a bag with 1000 Spanish dollars for his subsistence on his voyage to Europe, on condition, that when he was in a capacity to pay me, he would not forget to repay me. I gave his first lieutenant 100 and the second lieutenant 50 of the same pieces, but without provision of repayment.

The captain made his acknowledgments in the most emphatical words he could express, imprecating vengeance to pursue him if he did not thankfully repay me with good

good intereſt, when he was able, I alſo wrote to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Royal Navy, about the charges I had been at on account of the loſs of his Majeſty's ſhip, in China; and petitioned that I might be reimburſed, and made Mr. Matthew Cock, a brother of the captain's, my attorney, to ſolicit for and receive what their Lordſhips would pleaſe to allow me.

I received a letter from the captain, then at Cape Bona Eſperance, in his way home; wherein he gave me an account of their hard uſage aboard of the ſhip, and of the death of his ſecond lieutenant, and that was all I had from him in twenty-three years. When I arrived in England, I did myſelf the honour to write him from London to Leatherhead, to try if I could furbiſh up his ſhort memory with the remembrance of what had paſſed between us in China; but he proteſted that he had quite forgot it I anſwered him, that his firſt lieutenant, Captain Falconar, ſtill remembered it very well, and had made a grateful acknowledgment of the ſmall favour he received above twenty years before. My affairs calling me to Holland in anno 1724, he called for me at London, when he knew I was in Holland, and before I returned to England, he had paid his great debt to nature, without taking notice of the ſmall one due to me.

CHAP. LIII.—*A Continuation of Obſervations on the Gods, Clergy, and Devotion of the Chineſe.*

AND now I have followed him to his grave, I will return back to Amoy, and obſerve ſome of their cuſtoms, religious, civil, and criminal. Their temples are built all after one form, but, as in other countries, very different in beauty and magnitude. Their joſſes, or demi-gods, are ſome of human ſhape, ſome of monſtrous figures, but in the province of Fokien, they are more devoted to the worſhip of goddeſſes than gods. Quanheim has the moſt votaries. She is placed in ſtate, ſitting on a cuſhion with rich robes, and her little ſon ſtanding before her, with a charged trident in his right hand, ready to throw at offenders of the laws of humanity and nature, and alſo at thoſe who make no freewill-offerings to his mother. The Chineſe, who have ſeen the Roman Catholic churches and worſhip, ſay that ſhe is the Chineſe Virgin Mary.

There is another goddeſs called Matſoa, who ſwam from a far country, through many ſeas, and came in one night to China, and took up her reſidence there. She ſits on a platform, with a cuſhion laid on it, and her head is covered with blue wool inſtead of hair. She is the protectreſs of navigation, for which reaſon none go a voyage but they firſt make a ſacrifice of boiled hogs heads, and bread baked in the ſteam of boiling water. It is ſet before the image when reeking hot, and kept before her till it is cold, ſhe feeding on the ſmoke, and the devotees on the ſubſtance, when it is cold. On their return from a voyage, they compliment her with a play, either acted on board of the ſhip, or before one of her temples.

They have another goddeſs in form of a virgin, called Quonin, who has many votaries, but is moſtly worſhipped in the provinces of Peking and Nanking, but being a virgin, ſhe has many lovers all over China.

The god Fe has an human ſhape, except his head, which has the figure of an eagle. Gan has a broad face, and a prodigious great belly. Fo is a very majeſtic god, and is always placed with a great number of little gods to attend him. Miniſo in Fokien, I take to be the god Miglect at Canton, being alike in ſhape and countenance. He is called the god of pleaſure. Puſſa is ſet croſs-legged on a cuſhion, beſpangled with flowers and ſtars, and ſhe has eight or nine arms and hands on each ſide, and two

6 before,

before, that ſhe holds in a praying poſture. In every one of her hands (except the two that are dedicated to prayer) ſhe bears ſome thing emblematical, as an axe, a ſword, a flower, &c. The great God that made the heavens and earth, they beſtow an human ſhape on him, like a young man in ſtrength and vigour, quite oppoſite to the church of Rome, who make his picture like Salvadore winter, old, cold, and hoary. I have ſeen many more whoſe names I have forgot, ſome with human bodies, and dragons, lions, tigers, and dogs heads, and one I ſaw like Stour Yonker in Finland, with a man's body and clothes, and with eagles feet, and talons in the ſtead of hands.

The prieſthood are in no great eſteem among the people, being generally of low extract. They have many different orders among them, which are diſtinguiſhed by badges, colour of habit, or faſhions of their capes. They are all obliged to celibacy while they continue in orders, and that is no longer than they pleaſe. But while they continue in orders, and ſhould, or chance to be convicted of fornication, they muſt expiate the crime with their lives, except their high prieſt, who is called Chiam, and he always keeps near the Emperor's perſon, and is in very great repute, and he has liberty to marry, becauſe the high prieſthood muſt always continue in one family, as Aaron's did for a long while, but not half ſo long as it has been in this family, who has kept up the cuſtom above 1000 years ſucceſſively, without the intruſion of interlopers.

There are no perſons of figure or fortune that care to have their children conſecrated to ſerve at the altar, ſo that the prieſts who can have no iſſue of their own, are obliged to buy novices of ſuch mean perſons as neceſſity forces to ſell their children, and their ſtudy being in the large legends of their divinity, and not having the benefit of con verſation with men of letters or polity, they are generally ignorant of the affairs of the world, which makes them contemptible among ſo polite a people as the ingenious and converſible Chineſe laity are.

Confucius, or as the Chineſe call him, Confuce, was the prince of their philoſophers. He was near contemporary with Artaxerxes, Nehemiah, and Malachi, about 450 years before our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. He both taught and practiſed moral philoſophy to perfection, and acquired ſo great a veneration among his countrymen, that his ſentences are taken for poſtulata to this day, not one ſince having offered to contradict any thing that he has left behind in writing They have another doctor of philoſophy called Tanſiw, who was almoſt as ancient as Confucius, and wrote many excellent tracts of a virtuous life, and the methods to attain to it, but his character is inferior to Confucius's.

Their preachers take ſome apophthegms out of thoſe great mens writings, for texts to comment and expatiate on. They live very abſtemiouſly, and riſe early before day to pray. Every temple has a cloiſter or convent annexed to it, and has a certain ſtipend allowed by the Emperor to ſupport the prieſts and novices, but they get much more by letting of lodgings to travellers, who generally lodge in their cells, than the Emperor's allowance Beſides, they have a genteel way of begging from ſtrangers, by bringing tea and ſweetmeats to regale them.

The Chineſe do not bury in or near their temples, but in the fields, and when a bouzi or prieſt tells a rich dying perſon, that ſuch a piece of ground is holy, and that the infernal ſpirits have no power to haunt ſuch ground, they will perſuade the poor man that is diſtempered both in body and mind, to buy it at any rate to be buried in, and ſometimes they will pay a thouſand tayels for ten yards ſquare of ſuch holy ground.

The

The fishers and carriers by water, who are born and bred in their boats, and on the water, must also be buried in it, unless they have money enough to purchase a burying-place ashore.

They have many sects among them, but all agree in the transanimation of souls, yet not one sect persecutes another, but allow free liberty to believe what they think best, and it is very natural for men to embrace what they think is best, whether it is the best or not.

The Christian missionaries have converted many by the indulgence of several Emperors, particularly of Chunghee, and those apostles indulge their proselytes in many things opposite to the system and canons of the western Christianity, as polygamy, concubinage, and the invocation and adoration of Pagan saints, as well as Christian, in their apotheosis, which has caused no small disturbance at Rome.

When a mandereen of any consideration passes through a street or highway, he goes in great state, either on horseback, or in close or open chairs, carried by men, and he has flags carried before him, and large peels lacquered, and painted black or red, with large golden characters written on them, that gives the designation of his titles and dignity. The foremost of his retinue in their particular habit, with an high-crowned hat in form of a closestool-pan, and two long feathers of a pheasant's tail standing upright in it; and they make an hideous noise as they go along, crying incessantly Ho—ot, to warn every one to go off the streets or highway, till he pass by. Next to them are fellows with small chains in their hands, ready to throw over any body's head, and catch them by the neck, that do not obey the call of the foremost men. And next them are executioners with their ensigns of cruelty, as a great sword, an axe, and some large pieces of wood, painted black, and trailing on the ground as they pass along, to bamboo the delinquent, which is by throwing them on their faces, and giving their buttocks as many blows with those batons as his worship the mandereen shall order, and they have caps like sugar-loaves. I knew an English gentleman now alive in England, that underwent the chastisement of the bamboo.

Yet I heard of a comical passage that happened at Amoy, between a mandereen and an English sailor. The mandereen going in his chair with his usual retinue, met a sailor coming with a keg of arrack under his arm. Every body went off the street but the jolly sailor, who had been tasting his arrack, he was so mannerly as to walk aside, and give the mandereen the middle of the street, but one of the retinue gave the sailor a box on the ear, and had almost shoved him down, keg and all. The sailor d—ned him for a son of a whore, and asked what he meant by it; and at the same time gave the aggressor a box on the ear in return. The poor seaman was soon overpowered by the retinue; but the mandereen ordered to do him no harm, till he had sent for the English linguist, who forthwith came. The mandereen told the linguist what had happened, and bid him ask the sailor why he gave him that affront. The sailor swore that the mandereen had affronted him, in allowing his servants to beat him, while he was walking down the streets civilly, with his keg of samshew under his arm; and swore by G—d that he would box the mandereen, or every one of his gang, for a Spanish dollar; and with that put his hand in his pocket and pulled a dollar out.

The mandereen ordered the linguist to tell him verbatim what the sailor said, and why he pulled his money out. When the linguist had told him all, the mandereen was ready to fall off his chair with laughing. And after he had composed himself, he asked if the sailor would stand to his challenge; who swore he would. The mandereen had one Tartar in his retinue famous for boxing, who had won many prizes at it, and called

called for him to try his skill on the Englishman. The Tartar was a lusty man, and the sailor short, but well set. The Tartar promised an easy conquest, and to the combat they went. The Tartars use to kick high at the guts, and the first time he kicked, the sailor had him on his back. The Tartar was much ashamed of the foil he had received, and at the sailor again, but Jack soon tripped up his heels again. He desired then to have a fair bout of boxing without tripping, which Jack agreed to, and battered the Tartar's face and breast so with his head, that he was forced to yield to Old England. The mandereen was so pleased with the bravery and dexterity of the seaman, that he made him a present of 10 tayels of silver.

In the punishment of crimes there are laws made to proportion the punishment according to the notoriety or quality of the crime. For faults not capital they use the bamboo and whip, or a pair of wooden stocks, or a wooden collar, being some boards fixed together, with a hole in the middle for the head to go through. It is generally about five feet square, and between sixty and eighty pounds weight, that they are obliged to carry a considerable way in the day, and sleep in it at night, sitting with that continual weight on their shoulders, because there is no lying down; which punishment lasts as long as the judge determines in his sentence. Some they lay in the stocks by the neck, laid flat on their back in the open sun, with their face continually towards it while it shines, and this lasts for one, two, or three days, as the judge thinks fit to order.

Traitors, murderers, and pirates, are carried to Nankin to be tried and punished, except a special order from the Emperor carry custom out of her road. Those goals in Nankin are only cleared of malefactors once in three years. In those prisons they live in great misery, and often wish for death before it comes.

Every one of those sort of criminals has particular prisons belonging to such crimes, and when the judge receives the Emperor's orders to reprieve such a number, the judge has it in his power to save whom he pleases of that number specified, and the rest are immediately put to death, as fast as they can dispatch them with the sword and axe. I have been credibly informed, that 30,000 have been executed in one month, and half that number reprieved.

When the Emperor gives special order for the punishment of piracy or murder, the delinquent is tied to a stake, and an executioner cuts the skin of his forehead round from ear to ear, and pulls it over his eyes, and then delivers him to the friends and relations of those that had suffered injuries by him, and they have the pleasure of torturing him as they please. I have heard of some who have been tortured three days and nights before they expired. Others have had a brick or stone cloke built round them close to their bodies, by the side of an highway, and a guard set over them, who commanded all passengers to spit on their heads as they passed by, and they are generally much longer dying than the others.

Parents have the power of the life and death of their children till they marry, and then that power ceases. Husbands have the same power of their wives, if they are convicted of adultery. I knew an instance of the latter in Amoy by a Chinese, that went a voyage to Fort St. George, and from thence to England. He had a good agreeable young woman to his wife, and he pretended when he returned, to make his wife use the freedom of England, in bringing his wife into Englishmen's company when they came to his house, and made her eat at table, or drink tea with them, but not when any Chinese strangers were in his house. However, she did not know how to behave herself prudently in that state of freedom, but was debauched by several; and he going a

voyage to Canton, had ſtaid ten months after the Engliſh ſhipping was gone, and found her big with child at his return. He ſent for her relations and feaſted them, and then before them upbraided her for her diſloyalty, and took a piece of heavy wood that they uſe in pounding rice, and gave her a blow on the head that killed her outright.

I heard of an inſtance of the other at Canton. A rich merchant had a profligate ſon, whom he ſent abroad with a conſiderable ſtock to employ in trade. In a few months he had conſumed all the ſtock, and run in debt. He gave his creditors bills on his father, who anſwered them for his own credit. The ſon came back, begged his father's pardon, and proteſted, that for the future he would lead a virtuous life. The kind indulgent father entruſted him with a ſecond ſtock, and he, in a ſhort time, deſtroyed that alſo, and when his credit was gone returned to his father, who ſeemed to paſs by his folly. But one day he made an entertainment for all his relations, and when the entertainment was over he began an apologue that came pretty near his own caſe with his ſon; and aſked their opinion what in juſtice the ſon ought to ſuffer for abuſing his father's kindneſs, and ruining his eſtate. They did not know that he and his ſon were the perſons mentioned in the fable under borrowed names, unanimouſly agreed that the ſon ought to be puniſhed with death. On which the father took a knife and cut his ſon's throat, before either the ſon or his relations had the leaſt thought of it; and then he thanked them for paſſing ſo juſt a ſentence, for that he and his ſon were the real perſons repreſented in the apologue.

If children grow incorrigible, and deſpiſe the threats or admonitions of their parents, according to law, the parents are to complain of them to the magiſtrate, and upon full conviction, the magiſtrate will ſeverely correct them. For if a ſon break the eſtabliſhed laws, the parent ſuffers puniſhment as well as the criminal ſon, if he had not before made the magiſtrate acquainted with his ſon's vices.

And if a parent is brought to poverty and want, and has not brought his ſon up to ſome calling, whereby he might get his living, the ſon is not obliged to aſſiſt his father, but otherwiſe he is.

In their marriages the bridegroom never ſees his ſpouſe till they are married, for the match is made by matrons of both ſides, and he is obliged to pay a ſum of money to the bride's relations before he can have her; and when all obſtacles are removed, her relations make a feaſt for the bridegroom and his friends, and after that is over, ſhe is brought veiled into the dining-room, and he preſents her with ſome jewel of ſmall value, or ſome pieces of ſilk ſtuffs, and a prieſt ſacrifices a cock, by cutting his throat, and ſprinkling ſome of the blood on them both, and then they are married by law; and he ſeldom marries another while ſhe lives, except in caſe of barrenneſs, and then he may take another, and ſo on in caſe of failure in iſſue, as far as four, but they cannot go beyond that number, yet he may buy as many concubines as he pleaſes, and the wives are ranked according to priority, and the concubines muſt attend and ſerve the wives.

The ladies dreſs is very becoming. They wear fine linen breeches that reach to the ancle, but they are covered with a petticoat handſomely platted, that reaches below the ancle, and a gown that reaches midleg down, tied with a ſilken belt round their middle, and each ſleeve ſo large, that one would ſerve to put their body in, and reaches almoſt to the ground. They have a collar of embroidery handſomely cut, that comes round their neck, and covers the neck of their gown, and reaches half way between the neck and ſhoulder-bone. They have naturally a great deal of hair as black as jet, which they ſet on wires fitted to their head, raiſed four or five inches, and covered with their hair

hair in a becoming manner, and those who can afford pearl, have some of them bored on one side, and set in their hair, and they have two or more gold bodkins which keep all the handsome fabric fast.

Their feet are bound up with rollers of cloth when they come to three years of age, and are always kept hard bound, so that all the other parts of their body grow in their natural shape and magnitude, but their feet, which, by restraint, are always as small as they were when first bound up. Their pretty little shoe has a piece of wood placed in the middle between the heel and the toe, that serves both for heel and sole; which makes them rather trip along when they go, for their ambulation cannot be called walking.

Their forehead is large, pretty small eyebrows, well arched, their eyes black, but almost hid with the lids, their nose small and flat at the eyes, their mouth little, and pretty plump lips of a deep vermillion colour, their cheeks and chin in a good agreeable symmetry, and their neck small, their arms long and slender, a fine little hand, and to grace the whole structure of their persons and ornaments, the nails of their fingers are never pared, but are let grow to two or three inches in length, to shew that they are not employed in servile works.

And this fashion of long nails is followed by the men of distinction, and are carefully kept clean, and formerly, before the Tartars were their lords, they wore their hair long, rolled up behind, (as our women in Britain formerly wore theirs,) and a net of hair or black silk to cover their neat rolls and gold bodkins, with double or treble prongs stuck in their hair, to keep it in order, but now they have only a lock at their crown, platted and hanging down their back, and none are without that lock; for if they have not hair enough growing naturally on their heads, they take small locks of borrowed hair, and twist it with their own to be in the fashion.

The men of figure have a coat of silk that comes down to their knees, and a short doublet over that, that reaches no farther than their loins. Their breeches are large and full, which come under the tops of their silk boots, neatly made and quilted, for great men wear no shoes. They generally wear on their right thumb a thick ivory or agate ring, very convenient for drawing their long-bows made of buffalo's horn, they being all bred to archery, and exercise themselves much in shooting at a mark. They wear their swords on the left side, with the point forward, and when they draw them, they lift up their lacquered scabbard, that the handle may reach above their shoulder behind, so that at the drawing of them with their right hand, they can make a good and nimble stroke on whatsoever they attack.

And to dress our China or Tartar gentleman completely, he wears a cap made of fine mat for that purpose, in the form of a blunt pyramid, with a tassel of horse-hair dyed red, that reaches from the crown almost to the bottom, and often an amber or coral button fastened to the crown of the cap, and they use a piece of hair-tape to come under the chin, to keep it from blowing off by the wind; and to their girdle they have a purse for their little tobacco-pipe, which is made of some metal, and two other purses, one small for their tobacco, and the other pretty large, with several divisions in it for their money and papers, all drawn close by silken strings; and their handkerchief is a piece of coarse cotton rag stuck between their girdle and side, one end hanging to the knee, and that serves for a towel and a napkin also; and so I have equipped him either as a courtier or cavalier.

But the mandereens of the pen have a long gown to their heels, with badges or blazons on their backs and breasts, to distinguish their degree or dignity, and before they are admitted to the degree of doctor, they must pass through several trials and examinations.

examinations. They alſo wear a diſtinguiſhing cap on their head, and look as grave as an old advocate.

A merchant and mechanic wear the ſame cap as the courtier, but their habit is a long robe with narrow ſleeves, and ſtockings made of coarſe cotton cloth, with ſquare-toed ſhoes, without heels or latchets to tie them on. The peaſants and fiſhers are not tied up to ſumpture laws, but wear what they pleaſe.

Every houſe, ſhip, and fiſhing-boat keep a domeſtic god that they pay adoration to evening and morning; and he has always a ſmall flat table with ledges before him, filled with wood-aſhes ſmoothed over, and ſmall furrows drawn through the aſhes in order, and thoſe furrows filled with powder of putchock, or radix dulcis, mixed with powder of ſandal, myrrh, or olibanum, and the compoſition is fired at one end, and it gives a little but pleaſant ſmoke the whole four-and-twenty hours, without the leaſt need of mending or renewing it.

When two China Men quarrel, (for they are naturally a little choleric,) if the breach is ſo wide that it will be difficult to be made up again, then they will threaten not to pay any reverence or reſpect to one anothers god; and that word cuts off all means of communion and ſociety ever after. And ſo I leave them, and proceed to my obſervations on other things.

CHAP. LIII.—*Gives an Account of the natural Rarities of China, and of the Emperor's Revenue and common Expence.*

THERE are many artificial as well as natural rarities in China. Their artificial ones are in ſtupendous bridges, that give ſafe and convenient paſſages over great and rapid rivers, and over vallies between the tops of mountains, to make roads eaſy and pleaſant that would otherwiſe be very ſteep, crooked and dangerous, but I never ſaw any of them, though I have heard much talk of them.

They have alſo great and convenient ſluices to check the violence of floods from lakes and rivers, and to ſerve out their waters to lower grounds, to moiſten them and make them fit to yield good crops of corn, but I being confined to the iſland of Amoy, could not have an opportunity to ſee them, ſo that what I add more to my obſervations, is only by informations and reports from others, (who had travelled where I had no permiſſion to go,) whoſe acquaintance I caſually ſought after to be informed.

I now begin again to continue my courſe along the ſea-coaſt to the northward. And in the ſame province of Fokien is the river and city of Hockſew; but whether the city of Hockſew be the ſame with Fochew, I know not, it is very large however, and is famous for being the reſidence of the chungtock, and in brewing a ſort of good ſtrong ale in ſmall pots of coarſe China ware, luted over with a clay head as big as the pot.

About twenty leagues to the northward of Hockſew begins the province of Chequiam, whoſe chief city is Limpoa, by ſome called Nimpoa, and by others Ningpoo; however, it is a large city and drives a great trade. Here the Portugueze were once well ſettled, and had a numerous colony. When the Chineſe were maſters of their own country, and the Portugueze of the ſeas, it is reported, that they had above one thouſand Portugueze families ſettled in Limpoa, and were governed by their own laws. Their trade through China and Japon, which they carried in ſhipping to India and China, made them prodigiouſly rich, which brought them into luxury and debauchery, and, at laſt, was the cauſe of their expulſion from Limpoa.

They began to be notorious raviſhers of women. They would go into the country villages, and carry off young virgins by violence, from their parents, and when they had

had abused them as long as they pleased, sent them back to their friends. Many complaints had been made, but no redress could be obtained. At length, when a parcel of virgin-hunters had gone into the country upon an expedition of that nature, the peasants fell on them, and killed them every man.

This slaughter made the Portugueze very loud in their complaints, and demanded justice to be done on the peasants. The peasants made solid replications to the complaints of the Portugueze, and desired their case might be laid before the Emperor, which was accordingly done, and the Portugueze were ordered to clear themselves of the crimes laid to their charge, and they not being able to do it, were banished Limpoa, but had liberty to carry off their effects; and thus ended the most opulent colony, at that time, in the world.

Nanking is the next province to Chequiam, and the city of Nanking is still reckoned one of the largest cities in China, or perhaps in the world. I have heard many say, that saw both Peking and Nanking, that it occupies a larger spot of ground than Peking, and that the triumphal arches, palaces, and other public edifices, are nobler than those at Peking.

The province begins at Souchew, a large city, and one of the greatest trading cities in China, in gold, wrought silks, porcelain or China ware. It stands near the lake of Hamchew, which is about 20 leagues long, and 16 broad, of fine clear fresh water, and it produces many excellent sorts of fishes, some whereof are daily sent in boats to Peking for the Emperor's table.

Nanking city stands on the banks of the river Kiam, the greatest but not the longest river in China. It is situated about 100 miles from its mouth, in a fine, pleasant, fertile plain. It was formerly the metropolis of all China, till the Tartars grew troublesome and formidable, which drew the court to Peking, to be nearer the frontiers, in order to check their insolence.

The distance between Nanking and Peking is about 500 English miles. They have a communication by water in two royal canals, one from Nanking to the Yellow River, so called from the colour of its water, and the other from that river to the city of Peking, or very near it. They are the work of art, done by the hard labour of many thousands of poor workmen, in obedience to their Emperor's order, to facilitate the carriage of merchandize between those great cities.

The Yellow River, or Corcei River, is much longer than any river in Asia, or perhaps, in Europe, for there are 30 degrees distance between its source and its mouth: and I heard one Mr Fountanay, a missionary, who went to France on the Emperor of China's account, about the year 1694, say, that, he believed there were as many people that lived in boats and vessels on the rivers of Kiam and Corcei as in the three greatest provinces of France, for in their vessels they keep fairs on these rivers, one season at one place, and in other seasons at other places, and though there may be 10,000 vessels assembled at a fair, yet there is as good order and decorum kept, as in a well governed city. All ships and boats who have the same species of goods are moored together, along a certain place on the river's side allotted for them, by proper magistrates, and at night, watches are set to prevent thieving and disorder, and offenders are severely punished, without respect of persons.

There are also fairs kept on the royal canal, between the Yellow River and Peking, in which all the sorts of commodities that China produceth are to be sold.

The magnitude, beauty, and opulency of Peking, are so fully described by some who have been there, that my hear-say account can be of no use, and for that cause I omit

omit it; but the aforesaid Mr. Fountanay told me, that the winter season is much colder than in France, and, that in the month of November, the fraternity bought three deers, and hung them up in a pantry without salt, and when they had a mind for some venison, they cut what they wanted for their use till the beginning of March, and what was left then began to grow stale, but not before, which shews the subtile coldness and dryness of the air there.

And now being at the end of my journey on the continent of Asia, I will make some more general observations on the product of China, and return to the southward, to take a view of the islands that face the sea-coasts of China, and steer back to the northward as far as Japon.

As there are many mountains in China, so they have many different qualities. Some by their situation and prodigious height, shew their lofty tops above the clouds, always clear and serene; but none dare presume to go to their tops, because the air being too much rarified, insensibly takes away perspiration, and causes death. Others, though as high, by nitrous and sulphureous mines in their bowels, send up thick vapours that always hide their tops; and at the foot of those mountains are springs and wells of fire, that continually burn in their own cells, but never break forth in any other places.

Other mountains are covered with trees of various sorts. The pine is the largest, some being six foot through, and four of five score covets high, or according to English measure, an hundred and fifty feet in length, and they produce bamboos, as long, and so big, that one joint between the inter-nodes or knots can contain above ten catties of water, which are of great use to sea-faring men, to hold their fresh water in. They also produce the rose-tree, which preserves an agreeable smell and colour as long as the wood lasts, which is not less than a century or two.

In the southern provinces, I have been told, that a tree called quanlang, has a soft pulp growing within it, which the inhabitants dry and pulverize, and apply it to all the uses that wheat-flour serves for, having the same taste and quality. I heard a missionary assert, that not far from Limpoa, in the province of Chequiam, he saw some trees that bore a fruit pretty hard on the outside, but within a fat pulp, which being put awhile in the air, becomes good white tallow; and it serves for all intents and purposes, for the same uses that tallow is put to, only with this advantage, that it does not defile the hand, nor grease and stain clothes.

All the provinces of China are well stored with fruit-bearing trees, and being of so large an extent, and the seasons so different, that in one place it is summer, while in another place winter predominates, as in the provinces of Quansi and Quantung it is pleasant summer, while in Zansi and Peking the chilling colds of winter, and storms disturb the air, and shut up the pores of the earth.

All the provinces produce tea in abundance, but Nanking and Chequiam afford the best. I saw four or five tea shrubs growing on the east side of Amoy, but it was in the end of September, when all the leaves were off. It is pretty like a young willow; and I was informed, that they plant once in three years, and pull all up, or cut down all that are above that growth. I was also informed, that, about the middle of June, they pulled off the first and best leaves, and about the beginning of August they had a crop of Sungloa tea, which is somewhat grosser than the bing or first crop. Both those sorts are put under a shade to dry with the wind, and in September they strip the bush of all its leaves, and, for want of warm dry winds to cure it, are forced to lay it on warm plates of iron or copper, and keep it stirring gently, till it is dry, and that sort is

is called bohea: and I have heard others say, that some grounds will produce none but fine tea, and others again none but coarse; but they all agreed in drying the bohea on hot plates.

On the skirts of the mountains, they plant their mulberry trees for their silk-worms, and cut them down at two years growth, because the insect delights most in a tender leaf.

There are many useful trees in China that bear no fruit. Some bear beans; but of those I have seen in India, at Surat, and Bengal. One sort they have that provokes sleep, by laying some of the leaves in the bed near the patient. The iron-wood tree is commodious for making anchors for shipping. It is prodigiously strong and hard, and has natural gravity enough to sink it to the bottom of the sea.

On the mountains of Zensi, near the famous wall that divides China from Tartray, grows abundance of that valuable root rhubarb, whose use is so well known in Europe. The root gensing grows also in woods there, and when the natives go in quest of it, to find it, they are forced to go in the night season, with torches in their hands. for fear of being assaulted by the wild inhabitants of the woods, such as lions, tigers, leopards, rhinoceroses, &c. of the brutal kind, besides dangerous reptiles, as serpents and snakes, which all flee from fire. I have heard of serpents thirty feet long, and five in circumference, which lurk all day in their dens, and come out in the nights, to prey on animals that lay securely in theirs.

This root gensing, when dried, is like a little carrot, of a light yellow colour, and, about midway down, it branches in two, which makes the Chinese call it the man-herb. It has a sweetish taste, but, being much chewed, it seems bitterish. It is cut in shreds, and drunk with tea, and then it is esteemed a very great restorative of the animal spirits. It is exceeding hot in quality, and therefore to be avoided by those of strong constitutions. It is excellent in consumptions, and, for its several good qualities, is sold at a great price, some at three times its weight in silver; but, after it is a year old, it goes off at a shilling per ounce, because it is difficult to keep the worm out of it. Radix-china, or China-root grows in many parts of China, but the island of Aynam yields the best.

The Emperor's revenues, by report, amount to 180,000,000 of tayels, out of which he maintains fifty caloes or privy-councillors, at 100,000 tayels yearly. The princes of the blood are honoured with the government of provinces, and are allowed, out of the royal treasury, from 500,000 to 1,000,000 tayels yearly. He has fourteen provinces, wherein he maintains 80,000 soldiers in each, and each soldier is allowed 10 tayels per annum in silver, and a catty of rice, and an ounce of salt per day, which are delivered monthly out of the Emperor's granaries. In a word, I look on China to be the richest and best governed empire in the world. And so having given the best account I can of it, I steer my course to the southward among the Philippine islands, whose descriptions I take by report.

Chap. LIV.—*Gives some Account of the Islands of Mindanoa, Luconia, Formosa, and Japan, with some remarkable Occurrences that have happened on them.*

MINDANOA is both the southernmost and easternmost of all the Philippines. It has little or no commerce with strangers, and I never heard of any European ship that went to it since Captain Swan called there in his way from Panama to India, when Captain Dampier was with him, who, no doubt, has given a good account of it in his travels: and

and I know no more of it, but that it is divided into many small principalities, and that the sea-worm eats so greedily ship's bottoms, that in three or four months they eat quite through; and that there is abundance of rice and other provisions to be had very cheap there, and that it produces very good cassia-lignum, or bastard cinnamon. It is about 140 leagues in length, but of a very unequal breadth, having many large deep bays running into it, which afford many harbours for shipping.

Papa-goa, or little Borneo, is a very long narrow island, being 90 leagues long, and but 14 or 15 broad. It breeds the best soldiers and seamen that the Spaniards have in the Philippines; but produces nothing for exportation. The Spaniards have a fort on the north-east end of it, and so they have on the islands of Panay, Negross, Cobu, Leyte, and Samar. They are all large islands, but have no commodities for export. And Mindora, that lies close to the island Luconia, affords nothing for trade.

Luconia is the largest of all the Philippine islands, and is richest in its productions, for it affords corn, fruits, and roots in great plenty, as well as wild game and fowl. It produces gold, but of a low touch. It is not half conquered yet by the Spaniards, though they are possessed of all the sea-coast, as the Dutch are of Zealoan; and the natives lose no opportunity of cutting off their lords, the Spaniards, when they can do it without danger. They have fortified their mountains and vallies so well with thick hedges of bamboos, that the Spaniards cannot easily molest them, though they have secret ways to sally out and disturb their enemy.

The chief city in Luconia is Manhila or Manilla, the residence of the Spanish Viceroy, and the port where all the galleons that come yearly from New Spain, resort to. The harbour is spacious, commodious, and safe. They admit of trade from India and China, but not with any European nation. The Mahometans are tolerated in their religion, but not the Pagans, so that all Chinese that go there for commerce, get a little brass image hung about their neck, with a string of beads in their hands, and learning to cross themselves, cry *Jesu sancta Mal'a*, (for they cannot pronounce Maria, because the letter R is excluded the Chinese alphabet), I say, when they have got all those fore-named qualifications, they are good Spanish Christians.

And when they have feathered their nest by cheating the Spaniards, and taken their leave of Manilla or Manhila, at their passing by a mountain dedicated to the Virgin Mary, they throw their beads over board, and thank the Virgin for her kindness to them.

In anno 1719, there happened a mutiny in Manilla, wherein the Viceroy lost his life; and he had a son that might have saved his, but was obstinate, and would needs follow his father. It was occasioned by oppression and avarice, for the Viceroy having a mind to fill his coffers at any rate, set up a tribunal, wherein the richest merchants in the city were impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, by suborned informers. Evidences were not wanting to prove things that never were done by the innocent merchants, and on those false informations and evidences their persons were imprisoned, and their estates seized. Those that had not been prosecuted seeing their danger, carried their goods and money into the churches and convents for security, and fled into the country themselves, till the times should amend, but those places of sanctuary were violated, and when the merchants were summoned, and did not appear, their estates were confiscated, and brought out of the churches and convents by force.

The archbishop, and his army of priests, went to him, and laid the people's grievances and his own oppressions and crimes before him; but he treated them rudely, which soon put the whole city in an uproar. A cunning and bold priest of the Augustin order seeing

feeing the people's difpofition to mutiny, took a large crucifix on his fhoulder, and invited all who were true Catholick Chriftians to follow Jefus Chrift's banner, and afford fuccour and affiftance to Chrift's perfecuted flock.

The citizens came thronging after the prieft and crucifix, well armed, and they marched directly to the Viceroy's palace. His guards all deferted him on fight of the prieft and crucifix, and he and a few of his domeftics fired fome fmall arms, and killed fome and wounded others, which fo enraged the multitude, that they rufhed furioufly up ftairs, and fhot him dead. His fon was governor of a caftle a little way from the city, and he hearing that his father was in danger, came with his garrifon to refcue him, but being killed before the affiftance came, the citizens complimented him, and defired him to return to his poft, for they had nothing to lay to his charge, but he refufed, and fwore he would be avenged on his father's murderers, and beginning to ufe violence on thofe next to him his men deferted him, and he foon fell a facrifice to his own folly. There were above a million and a half of Spanifh dollars found in his treafury, out of which thofe whom he had unjuftly robbed were reimburfed.

It is about 120 leagues from fouth to north, and the fouth end is about 100 leagues in breadth. It breeds good, hardy, fmall horfes, and, if it were in the hands of fome induftrious nation, it is able to furnifh good materials to build a good commerce with; but the Spaniards are rich, lazy, and proud, and rather difcourage than improve trade, or to engage the natives to be civil and induftrious.

The next ifland of note is Formofa, but there are feveral fmall iflands between it and Luconia, which belong to China, though of no great account, and becaufe they are flat and low, they are called the Bafhee Iflands.

Formofa is a noble ifland, and produces many valuable commodities, as well for the fuftenance of mankind as for pleafure and luxury. It affords plenty of gold, raw filk, fine white fugar, fugar candy, and copper finer than in China, but coarfer than in Japon, and feveral drugs, as gallingal, China root, &c. Before the Tartars fubdued it, it had kings of its own, but tributary to China. The natives differ much from the neighbouring people of China and Luconia, both in phifiognomy and make. They are of a low ftature, with a large head and forehead, hollow-eyed, and the cheek-bone very high, a large mouth, and a fhort flat chin, with little or no beard on it, long-jawed, and a fmall long neck, their body fhort and fquare, their arms and legs long, fmall and ill fhaped, their feet long, and broad at the toes, and generally they are baker-kneed. The Englifh and Dutch had their factories there; but about the year 1678, when all Fokien had fubmitted to the Tartars, they were ordered to withdraw their factories from Teywon, a fmall ifland clofe to the great one, on which their factories ftood. The Englifh obeyed, and removed over to Amoy, but the Dutch received fupplies from Batavia, and endured a long fiege, but were at laft forced to fubmit, though they fold their factory and many of their men's lives pretty dear, for the Tartars loft above 5000 men in reducing it. It is now wholly under the Tartars, and the chungtock of Fokien has the fuperintendency of it.

When it was tributary to China, about the year 1650, there was a ftrange diftemper raged on the ifland for three years together, for moft of the virgins between twelve and eighteen years of age, had a trick of hanging themfelves, infomuch that very few maidens were left on the ifland, nor could any remedy be found to prevent it, before an old China man found one out, and addreffed himfelf to the king, defiring him to make a trial of hanging all thofe that hanged themfelves privately up by one leg on the fides of high-ways, for paffengers to gaze on. The King took his counfel, and

hanged up ſome ſo, and in one month's time the maidens refrained from hanging, and have continued good girls ever ſince.

The religion of Teywon (for that is the name that the Chineſe call the iſland of Formoſa by) is purely Pagan. They all worſhip the ſun and moon, and the ſtars, their children. Some worſhip the firſt living thing they ſee in the morning, except a lizard.

Between Teywon and the coaſt of Fokien, lay the Piſcadores Iſlands; ſo called from the great quantities of fiſh caught about them. There are many ſhallows lay a good diſtance off them, on which an Engliſh ſhip from Surat, called the Joſiah, was ſhipwrecked in anno 1697, but all the men were ſaved; and on the report of a Jeſuit miſſionary who was paſſenger, that he had ſome things on board for the Emperor, one Mr. Reynolds, the firſt ſupercargo, was forced to take a journey to Peking, who cleared himſelf, but brought ſcandal on Holy Mother Church, for forging things ſo palpably falſe; for the good father's trunk was ſaved, and opened by proper officers, and not one thing that he had reported to be in it, was found.

Many other iſlands lay along the coaſt of China, but of no great note, till we come to the iſland Chuſan, which lies off the mouth of Limpoa. It firſt became famous in the Tartar wars; for many Chineſe of note repaired thither with their families, who thought to have found a quiet retreat there, but they were miſtaken, for by Coxinga from Amoy, and the Tartars continually warring thereabout, they were haraſſed between them, and at length a garriſon of Tartars ſettled on it, and gave it their laws.

In anno 1700, the new Eaſt India Company of England ſettled a factory on Chuſan, by Mr. Allan Catchpole before-mentioned; but by the oppreſſion of the Tartar officers, and the Company's neglect of ſending money ſufficient to carry on their trade, Mr. Catchpole removed the factory again in the beginning of the year 1703, and carried it to Pullo-condore, as is before obſerved.

From the north end of Formoſa, to the ſouth end of Japon, the diſtance is about 220 leagues, and in the fair-way are ſeveral iſlands of no great account in commerce. They are moſt of them very high, and on one of them is a very great volcano, which continually ſends forth a prodigious flame that may be ſeen in the night above 30 leagues diſtance from it.

Bungo is a province of Japon, and was honoured with the name of a kingdom, but about the year 1655 it loſt its title and moſt of its inhabitants, for being too zealous in promoting Chriſtianity by barbarous ways. The Portugueze found this iſland and Japon to be eaſily brought over to their notions of Chriſtianity, and that the country abounded in gold and ſilver, drove a very great and advantageous trade there, for above one century of years. Nor were their prieſts idle in making converts, for in the ſpace of 100 years, they proſelyted 180,000 families, when at the ſame time, the Emperor gave great encouragement to the prieſts to go on in their apoſtleſhip, every one having free liberty to embrace Chriſtianity; and had not the giddy-headed Chriſtian prieſts been too zealouſly hot and haſty, it was believed that the Emperor himſelf would have become Chriſtian; but a civil war breaking out in Japon, and the Emperor's forces much diminiſhed, the Chriſtian prieſts thought it a proper time for them to ſettle their religion on the ſame foundation that Mahomet did his, by eſtabliſhing it in blood.

Their thoughts run on nothing leſs than extirpating the Heathen out of the land, and formed a conſpiracy of raiſing an army of 50,000 Chriſtians to murder their countrymen, that ſo the whole iſland might be illuminated by Chriſtianity, ſuch as it was there. But the Emperor, having intelligence of their holy deſign, thought fit to prevent them, and coming to an agreement with his rebellious Pagan ſubjects, diſcovered the common

danger,

danger they all lay under from the Christians, and they, to ſecure themſelves, joined their forces with the Emperor's, but lay ſilent till they ſaw where the Christians would begin their tragedy; and it was not long before they began the maſſacre, near a large city called Oſſacca. The Emperor's army marched ſpeedily thither to chaſtiſe their inſolence, and a very bloody battle enſued, wherein the Chriſtians had the better. The Emperor ſoon levied a greater army, and engaged the Chriſtians a ſecond time with ſucceſs, and quite routed them, and never gave them time to form themſelves into another army after, but followed his blow, ſparing neither man, woman, or child that had been baptized, and the Pagan bouzies or prieſts were very good informers, ſo that in two years, above 300,000 perſons periſhed by the violent zeal of bigotted prieſts, and an edict was publiſhed, that whatever Chriſtian ſhould, for the future, be found within the dominions of Japon, ſhould be put to death without mercy.

Many new inventions were found out to torture the Chriſtians, and the prieſts were the firſt that made trial of the exquiſiteneſs of their pain. The poor women and virgins were torn limb from limb, by being tied to ſtakes placed in the ground, under the branches of large trees bended down, and their limbs being faſtened to the ſtakes and branches, by the elaſticity of the branches they were torn to pieces. Children were thrown down precipices, and daſhed to pieces, and infants were drowned, and ſo Romiſh Chriſtianity ended in Japon, with a very diſmal and tragical cataſtrophe.

The Engliſh and Dutch at that time had their factories on a ſmall iſland called Firando, that lay cloſe to the ſhore of the iſland Bungo, and drove a very advantageous trade; but in anno 1664, when the Engliſh ſhipping arrived, our never-failing friends taking the advantage of our being Chriſtians, and coming thither contrary to the edict, were in hopes to have a ſecond part of Amboina acted at Japon. They gave information that the Engliſh were Chriſtians, and not only ſo, but that our King had married the King of Portugal's ſiſter, and had a mind to introduce the Portugueze ſecretly into Japon, and how dangerous that might be to their ſtate, they knew by dear bought experience, and as an undeniable truth of our being Chriſtians, they might ſee in the very colours that our ſhips wore, the ſign of the croſs. Their information had ſome of the deſired effects, though not the cruel part. The Emperor being acquainted with the Dutch information, ordered the Engliſh to be civilly treated, their cargoes to be taken off their hands as before, and a new Japon cargo to be provided for them, in lieu of what they brought, and at the uſual time to diſpatch them, with ſtrict orders for the Engliſh never to return again upon pain of death, by which fair dealings the Dutch got the ſole Japon trade into their own hands, except what is carried on by the Chineſe. This account I had from Captain John Bear, who was in the laſt Engliſh ſhip that traded to Japon.

The Dutch and Chineſe are both limited in the numbers of their ſhipping that trade to Japon, the Dutch from one to four yearly, and the Chineſe from ten to twenty. As ſoon as their ſhips arrive, all their crews are ſent aſhore to houſes provided for them, and the Japoneſe take poſſeſſion of the ſhip, and all that ſhe has aboard of her; they unhinge the rudder, and ſend all the great guns and ammunition aſhore. Each cargo is unladed and ſent to the factory appointed for its factors, and there opened and re-packed before proper officers. The goods are ſent away without any enquiry what they coſt, or what they are content to take for them, and the officers take a memorandum of what commodities they deſire in barter, and thoſe are provided and delivered on board their ſhips by the middle of October, and about the beginning of November they deliver their rudder, guns, and ammunition, and are diſpatched in form, to be gone without delay.

 The

The Dutch factory is now settled at Nangesaak, on a little island close to the shore, and are there confined, without a special permission from court, either when they have a desire to go on the main island, or to remove from their factory to Batavia.

I heard of a mortifying accident that happened to the Dutch affairs in Japon, when M. Charron, a Frenchman, had the directorship of their factory. He had been several times at Jeddo and Meaco, two great cities where the Emperor keeps his court, sometimes at one or other of these places, as his fancy or affairs lead him. The Emperor took a liking to M. Charron, and often sent for him to hear the accounts he could give of Europe. Charron presuming on his favours from the Emperor, begged permission to build an house on the little island where their factory stood, on his master's account, which request the Emperor granted.

Accordingly the foundation was laid very large for an house; however the building went cheerfully on, till it grew into an handsome fortification of a regular tetragon. The Japonese being ignorant of the art of fortification, had not the least suspicion of deceit, but suffered them to finish it.

When it was finished, M. Charron advised his masters at Batavia, of the progress he had made, and desired by the next shipping to have some cannon sent him in casks filled with rubbish, such as oaccam or cotton, the casks to be well bound with iron hoops, and the heads securely fixed in, with some casks of the same make, filled with spices, which advice was accordingly followed.

When the shipping arrived, the lading was landed according to custom, but in rolling the casks, one of those that contained a brass gun, had the misfortune to have one of its heads fall out, and the cheat was by that accident discovered. This put a stop to all commerce till the Emperor's pleasure was known about this strange affair.

The Emperor forbad to interrupt the trade, but ordered their new-built house to be razed to the ground, and to send M. Charron to court, that he might expostulate the matter with him. The orders were speedily obeyed, and Charron went to court, and when brought before the Emperor, was much dejected in his looks to what he used to be formerly.

The Emperor interrogated him on the discovered cheat, and finding he had no answer sufficient to vindicate himself, the King upbraided him with abusing his kindness, and ordered a barber to be brought, who pulled poor Charron's beard out hair by hair, and then a fool's coat and cap were put on him, and he carried through the streets of Jeddo, for a ridiculous spectacle, and was sent back to his factory with orders to go off with the first ships that were ready to sail for Batavia.

The Japonese are strict observers of moral rules, and particularly in commerce, insomuch that a merchant of reputation, in his payments, puts up five, ten, or any decimal number of cupangs, which is a broad, oblong, thin piece of gold (of 20 shillings value there) into a silk bag, and putting his seal on the bag, passes current for what the seal mentions, for several generations, without so much as once looking what is in the bag; and gold is so plentiful and cheap, that a cupang of 20 shillings in Japon, passes current at Batavia for 32 shillings, and when the lion is stamped on it by the Company, it passes for 40 shillings sterling.

Their porcelain, or Japon earthenware, is finer than Chinaware, but much thicker and heavier, and the colours brighter, and it sells much dearer, either in India or Europe, than what is made in China, but their tea is not half so good. Their lackered or Japoned ware is, without any doubt, the best in the world. The best sort will hold boiling water without detriment to it, and is so hard, that I have made a full pass with a rapier against a cabinet, and there was not the least shadow of a mark to be seen

feen after the pafs. They abound in filks both wrought and raw, much ftronger than what China produces.

Japon, with the neighbouring iflands under its dominions, is about the magnitude of Great Britain. It is in length from north-eaft to fouth-weft near 300 leagues, and the mean of its breadth about 160 miles. It is well peopled, and produces all things neceffary for human fuftenance, in great plenty. They are exact obfervers of juftice, and rigorous in their punifhing crimes.

A man of diftinction, if convicted of a capital crime, the Emperor fends him a letter, that on fuch a day, and fuch an hour, he muft be his own executioner, on penalty of exquifite torments, if he furvives the appointed hour. So the common cuftom is, that the delinquent fends for his neareft and beft friends to a fumptuous feaft on the day fet him, and after the feaft is over, he fhews them the Emperor's letter, and while they are reading it, he takes a dagger that he has about him for the purpofe, and with it he ftabs himfelf below the navel, and rips himfelf up to the breaft-bone.

The inferior fort has not that honour, but are forced to be contented with hanging, beheading, or throwing over an high precipice, and for fmall faults, whipping and ftigmatizing are common punifhments.

Their houfes are for the moft part built of wood, but the Emperor's palaces are of marble, and covered with gilded copper. Their gilding is very durable, and can withftand all winds and weather many years. The city of Jeddo is their metropolis, and its magnitude may be gueffed by a fire that happened in it about the year 1660, which confumed, in eight days that it raged, above 120,000 houfes, befides above 500 temples.

Their religion is purely Pagan, and Amida is their favourite god; but he lives a great way off, for a foul is three years in continual travel before it can reach paradife, which is only the fuburbs of heaven, however, when they once get thither, they are pretty fure of getting to heaven, and they live very quietly in paradife, becaufe not one devil dares come there to difturb them.

The magotty zealots have a trick of leaping over high clifts into the fea, in order to give their fouls an eafy paffage to paradife, the priefts giving them bills of credit to defray their charges by the way, and, no doubt, the madman pays the prieft very handfomely for the bills, and thofe bills are fo good, that I never heard of one protefted and returned.

They have feveral other reputable gods, and every one of them has their adorers and devotees. One has three faces, and he is father of the fun, moon, and ftars. Every god has his own particular paradife, but none are nearer than three years journey. Some of their zealots cut their own throats to get an eafy paffage, and others hang themfelves.

They carry their idols in proceffion on horfeback, with inftrumental and vocal mufic to entertain them. They make many feafts and facrifices to their idols, but they are only fed with the fmoke, the votaries eat up the meat.

No Japonefe dares leave his country, and if he does he never muft return. They are fo wedded to their own cuftoms and opinions, and fo jealous of having new or foreign cuftoms introduced, that they will not fend embaffies to other Kings or ftates, or fuffer their merchants to have commerce out of their own dominions; only they fend fome fmall jonks or veffels in the fummer time, over to the land of Efo, about 50 leagues from the north end of Japon, and I have heard fay, that they bring much gold from thence; but whether that country is a part of their dominions or no, I never could get

information;

information; but it is reported, that the natives of Eso are lusty, robust, and uncivilized, but speak the Japon language.

I also heard that when De Heer Matsuiker was general of Batavia, he sent four houkers to make discoveries of the countries to the northward and to the westward of Japon, one of which was shipwrecked on the coast of Corea, and another on the northward coast of Japon. The other two had been on the coast of Eso, but could not converse with the natives. She that was lost on Japon had most of her men saved, and were kindly entertained, and sent to their factory: and twelve of the other's crew that was lost on Corea, got ashore, and were detained prisoners. Nine of them died in sixteen years, and three were sent in company with a Corean ambassador to Peking. Those three professed themselves to be good Catholics, and the church at Peking got them passage for Canton, where they met with opportunities to get passage for Batavia. And now having made my observations on all the maritime coasts and cities between Cape Bona Esperanza and Japon, I conclude, and bid you adieu.

A TABLE OF WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND COINS USED IN SEVERAL PARTS OF THE EAST INDIES

Weights used in Mocha for gross Goods.

1 Casilla is	16 Kerrats
1 Vakea	10 Casillas
1 Maund	40 Vakeas
1 Frasella	10 Maunds
1 Bahaar	15 Frasellas.

N. B. A frasella is 29½lbs. avoirdupois.

The Banyan Weight.

1 Rotulla is	15 Vakeas
1 Maund	2 Rotullas
1 Frasella	26½ Rotullas
1 Bahaar	400 Rotullas.

Magiet, a Root for dyeing, is weighed.

1 Vazena is	1¼ Frasella
1 Bale	13½ Vazenas.

Ambergrease Weight.

1 Bea is	1½ Vakea
1 Vakea	9 Zequeen weight.

N B. 1 vakea is equal to 21 pennyweights Troy.

For Agala Wood, which is much used in Arabia for Perfumes.

41 Vakeas is a Maund, equal to 3lbs. Troy weight.

The Gold and Silver Weight.

1 Dollar weight is	22 Dab
1 Zequeen weight	56 Grains.

The coin current is the cammassie, which is heightened and lowered at the sheriff's or banker's dicretion, from 50 to 80 for a current dollar, which is but an imaginary species, being always reckoned 21½ per cent. lower than Spanish dollars.

The Grain at Moka is measured by the Tomaan, which is 40 Kella.

1 Kella is	- -	4 Rotullas.

Weights used in Persia.

1 Maund Taverize is	- -	6¼ lb. avoirdupois
1 — Capaar	- -	8¼
1 — Shaah	-	13½

Their Current Coins.

1 Shahee is	- -	10* Gaaz or Cosbegs
1 Mamoody	- -	2 Shahees
1 Abashee	- -	2 Mamoodies
1 Tomaan	- -	50 Abashees,

in value 3l. 2s. 6d. sterling.

Their Pearl Weights.

1 Miscal is	- -	24 Kerracks
1 Kerrack	- -	4 Grains,

or 3 Abashee weight

6 Miscal	- -	1 Ounce Troy.

The Prices current for Pearl at Cong in Persia, anno 1715.

Abashee Weight	Price in Mamoodies.
1	1
2	6
3	12
4	from 20 to 30
5	40 to 50
6	70 to 80
7	90 to 100
8	120 to 150
9	160 to 200
10	220 to 250
11	280 to 320
12	400
13	700
14	1100
15	1600
18	2200
21	2500 to 3000

Weights used in Bassora.

1 Miscal is	- -	1½ Derhams
1 Vakea	- -	500 Do.
1 Maund-Bassora	- -	24 Vakea
3 Maund-attarie	-	1 Maund-Bassora.

N. B. A maund-attarie is 27½lb. avoirdupois.

Bagdat Weights are sometimes used in Bassora.

1 Vakea is	- -	400 Derhams
1 Maund-attarie	-	10 Vakea
1 Maund-agdat	-	6 Vakea.

Species

Species of Coin current in Bassora and Bagdat.

1 [illegible]		10	[illegible]
1 Mamoodie	from 10 to	1[illegible]	[illegible]
1 Abassee-Bassora	-	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Mamoodies
1 Croush	- -	$4\frac{1}{2}$	Do.
1 Lyon Dollar	-	7	Do.
1 Spanish ditto	from 9 to	$9\frac{1}{2}$	Do.
1 Zequeen -	from 16 to	$16\frac{1}{4}$	Do.
1 German Ducat	-	$15\frac{1}{2}$	Do.

A Bassora tomaan 75, and a Bagdat tomaan 100 ditto.

Weights used at Sindy.

The common weight is 40 sear to the maund-pucah, 75lbs. avoirdupois, but for elephant's teeth, 84lbs. ditto.

Of the Weights in Use at Surat.

The gross weight is 20 great pice, or 32 small to a sear.

40	Sear is - -	1	Maund
20	Maund - -	1	Candy.

Amber and Coral Weight.

1	Sear is 18 Pice, or -	35	Tolla weight
1	Tolla - -	32	Valls.

Diamond Weight.

1	Rutty is -	$3\frac{1}{2}$	Grains English
1	Vall - -	3	Rutties
1	Tank - -	8	Valls
1	Tolla - -	32	Ditto
1	Miscal - -	$1\frac{1}{6}$	Tank
1	Kerrack - -	3	Grains.

The Current Money in Surat.

Bitter almonds go 32 to a pice.

1	Annoe is - -	4	Pice
1	Rupee - -	16	Annoes.

The price of gold rises and falls, according to the plenty or scarcity of silver.

The Rupees current in Payments are

The Chillany always the same.
The Hundea $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. less.
The Harsanna and
The Magarie from 1 to 2 per cent. less.

Weights in use at Bombay.

1	Sear is - -	$10\frac{1}{2}$	Oz. avoirdupois
1	Maund - -	40	Sear
1	Candy - -	20	Maund.

Their Accounts are kept by Rayes and Rupees.

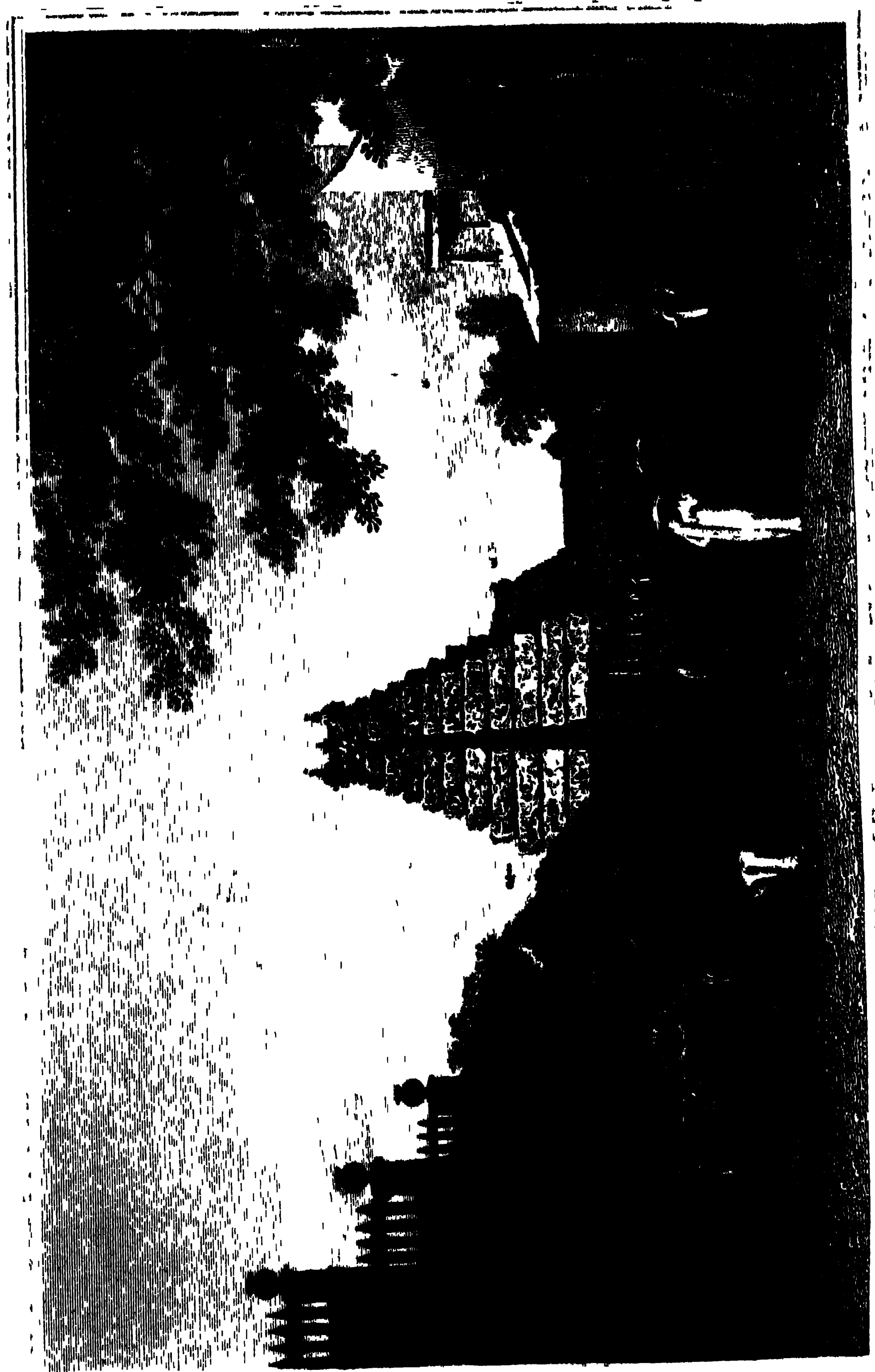
1	Rupee is - -	400	Rayes.

But there are several other species of money current there, as zerephins, larees, and [illegible].

Decan



The Chalees Sitoon at Allahabad



A DISCOVERY OF TWO FOREIGN SECTS IN THE EAST INDIES,

[illegible]

The Sect of the Banians, the ancient Natives of India; and the Sect of the Persees, the ancient Inhabitants of Persia; together with the Religion and Manners of each Sect. In two Parts.

By Henry Lord, sometime resident in East India, and Preacher to the Honourable Company of Merchants trading thither *.

A DISCOVERY OF THE BANIAN RELIGION.

THE INTRODUCTION.

HAVING by God's providence (who swayeth us as it pleaseth him in our several places of being), gained a charge of souls in the adventure of the Honourable Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies: it happened that I was transferred from my charge aboard the ship to reside in their prime factory in Guzzarat in a place called Surrat, with the president over their affairs in that place, Mr. Thomas Kerridge; where, according to the busy observance of travellers inquiring what novelty the place might produce, a people presented themselves to mine eyes, cloathed in linen garments, somewhat low descending, of a gesture and garb as I may say, maidenly and well nigh effeminate; of a countenance shy and somewhat estranged, yet smiling out a glossed and bashful familiarity, whose use in the Company's affairs occasioned their presence there.

Truth to say, mine eyes unacquainted with such objects, took up their wonder and gazed; and this admiration, the badge of a fresh traveller, bred in me the importunity of a questioner. I asked what manner of people those were so strangely notable, and notably strange? Reply was made they were Banians, a people foreign to the knowledge of the Christian world, their religion, rites and customs, sparingly treated of by any, and they no less reserved in the publication of them: but some opinions they derived from the philosopher Pythagoras touching transanimation of souls. It was thought the novelty would make the discovery thereof grateful and acceptable to some of our countrymen. that some of my predecessors had been scrutinous to bring this religion to light; but whether deterred with the fictions and chimeras wherewith Banian writings abound, that might make it unworthy of acceptation, or the shyness of the Bramins, who will scarce admit a stranger conversation, the work was left to him that would make a pass through these impediments.

The president, Mr. Thomas Kerridge, was urgent with me to redeem their omissions, and to see if I could work somewhat out of this forsaken subject. The truth was, I was willing to earnest his love to me by this injunction, who, to give this undertaking the better promotion, interested himself in the work, by mediating my acquaintance with the Bramins, whose eminence of place was an attractive to draw on this discovery and manifestation.

I that thought my observance would be well took, if I could present my countrymen with any thing new from these foreign parts, began the work, and essayed to fetch ma-

* Vide Churchill's Collection, vol. vi. p. 313.

 terials

terials for the same out of their manuscripts, and by renewed access, with the help of interpreters, made my collection out of a book of theirs called the Shaster, which is to them as their bible, containing the grounds of their religion in a written word.

If any therefore be affected to peruse or revise the religion, rites, and customs of the said Banians, leaving out for the most part such prodigious fictions as seem independent on sense and reason, here they shall meet with the best essence and ground of this sect, digested into such a form as shall best clear the knowledge thereof, and such as I presume never had a like discovery by any yet in the press. So handfesting the readers with as good hopes as may be expected from a subject of this nature, I refer them to the proof of the following chapters.

CHAP I — *Of God, the Creation of the World, the Creation of the first Man and Woman, and the Progeny from them descending, as it is by the Banians delivered.*

THE great God (say the Banians) being alone, bethought himself how he might make his excellency and power manifest to others, for his great virtue, had been obscured and hid, if it had not been communicated to his creatures. What means might then be better to give evidence of both these, than the creation of a world and creatures therein?

For this cause the Almighty consulted with himself about the making of this great work, which men call the world or universe, and, as the ancients (say they) have delivered, the Lord made four elements as the ground work of this mighty frame, to wit, earth, air, fire, and water, which four elements were at first all mingled together in a confusion, but the Almighty separated them in manner following

First, it is delivered, that, by some great cane or like instrument, he blew upon the waters, which arose into a bubble, of a round form like an egg, which, spreading itself further and further, made the firmament so clear and transparent which now compasseth the world about.

After this there remaining the earth as the sediment of the waters, and some liquid substance with the same, the Lord made of both these together a thing round like a ball, which he called the lower world, the more solid part whereof became the earth, the more liquid the seas, both which making one globe, he by a great noise or humming sound, placed them in the midst of the firmament, which became equi-distant from it on every side.

Then he created a sun and moon in the firmament to distinguish the times and seasons; and thus these four elements that were at first mixed together, became separate and assigned to their several places, the air to his place, the earth to his place, the water to his place, and the fire to his place.

These elements thus disposed, each of them discharged his several parts, the air filled up whatsoever was empty, the fire began to nourish with his heat, the earth brought forth his living creatures, and the sea his. And the Lord conveyed to these a seminal virtue that they might be fruitful in their several operations, and thus the great world was created.

This world as it had his beginning from four elements, so it was measured by four main points of the compass, east, west, north, and south; and was to be continued for four ages, and to be peopled by four casts or sorts of men, which were married to four women appointed for them, of which we shall speak as order may give occasion.

God having thus made the world and the creatures thereto belonging, then God created man, as a creature more worthy than the rest, and one that might be most capable

pable of the works of God." The earth then did at God's voice and command render this creature from his bowels, his head first appearing and after that his body, with all the parts and members of the same into whom God conveyed life, which as soon as he had received, witnessed itself; for colour began to shew itself red in his lips, his eyelids began to disclose the two lights of nature, the parts of his body betrayed their motion; and his understanding being informed, he acknowledged his maker and gave him worship.

That this creature might not be alone who was made by nature sociable, God seconded him with a companion, which was woman, to whom not so much the outward shape as the likeness of the mind and disposition seemed agreeing: And the first man's name was Pourous, and the woman's name was Parcoutee, and they lived conjoined together as man and wife, feeding on the fruits of the earth, without the destruction of any living creature.

These two living in this conjunction had four sons; the first was called Brammon, the second Cuttery, the third Shuddery, the fourth Wyse. These four brethren were of natures distinct each from the other, the four elements claiming in each of them a different predominance. for Brammon was of an earthly constitution, and therefore melancholy, and Cuttery was of a fiery constitution, and therefore of a martial spirit; Shuddery was of a phlegmatic constitution, and therefore of a peaceable or conversable disposition, Wyse was of an airy temper, and therefore full of contrivements and inventions

And because Brammon was of a melancholy constitution and ingenious, God endued him with knowledge, and appointed him to impart his precepts and laws unto the people; his grave and serious look best fitting him for such a purpose; for which cause he gave him a book containing the form of divine worship and religion.

And because Cuttery was of a martial temper, God gave him power to sway kingdoms with the scepter, and to bring men into order, that the weal-publick might thrive by united endeavours for the common good, as an emblem of which the Almighty put a sword into his hand, the instrument of victory and domination.

And because Shuddery was of a nature mild and conversable, it was thought meet that he should be a merchant, to enrich the commonwealth by traffick, that so every place might abound with all things by the use of shipping and navigation. As a monitor to put him in mind of which course of life, he had a pair of balances put into his hand, and a bag of weights hung at his girdle, instruments most accommodate to his profession.

Lastly, because Wyse was of an airy temper, whose conceits use to be more subtle and apprehensive, he was endowed with admirable inventions, and was able by his first thoughts to form any thing that belonged to the mechanick or handicrafts man: for which purpose he had a bag of tools or instruments, consisting of such variety as were necessary to effectuate the works of his fancy or conceit.

Thus, you have the first man and woman, and the progeny from them descending according to Banians tradition, and a world to be raised of so few, the persons (as they think) could not be better fitted to the same, the whole world being well considered, consisting of and subsisting by such four kinds of men.

The world began in this maiden purity, that the generations of men might not be derived from a polluted beginning of mankind. the Almighty gave not Pourous and Parcoutee any daughters, lest some of these four sons, preferring the need of propagation before piety and religion, should have deflowered their sisters, and have blemished the world with impurity: but providing better for this holiness and sanctity of our ancestors, that

that the work of generation might be agreeable to the work of creation, God made four women for these four men, and placed them at the four winds, one at the east, another at the west, a third at the north, and a fourth at the south; that thus being divided, there might be a better means for the spreading of their generations over the face of the earth: with which four women, how the four sons of the first man met, shall be understood in the sequel of the several stories in the chapters following.

CHAP. II. — *Of Brammon, the eldest Son of Pourous, his Travels towards the East, he meeteth with the Woman appointed for him, the Passages that happened in their Accost; their Marriage, and peopling of the East.*

THIS eldest son of the first man, called Brammon, grew in stature and had the pre-eminence of his birth, both in place and in respect, above the rest of his brethren, as also in regard of his near relation to God in religious services, was highly honoured of his brethren and was an instructor unto them, and the Almighty communicated himself to him in presence and vision. He gave himself therefore much to reading, and conversed with the book that God gave him containing the platform of divine worship.

Being therefore grown to man's age, and (as it should appear by circumstances) man being created in the midst of the earth, in some pleasant place where the sun at high noon deprived substances of their shadows, (for it was fit that man should be produced out of such a place as might be the navel of the world), God, who would now disperse the brethren from the centre, as it were, to the circumference, for propagation, commanded Brammon to take his book in his hand, wherein was written the divine law, and to direct his journey towards the rising of the sun in the east

As soon as that glorious light of heaven had discovered his splendour from the tops of the mountains, he took his journey that way (for the east being the most noble part of the world it was likely that had the pre-eminence in plantation) until he arrived at a goodly mountain, before the proud face whereof lay prostrate a valley, through which there passed a brook, in the descent of which there appeared a woman satisfying her thirst from the streams of the river, and they were both naked, innocence not being then ashamed to publish her retirements and privacies, nor having faulted so much with those immodest parts, as to need a shroud to veil them from the sight. This woman was of hair black, of complexion yellowish or tawny, as on whose face the sun had too freely cast his beams, the remembrance of whose heat was too surely conserved in her countenance. She was indifferently sized, whose pitch could neither challenge the name of lowness or high stature, modest was her aspect, and her eyes indexes of so melancholy soberness, and composed looks, as if she seemed sampled for him that met her.

But her eyes unaccustomed to view such an object as was before her, having never seen a creature of proportion like herself, betwixt wonder and shame, she was uncertain whether she should fly, or please her sight with such a vision. But Brammon no less abashed at such intrusion, which by returning he could not well shun, with a downcast countenance suppressed with shame, they both aboad one another's presence, with tongue-tied silence, whose backwardness gave encouragement to the woman to question the cause of his coming thither, who answered, that by the command of him who had made the world, him, her, and all creatures visible, together with the light that gave them the comforts of their meeting, he was sent thither. The woman, to whom God had given that understanding, to be capable of the properness of his speech, and inquiring further into this accident, said, that there was an agreement in their likeness and composition, that declared they had one maker: that it may be, he that had made them

them, and had his ends in their diſpoſal, had thus brought them together, that ſome nearer bond might make them inſeparable from each other's ſociety, and caſting her eye upon the book that Brammon bare in his hand, aſked what it was? who acquainting her with the contents thereof, was deſired to ſit down, and communicate the religious counſels of the ſame unto her, whereunto he condeſcended: and being both perſuaded that God had a hand in this their meeting, they took counſel together from this book to bind themſelves together in the inviolable bond of marriage, and with the courteſies interceding betwix man and wife, were lodged in one another's boſom; for joy whereof the ſun put on his nuptial luſtre, and looked brighter than ordinary, cauſing the ſeaſon to ſhine on them with golden joy; and the ſilver moon welcomed the evening of their repoſe, whilſt muſic from heaven (as if God's purpoſe in them had been determinate) ſent forth a pleaſing ſound, ſuch as uſeth to fleet from the loud trumpet, together with the noiſe of the triumphant drum. Thus, proving the effects of generation together, they had fruitful iſſue, and ſo peopled the eaſt, and the woman's name was Sauatree.

CHAP. III. —*Of Cuttery, the ſecond Son of Pourous; his Travels and the Meeting he had with the Woman appointed for him, their Conflict, Appeaſement, Conjunction, and the peopling of the Weſt by them.*

SUCCESSIVELY the ſecond brother Cuttery was by the Almighty conſigned to the weſt, about the charge of making men, ſo taking the ſword in his hand that God had given him, the inſtrument on whoſe edge lay the hopes of a kingdom, rouſing up his courage, which hitherto wanted occaſion of exerciſe, from the heart and boſom of the earth, in which his youth had converſed, he turned his back on the riſing ſun every morning, whoſe ſwifter courſe overtook him, and every day in his decline preſented himſelf in his ſetting glory before him. As he thus travelled towards the weſt he chafed with himſelf as he paſſed along, that no adventure preſented itſelf that might provoke him to give a probate of his courage, wiſhing that an army of men, or a troop of wild beaſts, would oppoſe him, that he might ſtrew the ſurface of the earth with dead carcaſes, and give the fowls of heaven fleſh to feed on. And not knowing to what purpoſe God had directed him to bend his courſe that way, as only ſenſible of his own heroic ſtomach, he ſaid, "To what end hath God infuſed ſuch magnanimity into my breaſt, if it ſhall want a ſubject whereon to work my glory and renown? Shall I loſe the end of my creation? God forbid.

Thus carried on with the hopes of ſome adventure, he intended that whatſoever ſhould firſt cope with him, ſhould have the ſenſe of his fury, when being come to a mountain, whoſe height might make things far viſible to the eye, he might perceive a creature of goodly perſonage, like himſelf, ſtalking forward with a martial ſtep, no leſs ſlow than majeſtic in pace, which two approaching, as deſirous to make an experiment of each other's fortitude, upon their meeting together, it appeared to be a woman, whoſe treſſes in a comely fertility hung down by her ſhoulders, which, by motion of the air, turned into a careleſs diſorder, every blaſt that made an alteration in the ſame, gave a new grace to her excellent perſon, and made her preſence more full of majeſty. In her right hand ſhe bare a chuckery, which is an inſtrument of a round form, and ſharp edged in the ſuperfices thereof, ſo accommodate for offence, that by a hole in the midſt thereof, being whirled about the finger and flung off in the quickneſs of its motion, it is able to deliver or convey death to a far remote enemy. Courage diſplayed his banner

banner in her countenance, and majestic fury sparkled in her eyes, bearing witness how much she thirsted after conquest, and the woman's name was Toddicastree.

In the first encounter she made her chuckery bear the message of her displeasure, giving entertainment with the instrument of battle, which was such as Cuttery expected, and no kinder behaviour did he intend to proffer, as preferring the harsh effects of violence, before the mollifying power of beauty. With this hard greeting did they pass the first day, giving wounds on each side, she with her chuckery, he with his sword; both being much spent in the conflict, and often breathing when extremity of exercise had languished their powers, they renewed their battle by fresh aggression and onset, till darkness did prohibit the use of arms, leaving the first day as an indifferent arbiter of the battle, neither of them able to boast of advantage.

The light of the next day inviting them to a new experiment of valour, they accost one another, renewing the remembrance of their injuries with second attempts of violence. the day well near spent in fight, Cuttery gaining some advantage with his sword hewed her chuckery in two pieces, but favourable darkness, looking with a partial eye on the battle and patronizing the disadvantage, shaded the woman with her broken instrument from the pursuer, by the benefit of which intermission she converted her broken chuckery into a bow, having provided arrows, to requite the force of the adversary by this new stratagem, who was now big with the hopes of her overthrow.

The light being the best herald they had to call them to battle, a third time they met, hopeful to conclude this strange duel or single combat, which urged on her side by her new invented instrument, and on his by the thought of former advantage gained, made the assault more vehement; making therefore her enemy the butt into which she meant to transfix her pointed shafts, she freshly encountered him. But he, perceiving her advantage, whose power was to wound far off, and his injuries were most forcible in little distance, exposing himself to greater peril, that he might be owner of a better advantage, drew nearer, and in a close, exchanging the loss of weapons for hand violence, they thus proved their forces together, weariness having abated their vigours so equally, that neither of them was so strong to overcome, nor so weak to yield, the balance of victory so justly poised between them, as inclined with partiality to neither, it was fit the tongue should conclude that war, that the power of the hand was no longer able to prosecute.

Hereupon in this doubtful strife, Cuttery having seized her by the tresses of her hair to bring her to bondage, and exercise having put a fresh and lively colour into her cheeks, such as in Cuttery's eyes made her rather seem lively, than one to be injured, he said, "Oh thou wonder of living creatures for strength and beauty! why should fury manage so strange a contention between us two? If I should in this combat have slain thee, I should have cursed this right hand, for bearing an instrument to ruin so goodly a proportion, and if thou hadst slain me, thou shouldest but have laboured with anguish of soul for thine own discontents and discomforts, who knowest not what pleasure thou mayest reap by my society. Why should one excellent creature seek the ruin of another? Will there not be one the less? And thy being will be nothing augmented by my disannulment. Did God to this end confer boldness on us to make it the cause of one another's perdition, who are both worthy of preservation? Surely courage in thee shall be nothing impaired by my friendship and aid; but united virtues make most powerful assaults, and are best muniments against injury. Besides, the world, now an infant, and of short standing, ought rather by all means to have her issue multiplied, than impaired or diminished Especially self-love binds us to study our own preservations; to which since unity did best confer, he would not follow the humour of his high spirit,

to

to seek glory so wickedly and unworthily, if he might purchase that peace he sought by any reasonable concession."

The woman, attentive to the motion, prosecuted with so fair a carriage, after some pause of silence, and dejection of countenance that gave consent to bashfulness, replied, that though the marks of his violence were before her eyes, whose anguish were sufficient to maintain the fuel of further passion, yet in that which he had felt trial of like rage, had first broke off violence, she gave so good an ear to the motion as the short time of desisting might permit; affirming, that she was so far content to suspend such passages, as he, continuing that peaceful treaty, should make his company acceptable, otherwise to renew the same violence, as she found just occasion of provocation.

Thus, with plighted hands, the form of their new-made amity, they became of intestine enemies reconciled and amorous friends, till prompt and intelligent nature, apprehensive of her own ends, through some longer conversation together, made them prove the difference of their sex, from whom plentiful generations were descended, indued with the fortitude of such as are truly warlike. And thus the west came to be peopled from these two, from whose enmities love wrought so perfect and unexpected agreement.

CHAP. IV. — *Of Shuddery, the third Son of Pourous, his Travels he findeth a Mine of Diamonds, meeteth the Woman appointed for him, they become conjoined together, and by their Issue the North is peopled.*

The third son, Shuddery, which was the merchant-man, according to his time and age, was sent to the north, who taking his balance and weights with him, the instruments by whose justice he was to buy and sell, tended him whither the Almighty had directed him. Having passed on some part of his way (as busy nature loves to be in employment), he desired he might meet with some affair or business suiting with his trafficking disposition.

And being come to a goodly mountain, called Stachalla, there fell immoderate and excessive rains, he sheltering himself in some hollow place of the mountain till the foul weather was passed, upon which there followed a clearness of the skies, but such a deluge succeeded upon the fall of those waters, that his journey was prohibited, for the rivers, not able to contain the streams, that had in rolling currents from the tops of the steep mountains devolved into their channels below, began to make breaches in their banks; and returning their burthen into the lower grounds, had turned the valley of Stachalla into a broad river unpassable. Shuddery therefore rested in the hollow of this mountain till the weather might be more propitious to his travel intended; when in some days the fair weather had made the thirsty earth to drink up part of the water, the sun, to dry up the other part, and some were left to inherit the lower grounds, so that the way being free for him over the valley, he passed on; but in the bottom of the valley he found certain pearl-shells that had their precious treasure within, which dividing to be made capable of their contents, he found in them that which contented his eyes with their shining, and promised in their beauties something worth the prizing and preservation, (though he was as yet altogether ignorant of their worth and value): so folding them up, he renewed his travel, till he came to a mountain on the other side of the valley, where the mountain, he, and dark night, met all together.

But as if the pearls had but borne the message to him of a greater fortune, a rock or mine of diamonds discovered itself to his sight, which the late washing of the waters had been as a midwife to bring to light, as if it had been unfit so great riches should be

be treasured up in darkness, in the arms of so coarse an element; which mine taking advantage by the darkness of the heavens, the better to set off his sparkling lustre, seemed to invite Shuddery to come and take knowledge of its admirable shining; who supposing it to be fire, began to move the loose sparkles of the same, but perceiving their glory nothing to decrease by their motion, grew enkindled with a great desire to prove the strangeness of the accident, by the touching of his finger, but the darkness, and his unacquaintance with the thing, rather begetting admiration than right information of his knowledge (since it had the light of fire, but wanted the heat), he was content with a patient abode to await the day's light to give him better instruction concerning these mysteries, which no sooner appeared, but these diamonds concealed their glory, affording only a waterish coloured beauty to the eye. The disannulment of this lustre amazed him as much as the presentation thereof made him admire; but desirous to have this excellency made known to mankind, that seemed so wonderful to himself, he carried so great a quantity of the diamonds with him, as might be no impediment to him in the bearing, taking a remarkable observation of the place, that he might thereunto repair upon better proof of the diamonds excellence and worth.

Thus Shuddery continuing his progress foreward, at last arrived where the woman to which he was sent, was wandering by the side of a wood, close adjoining whereunto was an even plain, through which he made his path, of whom, when his eyes had gained sight, and that she presented a person formed like himself, he diverted from his way towards her, to gain more perfect knowledge of her, she no less filled with wonder and desire in the view of him, yet sometimes possessed with fear, sometimes with joy, sometimes with shame, in the variety of passions purposing many things, but really prosecuting nothing Shuddery at length accosted her, whose approach she received doubtfully, as if she sought a means of evasion into the wood, at which he said, "Oh, thou worthy creature, most like unto myself, fly me not, who hast cause to love me, because I resemble thee; shun not the conversation of him, that followeth thee not to give thee displeasure, but that he might enjoy thy society; things that have reasemblance in shape should embrace consortship."

The woman then, whose name was Visagundah, perceiving by the slowness of his pace, that he rather seemed to be a suer to her, than a pursuer of her, by the retardment of her flight witnessing her contentment to stay, if she might presume of her safety, thus replied to his words, That if she could as much presume of his good usage, as she was contented to behold him, she would grant his request, who giving her assurance thereof, they entertained conference with each other, she moving the question how it might be that they two could be capable of one another's language, having never before seen each other. He made answer, that that God that had made them like in bodies, had also made them like in languages, that they might receive the comfort of one another's speeches, and be acquainted with one another's thoughts, without which, conversation should lose the greatest part of his comfort.

So receiving stronger gages of each other's love, they continued together, he not unmindful to impart the fortunes of his travels in finding of pearls and diamonds, wherewith he adorned her, 'till they in future times became a customary ornament, as also acquainting her with the works of the creation, together with his parents and brethren; they proved the comforts of the conjoined state; from whom a generation descended, that became merchant-men, and followed Shuddery's profession, who, with some of his sons, did afterwards travel to the mine of diamonds by him discovered, and stored themselves with them, which ever since have been merchandize of dear estimation; and thus the north became inhabited.

CHAP. V.—*Of Wyſe, the fourth Son of Pourous; his Travels over ſeven Seas; his Architecture; he meeteth with the Woman appointed; his Relations touching Religion; Conſummation of Love with the Woman, and their peopling of the South.*

Then Wyſe, the youngeſt of the four brethren, went to the north, having inſtruments neceſſary with him to effectuate any thing that his well conceited invention could find out: therefore whatſoever was convenient for man's uſe, he had a brain to think and contrive, that ſo the needs of the world might be ſerved by the deviſes of his ingenious fancy or conceit. Thus, he became the original of the handicrafts; for he knew how to rear the buildings of towns, cities or caſtles; to ſet, plant, and till the ground; how to make all things needful for the uſe of man, which various diſpoſition of his to meditate things for man's convenience gave him the name of Viſkermah, which is as much as the handſman, becauſe he could do any thing to be done by the hand.

Being indued with a genius fit for plantations, he (directed by God, travelled towards the ſouth, where he met with ſeven ſeas, all which he paſſed over, framing a veſſel for his convoy, and leaving in every place teſtimonies of his ingenuity: and paſſing over the laſt called Paſhcurbatee, he came to the land called Derpe, there by the ſea ſide he built him a fair houſe of ſuch timber as grew by the place, having engines of art to rear up timber. Thus, having made a comely habitation, with rooms lightſome, and broad terraces or roofs aloft, for pleaſure, and proſpect delightful, where he might ſometimes pleaſe his eyes with the rolling ſea, which, with renewed aſſaults, ſmote againſt the banks of the ſhore, and directing his ſight the other way, might behold the pleaſant woods and fields. he thus for a time ſolaced himſelf after tedious travel.

But not long had he took ſuch comfort as his ſolitary condition could afford him, but the woman appointed for him wandering through the woods to the ſea ſide, and paſſing along the ſhore thereof, ſet her eyes upon this new edifice, and having never beheld any before, the rarity of it drew her nearer to ſatiſfy her admiration with the views of the ſame, on whom Wyſe chancing to caſt his eye as ſhe thus came to look on his habitation, he deſcended to take a fuller contemplation of her beauty, whoſe feature deſerved his better notice, for ſhe was of a body amiably white, and her treſſes were ſcattered with powdered ſaunders, and other odours, the ſcent of which the blaſts of the wind diſperſed in ſuch a manner, that he became partaker of them by his approach, which enkindled his ſenſes with new deſires to be nearer her, who at ſuch diſtance gave him a ſmell of ſo great ſweetneſs, whoſe approach ſtruck her into a bluſh, but her ſhame giving place, ſhe moved the queſtion to him, how he came to that place where ſhe only had lived, to interrupt her in her free walks and wanderings? He made anſwer, that God the maker of light, that makes all objects viſible, had ſent him thither to admire her excellency, which was ſo rare, that it was not fit it ſhould be ſhaded in a place ſo ſolitary, but had reſerved it as a bleſſing for his eyes to view and admire; and becauſe it was pity deſolation and lonelineſs ſhould be a waſter of ſuch lovelineſs, he had, with hazard of his life, adventured over ſeven ſeas, to be bleſt with the enjoyment thereof, a labour and travel worthy of ſo rich a recompence, and a worthy recompence and ſatisfaction for ſuch a labour, intreated her therefore to accept of ſuch a bleſſing as God had provided for her by his ſociety.

But ſhe, that could not be brought to think of a courſe of life different from her former, told him, that in his abſence, ſhe found no need of his preſence, neither did ſhe at that preſent ſtand inclined to accept of his motion; that therefore he would leave her to the liberty of her own free diſpoſe. He, loth to loſe the happineſs of his eyes, importuned

 her

her to view the rooms of his building, as if he meant to woo her with the fair works of his hands: but she, taking his importunity in evil part, told him, that if he desired her not to shun the place, he would dismiss her freely. So turning from him with some displeasure, because she was by him unwillingly detained, she fled from him with coy distaste, he almost expiring with the sadness of her departure, whose presence he could not purchase, and his pleasure therein, without her anger.

She having robbed his eyes of that sight, that they would never willingly have lost, he committed himself to the rack of pensive meditations, broke the quiet slumber of repose, thinking darkness unfavourable to him that suspended and prorogued the chearful day from his appearance, in which he might renew his visitations of her. So traversing the woods to and fro, he at last came into a valley, where he found her cropping the flowers, and gratifying her senses with their several odours; on whom intruding ere she well perceived, he said, "Oh, sweeter than all flowers or scents that the field can boast of, whose loveliness hath drawn me to make a proffer of new kindness, fly me not, who hast had a former trial of my behaviour towards thee!" So bearing with his presence, he took occasion to make known to her the creation of the world, and the parents from whom he was descended, the dispersing of his brethren into the several parts of the world, the hardiness and hazard of his voyages, the qualities with which he was indued, and the several monuments of his art which he had left in the places where he had been. Further, he conceived that the power above had not prompted him, with the jeopardy of a thousand lives, to cut a path through seven rugged seas in a floating habitation, but even to that end that the bitterness of all those evils might be sweetened by his enjoyment of her.

She, desirous to break off this speech, as ungrateful to her ears, turned back this discourse, desiring him to take his contentments elsewhere than in quest of her; that if she could prevail with him in any request, it should be in this, to leave her, and never after to disturb her with such motions. So both departed, she in disdain, he in sadness and sorrow for such dismission; giving him only this as a doubtful comfort at their parting, that if she found herself inclined to his society, she knew where to find him, and to manifest to him such alteration.

Upon this, having left the place that contained his bliss, with oppressed thoughts, he was no sooner got into a private place that might seem as counsel-keeper to his passions, but he humbled himself under the green trees, and said, "Oh! thou to whom belongs the acknowledgment of my being, I have, by thy guidance, forsaken the society of my parents, whom I know not whether I shall ever behold again, as also the fellowship of my brethren: I have coped with as many hazards as can make travel bitter and discomfortable: I have left company to come into solitude; nay, which is worse, to behold one that might give me the wished comforts of society, by her refusal to add degrees to my sorrow. Oh! make me not void the end of my being! give not such an evil recompence to my adventures; bury not all these qualities thou hast put into this essence by this one disaster! Witness, O you heavens, under whose azured roof I now am, the sorrows I suffer; and witness, O ye green trees, that, if ye were sensible of my complaint, would spend yourselves in gummy tears, what agony perplexeth me! And if the Maker of creatures overlooks his works, let him now appear and redress the miseries of his servant!"

With that a still and quiet air breathed through the leaves of the trees, and a voice issued thereupon, and said, "What requirest thou, oh, thou son of Pourous?" And Wyse made answer, That he only desired that the woman with whom he had met, might afford him the comforts of society in the copulations of marriage; which request was granted:

granted on these injunctions, that he should erect pagods for God's worship, and adore images under green trees, because God had under them manifested himself by vision to him.

So Jeinnagundah (for so was the woman called) feeling the motions of affection to renew in her, at the next meeting gave such expressions of love to Wyse, as fully accomplished his demand: so conversing together they made good the nuptial ends, in a fruitful generation. So the south, as the other parts of the world, became inhabited.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Meeting together of the four Brethren at the Place of their Birth; their Divisions and Dissentions, the great Evils amongst their Generations bringeth a Flood which destroyeth them, and so the first Age of the World concludeth.*

EVERY thing by natural motion passeth to his own place; so the brethren having peopled the world in these four parts, turn their course to the place where they first breathed their vital air; for Brammon having peopled the east, with all such as was of his cast or tribe, was carried with a natural desire to go and conclude his days where he began, and to possess the people of that place with the true form of divine worship, that so all the world might retain one uniformity of religion, not rending God's worship into parts with the factions of unsettled opinions, as also not willing to lose so great a joy as his eyes should convey unto him in the sight of his parents and his brethren, to the former of which religion had enjoined him, to the latter all expressions of a brother's love.

Cuttery also, the next that had accomplished the end of his travel, began to long after the sight of the place that brought him forth, that he might there, to his father, mother, and brethren, shew the blessings of God, in his wife and progeny, and acquaint them with the story of his occurrences, and leave a race of soldiers there also in his posterity.

Shuddery, turned also by the same inclination, had his desires bent to his birth-place, being big with the eminency of his accidental fortunes, which had lost their greatness, if his parents and brethren had lost the knowledge of them: to feed which humour, as accompanied with other respects formerly mentioned, drew him to give his appearance amongst the rest.

Lastly Wyse, to communicate his arts, whose adventurous travel was no less memorable than the rest, transporting his sons and daughters over the several seas, left them in several places, and repaired to his birth place, to pay his duty to his parents, and his love to his brethren.

It happened, that God, that would not cross any part of their intentions with evil success, did reserve them to find the happiness of their meetings in their several turns and successions, as their works were in order accomplished, their several arrivals being congratulated with feastings and triumphs, meet welcomes for such guests. It was not to be doubted but Pourous and Parcoutee grew young again, having such a season of happiness reserved to smile upon them, towards the sunset of their age, such as were able to make their forewasted powers, spent with years, to renew their vigour, every one of them when their joy grew stale, giving a fresh renewance of gladness to their parents by their successive arrival. Neither could it be imagined, but that the brethren accounted that the blessed time that lost all remembrance of trouble, which we think too importunate a disturber of our joys.

But

But joy is never of long lasting, but after the passage of little time hath its abatement; this the brethren being sensible of, laid aside the thoughts of their travels, and the remembrance of their late comforts; and as men newly transplanted to bring forth the fruits of their being in that place, begetting new generations there, that the world might be completely populous, and instructed in their several qualities; by Brammon in matters of religion, by Cuttery in matters of rule and denomination, by Shuddery in matters of traffick and merchandizing, and by Wyse in the invention of the handicrafts: of which four casts the world consisted; every one of them living in his several quality, keeping his tribe free from confusion or interfering; and thus the world became peopled.

But multitude and concourse that useth to be the nurse of mischief, for where there are many men there will be many evils, and prosperity that maketh us forgetful of ourselves, and length of time that render to us the worst at our latter endings, began to confound all goodness, and turn every thing out of order: for Brammon grew neglectful of his piety; and Cuttery grew cruel and full of usurpation; and Shuddery grew deceitful in the weights and balances, and practised cozenage amongst his brethren; and Wyse lost his conscience in his dealings, and became a spendthrift, making the profits that came by his inventions, but the furtherers of riot and excess. And as they were thus evil in themselves, so they were evil one towards another; for Brammon stomached Cuttery's greatness, and Cuttery forgot to give Brammon the pre-eminence of his birth: and, as if his might had been sufficient to give him the right of priority, placing all excellency in rule and authority, condemned the still and solitary spirit of his brother, as unworthy of respect and eminence; yea, prized his own laws and government before God's laws, because they came from Brammon, whom he disesteemed. On the other side, he pleased himself with the slaughter of those that displeased him; laid taxations upon Shuddery, and drained the profit of Wyse's labours, and like a great tide, made all run along with his own current, whilst they requite his injuries in cozenage and griping upon their brethren; in fraud and circumvention. These evils of example were seeds of wickedness that no doubt would grow in their posterity. And this dissention among themselves did bode a breach of that sweet harmony that concurred to the world's first constitution.

Wyse likewise seing Brammon to lose his respect, the more to make him despised, sought to bring in a new form of religion, communicated to him in vision, concerning the worship of images, and bowing to pagods under green trees, with other new ceremonies, which since Brammon's book contained not, the dispute was great, whether they should be received as canonical, but upon Wyse's asseveration that they were received from God, they were received as part of the ceremonial laws.

Thus, every day presenting new platforms of wickedness and sins that made a noise, God grew angry, and the heavens were clothed with blackness and terror; the seas began to swell as if they meant to join with the clouds in man's destruction; great noise was heard aloft, such as useth to dismay mortal wretches; and thunder and lightning flashed from the poles, such as seemed to threaten a final wreck to the earth; but as if the world needed cleansing of his defilement and pollution, there came a flood that covered all nationsin the depths. Thus the bodies had their judgment, but the souls were lodged in the bosom of the Almighty: and so concluded the first age of the world, according to the tradition of the Banians.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the second Age of the World, begun by Bremaw, Vystney, and Ruddery; of their Creation, Assignation to their several Works; their Time of Continuation upon Earth, and the Means used for the Restoration of the World again.*

IT had now (saith the Banian) been to little end for God to disannul his own creatures, for now his wisdom and power must have again laid obscured; but though his justice, were so great, that he could not let wickedness go unpunished, yet he would again have a new world of creatures, to whom his wisdom, power, and mercy, might be declared.

Seeing therefore the first age miscarried by their sinfulness (for whose purity God had so well provided), the Almighty determined to begin the second age by three persons of greater perfection and excellency then the other, called Bremaw, Vystney, and Ruddery.

The Almighty thereupon descending from heaven upon a great mountain called Meropurbatee, upon the top of the same the Lord pronounced his word, and said, rise up Bremaw, the first of living creatures in the second age. The earth then did render from her womb Bremaw at the voice of God, who did acknowledge and worship his maker; and by a second and third command from the same place, raised Vystney, and Ruddery, who with no less reverence adored their maker likewise.

But God, that maketh nothing without his use or end, did not make these to live idle, but to be serviceable in the world's restoring, to the first therefore, which was Bremaw, he gave the power to make the creatures, because (say the Banians) as great persons do not their work but by deputies, so neither was it fit God should be servile to the creatures, but give them their being by his instruments. To the second, which was Vystney, he gave the charge to preserve the creatures, for that as it was his mercy to cause them to be, so it was his providence to keep them in their being. But to the third, which was Ruddery, he gave power to destroy his creatures, because he knew they would be wicked, and deserve a judgment amongst them.

Now as God had given to these persons power to do these great works, so it was meet they should be fitted with means capable for the discharge of their several charges. That Bremaw therefore might have power to make the creatures, he indued him with the abilities of creation and production. Secondly, that Vystney might preserve the creature, the Lord gave all things into his power, that might tend to the preservation of those that Bremaw should make, therefore he made him lord of the sun and moon, of the clouds, showers, and dews that fall upon the earth, lord of the hills and vallies, disposer of the changes of the year, the conferrer of riches, health, and honour, and whatsoever tended to the well-being of man, and the rest of the creatures. Lastly, that Ruddery might be a fit executioner of God's justice, God gave unto his possession whatsoever might tend to the destruction of living creatures, therefore Ruddery was made the lord of death and judgment, and whatsoever might tend to the punishment of man, whether it were sickness, famine, war, or pestilence, or any thing else that might be a plague for sin.

According also to the several assignations of these persons to their particular charges, they were allotted a determinate time of abiding upon earth. Because the work of the creation was concluded in the second of their ages, (which was a work assigned to Bremaw), therefore Bremaw was to be taken up to the Almighty in the conclusion of the second age And because the other ages were multiplied with people by some that were reserved from destruction, therefore Vystney was kept on earth till he had doubled Bremaw's term of time, as of whose preservation there was longer need. And because

because the world should end in destruction, therefore the continuance of Ruddery was three times so long, that when the great day of judgment should come, he might destroy all the bodies, and carry the souls with him to the place of glory.

Nought wanted now, but that they should every one in their several turns shew the powers conferred upon them. So Bremaw consulting with himself how he might fulfil the charge imposed upon him, grew extraordinarily afflicted in his body; the strangeness of which anguish vexing him in every part, boded some alteration or unexpected event; when to such a travail as happeneth to women in labour seized him, and a certain tumour and swelling of his body withall, according to the sudden ripeness of the burthen within, distended his bowels more and more, and gave newer and greater extremities to him in this agony, till the burthen (though Bremaw far exceeded the stature of common men) made two ruptures, the one on the right side, the other on the left; when behold two twins the one male, the other female, to wit, man and woman, did betray themselves to the world in full growth and perfect stature; who thus produced and informed concerning God by the instructions of Bremaw, the man was by him named Manow, and the woman Ceteroupa. So giving worship to God the creator, and reverence to Bremaw their producer, with a blessing of multiplication pronounced upon them, they were sent to the east, to a mountain called Munderpurvool, thence to dispread their generations to the west, north, and south; so they departed, and Ceteroupa brought forth three sons and three daughters; the eldest son was called Priauretta, the second Outanapautha, the third Soomeraut: the eldest daughter's name was called Cammah, the second Soonerettaw, the third Sumboo.

As these grew in years, they were in their several orders dispersed several ways; namely Priauretta and Cammah to the west, to the mountain called Segund; Outanapautha and Soonerattaw to the north, to the mountain Bipola; Soomeraut and Sumboo to the mountain Supars; all which brought forth plentiful generations. Thus Bremaw made man and woman, and replenished the earth with the rest of the living creatures.

Vystney likewise did provide all things necessary that might be to the sustentation and preservation of the living creatures that Bremaw had made, giving them in enjoyment such blessings as were needful to a well being.

To conclude, Ruddery did disperse afflictions, sickness, death, and judgment, according as the sons of men did by their wickedness invoke this smart upon themselves. And this was the order God took for restoring of people to inhabit the earth in the second age of the world. Now how God provided for the establishment of religion in this second age, that these that lived might fear and worship him, shall be declared in the chapter next following, as it is unfolded by the tradition of the Banians.

CHAP. VIII —*How God communicated Religion to the World by a Book delivered to Bremaw; the particular Tracts of the same. the first Tract thereof touching the moral Law laid down, with the Appropriation of the same to the several Casts; and a Confutation of the Errors thereof.*

GOD, knowing that there would be but evil government where there was not the establishment of his worship and fear, after the world was replenished anew, bethought himself of giving them laws to restrain that evil in them that was the cause of the destruction of the former age.

Descending, therefore, on the mountain Meropurbatee, he called Bremaw to him, and out of a dark and dusky cloud, with certain glimpses of his glory, he magnified himself to Bremaw, telling him that the cause why he brought destruction on the former age,

was because they did not observe the instructions contained in the book delivered to Brammon. So delivering a book out of the cloud into the hand of Bremaw, commanded him to acquaint the people with those things contained therein. So Bremaw made known the sanctions and laws unto the dispersed generations.

Of the contents thereof, if any desire to be informed, the Banians deliver, that this book, by them called the Shaster, or the book of their written word, consisted of these three tracts. The first whereof contained their moral law, or their book of precepts; together with an explication upon every precept, and an appropriation of the precepts to their several tribes or casts. The second tract unfolded their ceremoniall law, shewing what ceremonies they were to use in their worship. The third tract distinguished them into certain casts or tribes, with peculiar observations meet to each cast or tribe: such was the sum of this book delivered to Bremaw, of which particulars, if any desire more distinct knowledge, we shall propose the pith and substance of this in that which follows.

First, then, the tract that containeth the moral law, and was by Bremaw published to the nations, comprised in the same eight commandments; which are these following:

"The *first* commandment. Thou shalt not kill any living creature whatsoever it be, "having life in the same, for thou art a creature of mine, and so is it; thou art indued "with a soul, and it is indued with the same; thou shalt not therefore spill the life of "any thing that is mine.

"The *second*. Thou shalt make a covenant with all thy five senses. First, with "thine eyes, that they behold not things that be evil, secondly, with thine ears, that "they hear not things that be evil, thirdly, with thy tongue, that it speak not things "that be evil; fourthly, with thy palate, that it taste not things that be evil, as wine "or the flesh of living creatures; fifthly, with thine hands, that they touch not things "defiled.

"The *third*. Thou shalt duly observe the times of devotion, thy washings, wor- "shipping, and prayers to the Lord thy God, with a pure and upright heart.

"The *fourth*. Thou shalt tell no false tales, or utter things that be untrue, by which "thou mightest defraud thy brother in dealings, bargains, or contracts, by this cozenage "to work thine own peculiar advantage.

"The *fifth*. Thou shalt be charitable to the poor, and administer to his need, "meat, drink, and money, as his necessity requireth, and thine own ability enableth "thee to give.

"The *sixth*. Thou shalt not oppress, injure, or do violence to the poor, using thy "power unjustly, to the ruin and overthrow of thy brother.

"The *seventh*. Thou shalt celebrate certain festivals, yet not pampering the body "with excess of any thing; but shalt observe certain seasons for fasting, and break "off some hours of sleep for watching, that thou mayest be fitter for devotion and "holiness.

"The *eighth*. Thou shalt not steal from thy brother any thing, how little soever it "be, of things committed to thy trust in thy profession or calling; but shalt content "thyself with that which he shall freely give thee as thy hire; considering that thou "hast not right to that which another man calleth his."

These eight commandments are bestowed amongst the four tribes, or casts, appropriating to each two commandments in several.

First, Brammon and Shuddery, the priest and the merchantman, are bound in the greatest strictness of religious observance, and hold the greatest agreement in their

 worship;

worship; and Cuttery and Wyse, the ruler and the handicraftsman, do most correspond in theirs.

To the Bramanes, which are the priests, they give the first and second commandments, as placing the strictest parts of religion in these two things: first, in the preservation of living creatures from destruction; next, in abstinence from things forbidden, as in the eating of flesh, or drinking of wine; to which observance they do also strictly enjoin the merchantman.

Next, more particularly, they apportion to Shuddery, as most proper to his profession, the third and fourth commandments, which two precepts enjoin to devotion, and bind from cozenage in their dealings, a sin too incident to those that are conversant in the balance and weights, who are so mysterious in that particular, as may well need an act of religion to restrain them from such fraudulency.

To Cuttery, their rulers or magistrates, they attribute the fifth and sixth commandments, as knowing oppression to be a sin most common to the mighty; and enjoining them to charity, who are best able to relieve the necessities of the poor.

To Wyse, the handicraftsman, they refer the seventh and eighth commandments, who have need of some free times of enjoyment, yet given to lavishment of their gettings, if they were not admonished by their law; as also binding them from theft, a sin to which they may be invited by opportunity, as they discharge the duties of their calling in other men's houses.

In fine, to all these they owe a general observance, but are more particularly cautious in keeping the commandments appropriated to their own particular tribe or cast.

Since then the laws or precepts of any religion are no further to be allowed, than they seem to be well grounded, and to carry truth and good reason with them, methinks, by the way, here is something to be excepted against, in this Banian law, which, distinguishing them from men of other religions, may be examined, whether it may have allowance or no.

The principal part of their law, admitting nothing prodigious to opinion, we pass over, only that which cometh into exception, is that which is laid down in the first and second commandment, and is enjoined the Bramanes and Banians to observe, namely, first, that no living creature should be killed. Next, that they should not taste wine, or the flesh of living creatures.

Concerning the first, that they should not kill any living creature; the reason by which they confirm this precept is, because it is indued with the same soul that man is.

This we deny, for the Banians here seem to halt in their philosophy, and the learning of the ancients, who have delivered that there is a three-fold kind of soul. First, a vegetant soul, such as is in herbs and plants. Secondly, a sentient soul, such as is in beasts. Thirdly, a reasonable soul, such as is in man; which soul hath more noble acts to distinguish itself from the other two, as also, that when the other do *interire cum corpore*, "perish with the body;" this surviveth, and therefore is not the same soul, as shall hereafter be proved.

But that this tenet of theirs, denying the slaughter of living creatures for man's use is nothing sovereign, may appear by scripture, which after the flood declareth God's allowance in this particular, Gen. ix. 3. "Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you, even as the green herb have I given you all things." Next, by the custom of nations who differenced in other points of religion, yet old consent in this slaughter of living creatures, add unto this the practice of Pythagoras, one whose name they adore, and who did lay the ground whereon this sect leaneth, he killed an ox, as Athenæus evicteth, lib. 1. Dipnosoph in this distichon:

Inclyta

Inclyta Pythagoræ cum primum inuenta figura est,
Inclyta, propter quam victima bos cecidit.

Neither have they been abhorrent to this practice themselves, if the report of history may be credited, for Cœl Rhodigin reporteth, that the ancient Indians (which are the people now in mention) when Liber Pater discovered those parts, were clothed with the skins of wild beasts, which were before by them slaughtered. Neither is this observed by the Cutteries now, and therefore may seem to be a tradition of their own devising, neither from the beginning by them practised, nor by authentic law enjoined, that it should be an essential part of their religion.

And so we come to their second commandment, which containeth in it two prohibitions to be excepted against. The first, forbidding to drink of wine. The next, the eating of flesh.

To the first, whereas the Bramanes and the Banians abstain from wine by a religious kind of forbearance, at all times and seasons, without the absolute use of the creature; we answer, that this is a tradition void of ground or reason.

First, it is against the common end and use of the creature, which God hath made to comfort the heart of man, observing these cautions. First, that men drink not too much for the quantity. Secondly, for the manner, not in boasting or ostentation. Thirdly, for the time, that it be not when religious fasts require forbearance. Fourthly, for the place, that it be not where the use of the creature may bring scandal.

Next, those that have abstained from wine, have abstained for divers ends, but not precisely observing the points of this Banian injunction. The Romans did forbid their servants the drinking of wine, but it was because they might not forget the bonds of duty towards their masters. They did also enjoin their women to abstain from wine, but it was as Valer. Max. reports, lib. 2. cap. 1. *Ne in aliquod dedecus prolaberentur, quia, proximus à libero patre intemperantiæ gradus ad inconcessam venerem esse consuerit.* "Lest they should fall into defame; for that the next neighbour to intemperance is unbridled lust." The Carthaginians forbad their soldiers the juice of the grape, but it was lest drowsiness should oppress them in their watch to a public peril. The Egyptian priests, called Sarabaitæ, did for temperate ends abstain from wine, but it was not for ever; that false prophet, Mahomet, by his law forbad the drinking of wine, but it was a tradition and imposture of his own, and the very Mullæs and priests do not observe it always at present, as I myself have beheld. The Levites were forbid to drink wine, Levit. x. 9. but it was only before their entrance into the sanctuary; that, as Tremelius observeth, they might not deliver the counsels of the Lord with a troubled mind, but know what was fit for their administration: this was no perpetual prohibition. The Nazarites vow was to drink no wine, but this was not ever, but in the days of separation. Numb. vi. 2, 3. The Rechabites vowed to drink no wine, but this was arbitrary, and not by religious obligation, and not for ever, but for thirty years, the space between Jehu and Joachim the latter, and Zedekiah King of Judah. The civil abstinence, nevertheless, is not to be condemned, but this absolute disannulment of the use of God's creature.

Again, the confirmations of men, most temperate, do condemn this interdiction of wine. Galen called it the nurse of old age: Mnesytheus allowed men *laxare habenas*, to loose the reins in merry and harmless potations. Rigid Seneca said, though a man ought not by drinking to drown his sense, yet he might by drinking drown his cares. Plato, that leaned to some of the opinions that this people hold, said that wine was a remedy of God against old age, that a man might have *usum liberaliorem vini*, "a more liberal use of wine;" and others think that Pythagoras did not altogether abstain from the

the Greek wines. To conclude, history reporteth of these ancient Indians that they were namely *vini amatores*, "lovers of wine." Coel Rhodigin, lib. 18, cap. 31. reporteth, that at the death or funeral of one Calanus, there was a strife or contention managed Acratoposiye, of healths drinking, and he that gained the victory, who was called Promachus, emptied four great drinking bowls. So that this law, prohibiting the use of this creature, was not from the beginning, neither is observed of all, and therefore seems no prohibition worthy of observance or injunction.

To the second prohibition, laid down in their second commandment, concerning the eating of flesh, we thus make our entrance.

First, it is certain, that these Bramanes or Banians, will not eat the flesh of living creatures that have either had life in them or the likeness thereof: eggs therefore come within the precincts of their abstinence, because they suppose the life to be in the shell, by which they become hatched or animate: roots also that are red are abstained from, because they hold consanguinity with the colour of blood. Neither will they cure their fevers by phlebotomy, but by fasting, because they suppose some of the life issueth with the blood. The reason why they would deter men from eating of flesh, is because they suppose there is a kind of metempsychosis, or passage of souls, from one creature to another; that the souls of men did enter into other living creatures, which should make men to abstain from tasting of them. Which opinion of theirs, that it may appear to be vain, we will shew, First, who were the authors of this opinion, concerning such metempsychosis, and how it hath had his succession of maintainers. Secondly, what is the effect and substance of this opinion. Thirdly, shew the reasons, by which it is maintained. And lastly, proceed to the refutation of the same.

First, then, for the original of this opinion, though certainly these Indians are a people ancient, yet may it not be thought, that this opinion began first among them: first, because history, that is the light of times, affirmeth them to be slaughterers of living creatures: next, because Plato and Pythagoras, that have names for defending this metempsychosis or metempsomatosis, have an honoured mention amongst the people; it is likely, therefore, that they have met with some of their writings, in this particular, by which they have become known to them. Thirdly, because Jamblichus, with Chæremon, the Stoic, think it to be first maintained amongst the Egyptians: that from the Egyptians then it came to the Grecians; that after it had been rife amongst them, it was made more tenable by the wits and learnings of Pythagoras, Plato, Empedocles, Apolonius, Tyanius and Proclus, and might, in Liber Pater's discoveries of those parts, be dispersed amongst this people, as well as by a scholar of Pythagoras, who spread it in Italy, where it found favour with Numa Pompilius, that superstitious Emperor, and was maintained by the Albanienses and Albigenses, confuted by Athanasius.

Secondly, touching the substance of this opinion, that gained the patronage of so great scholars; they did hold that there was a passage of souls of one creature into another, that this transmigration was of the souls of men into beasts, and of beasts into men: hence Pythagoras averred himself to be Euphorbus, and Empedocles in his verse affirmed himself to be a fish. This made it an abominable crime to eat flesh, lest, as saith Tertullian in Apologet. Cont. Gent. cap. 48. *bubulam de aliquo proavo quispiam obsonaret*, "some should eat up the ox-flesh that had swallowed up his great grandfather's soul." This opinion gained propugnation and defence by Pythagoras and Plato, by this means, because that believing the soul's immortality, it might gain assent with others by this thought of its surviving in other bodies, after its relinquishment of the deceased, as Greg. Tholoss. affirmeth in his Syntax. Art. Mirab. lib. 8. cap. 12.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, the reasons by which they do induce assent to this transanimation of souls, were these; because the soul was impure by the sins and corruptions of the body, therefore it was needful it should be sublimed from this corruption, by such transmigration out of one body into another, as chemical spirits gain a purer essence by passing through the still or limbeck divers times; every distillation taking away some of his gross part, and leaving it more refined. Again, because it was meet the soul should make a satisfaction for the filthiness it had contracted, by remaining in the prison of the body, an exile from blessedness a longer time, till this passage from one body to another had so purified them, that they might be fit to enter into the Elysium, or place of bliss.

Lastly, in confutation of this opinion for prohibition of eating of flesh, from supposal of a metempsychosis, we maintain, that there is no such metempsychosis, or transanimation of souls.

First, the immortality of the soul we evince without this chimera of the fancy, by an argument drawn from man's dissolution: this is the nature of all things that are compounded; that they should be resolved into that which they were at first, before their conjunction. Man is compounded of soul and body, the very dissolution of these two in death declareth this, for that cannot be separated that was not before conjoined. This composition was by life, and a creature without life, being in the soul alone, it is manifest that the soul had it before ever it came to the body, or else that which was dead could never have lived by the means of that which was likewise dead. If the soul had this life before the body, it must need have the same after in his separation, and by consequence is immortal

Next, in confutation of their reasons for this opinion, we answer; first, that the soul is not cleansed by such transmigration from body to body, but rather defiled by that filthiness those bodies contract, as water becometh defiled by infusion into an unclean vessel. Much more, since they affirm the souls of men enter into beasts, which are creatures of greater impurity. Besides, those spirits that are subtiliated by stills and limbecks, the fire is effectual to their subliming, but the bodies have not the goodness in them that may tend to the soul's greater purity in such transmigration. To conclude, it is improbable the soul should be enjoined to such a satisfaction for sin, as tendeth to its greater defilement. These reasons, therefore, avail little to confirm the soul's transmigration in the manner premised.

We, in the last place, shall prove this metempsychosis to be no other than a vain imagination, by the reasons following

1. Then, that the souls are not derived from one another *per traducem*, "by way of traduction," appeareth by Adam's speech to Eve, Gen. ii. 23. "This is bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh" he doth not say, soul of my soul, and spirit of my spirit. It appeareth then that, though she received her body from Adam, yet she had her soul from God. And this is that which Zachery affirmeth, Zach. xii. 1. "The Lord formeth the spirit of a man within him, whence Augustine saith, *Eam infundendo creari, et creando infundi*, "That the soul being put into man was created, and by creating, was into man infused;" if therefore God created some, why not all?

2. Of spiritual things and corporal, there should seem the same manner of increase; but the bodies have new beings, therefore the souls.

3. If the souls were purified by their passage from one body to another, then that man that had the soul last, should be capable of all that knowledge that was enjoyed by them that had it before, and so the infant should be an experienced creature in past occurrences: but we discern no such extraordinary ripeness of knowledge in one more than

than another, but that all our habits are gained by industry; which whilst Plato would excuse, saying, that the wandering souls did receive from the devil, a draught of the cup of oblivion, and so were forgetful of that which is past; Irenaeus thus taunteth him: If Plato had trial that his soul was obtused with such a draught, I wonder that he could remember that his soul had lost her remembrance.

Lastly, if this were true, it would follow, that the souls of beasts should be immortal, which would be absurd to think in these better-knowing times. Having, therefore, proved this opinion of passage of souls out of one body into another to be a fancy, and nothing real, this may be no just cause to detain them from eating the flesh of creatures that have had life in them, neither would they, if there were great reason to the contrary, permit it as they do in the casts of Cuttery and Wyse, whom if they pleased, they might restrain by the like injunction. All which thus evidenced, this already delivered may be sufficient to publish concerning the first tract in the book delivered to Bremaw touching the moral laws.

CHAP. IX. — *Of the second Tract of the Book delivered to Bremaw, containing the Ceremonial Law, in the Washings, Anointings, Offerings under green Trees, Prayers, Pilgrimages, Invocations, Adorations, together with the Forms of their Baptizings, Marriages, and Burials, customary amongst them.*

THE second tract of the book delivered to Bremaw, comprised certain ceremonial injunctions by them to be observed in the particulars following, the knowledge of which being something material to set forth the religion of this people, shall be the subject of this present chapter.

First, then, they are enjoined to frequent washings of their bodies in rivers; the original of which custom, they say, began with this second age of the world, and was made a part of their worship, to keep in memory the destruction that was brought upon the world for their defilement and sin. The ceremony observed in their washings is this; first to besmear their bodies in the mud of the river, the emblem of man's filthiness and corruption by nature, then walking into the river and turning their faces towards the sun, the Bramane utters this prayer: "Oh Lord, this man is foul and polluted as the clay or mud of this river, but the water hereof can purge off the defilement; do thou in like manner cleanse away his sin," so diving and plunging himself three times in the river, whilst the Bramane iterateth the name of the river wherein he washeth, called Tappee, with the names of other rivers in India, celebrated for these customary washings, as Gonga and Nerboda, with other like rivers, the party shaking in his hand certain grains of rice, as his offering on the water, receiving absolution for sins past, is there dismissed.

Secondly, they use a certain unction in the forehead, of red painting, that, having certain grains stuck in the glutinous matter, is as their testimony that God hath marked them for his people: this is no other then to keep in mind the memory of their baptism, which accordingly as the mark vanisheth, is daily by them renewed, according to their washings, with the utterance of certain words accompanying the action, to put them in mind to be such as becometh God's mark.

Thirdly they are enjoined to tender certain offerings and prayers under green trees: the original of which custom they derive from Wyse, to whom, they say, God appeared by vision under a tree, as is formerly mentioned, with injunction of worship in those places; so that the Bramanes, under such green tree, erect temples to pagods, in which they give attendance to perform religious rites and ceremonies, to such as repair thither,

thither. The tree peculiarised for this worship, is called by some, as by Pliny and others, Ficus Indica, the Indian fig-tree: and by Goropius Becanus, affirmed to be the tree of life, that grew in the garden of Eden; how far forth to be believed, I refer to Sir Walter Raleigh's first book of the history of the world, part 1. chap. 4. par. 1, 2, 3., where the more probable opinion is given. Certain it is, that to this tree much is attributed by them, and they suppose some notable mischance shall happen to that party that violateth or injureth the least bough or branch of the same. It is a tree of fertile growth, whose branches be spreading, ample and spacious; from whose boughs so dispread, do descend certain stems, that, rooting themselves anew in the earth, propagate an offspring, and so dilate it, that it seemeth beyond the custom of other trees to be capacious. To this tree when they repair, they thither bring offerings; there they receive unctions, and there are sprinklings of several coloured powders; there they pay their adorations, which they number by the clapper of a little bell, there they pray for health, for riches, for fruitfulness of issue, for success in affairs, there they often celebrate their festivals with great concourse. In which May-game of superstition to make further enquiry, would be but vain and fruitless.

Fourthly, they are enjoined to certain prayers in their temples, which may hold some resemblance of common service, were it purged of superstitious ceremony; the sum of which devotion, is the repetition of certain names of God, dilated and explained; where also they use processions, with singing and loud tinkling of bells; which chanting is of their commandments, with offerings to images, and such like impertinent services.

Fifthly, they are enjoined to pilgrimages to rivers far remote, as to the river Ganges, there to wash their bodies, and to pay their offerings, that the concourse of people repairing thither is great, and the golden offerings of treasure and jewels thrown into his silver waves, invaluable. He is likewise esteemed blessed and purified from sin, that can die with a palate moistened with that water.

Sixthly, another portion of their worship they bestow is invocation of saints, to whom they attribute the powers of giving success to several affairs, they therefore that would be happy in marriage, invoke Hurmount, they that are to begin the works of architecture, Gunnese, they that want health, Vegenaut, the soldier in his assault in feats of arms, cries, Bimohem, the miserable invoke Syer, and they that are in prosperity give their orisons to Mycasser.

Seventhly, their law binds them to give worship to God, upon sight of any of his creatures, first presented to the eye after the rising sun. especially they pay their devotion to the sun and moon, which they call the two eyes of God: as also to some beasts which they hold more clean then others, they give extraordinary kind usage, as to kine and buffaloes, to whom they attribute so much innocence and goodness by the souls of men entering into them, that they besmear the floors of their houses with their dung, and think the ground sanctified by such pollution.

In the eighth place, touching their baptizings or naming of their children, the ceremony thereof is different in the cast of the Bramanes, and other casts, for those that are of the other casts, are only washed in water, then some of the kindred of the party delivered, menaceth the point of a writing pen against the forehead of the child, with this short prayer, that God would write good things in the front of that child. All those then that are present, saying, Amen to that prayer, they give to the child the name by which he shall be called, and so putting an unction of red ointment in the midst of his forehead, as a sign that the infant is received into their church, and marked for one of God's children, the ceremony is dissolved. But then the children that

that are of the cast of the Bramanes, are not only washed with water, but anointed with oil, with certain words of consecration, in this manner: "Oh Lord, we present unto thee this child, born of a holy tribe, anointed with oil, and cleansed with water;" unto which adding the former ceremonies, they all pray that he may live a righteous observer of the law of the Bramanes: so enquiring out the exact time of the child's birth, they calculate his nativity, gathering by the position of the twelve signs of heaven the chances or mischances that may happen unto him, all which they conceal, and at the day of the child's marriage (which they account one of the happiest days in his life) publish the dangers past, and the conjectural evils to come in the sequel of his life.

In the ninth place, concerning their marriages, it is considerable, that the time is different from the custom of other nations, for they marry about the seventh year of their age, because they account marriage one of the most blessed actions of man's life; to die without which they account it a great unhappiness, which often happeneth by protraction or delay of time, as also that the parents might, before their death, see their children disposed, which cometh to pass by these early conjunctions. Next, for their contract in marriage; the parents of the children do prepare the way by private conference, the intention and purpose being made known, and betwixt them agreed upon; then there are messengers and presents sent to the parents of the maid to be married, with the noise of trumpet and drum, and the singing of songs in the praise of the perfections of the bride, which may truly give her the merit of one worthy to be coveted and sought unto which presents being accepted, then there are gifts sent back to the bridegroom, in token of their acceptance of the nuptial proffer, with like singing of encomiasticks in praise of the bridegroom, setting him forth to be so well composed, as may well deserve acceptation. So the Bramanes appointing a day for the solemnization of the marriage, then there is a certain shew, to publish to the whole town this marriage intended. This show is first by the bridegroom, who, in nuptial pomp, attended with all the men's children in the town, of the same tribe, some on horseback, some in palanquins, some in coaches, all adorned with jewels, scarfs, and pageant-like habiliments, make their cursitation round about the most public streets in the town, with trumpets and kettle-drums, and gilded pageants. The bridegroom is distinguished from the rest by a crown on his head, decked with jewels very rich And having thus published himself, the next day followed the bride in like pomp crowned, attended with all the girls of the same tribe, in no less bravery and triumphant accommodation, exposed to view of the spectators. The day drawing to his decline, they repair home to accomplish the full rites of marriage. The ceremony observed in their marriage, is, that they never are conjoined together but at the going down of the sun, at which time a fire is made, and interposed between the married couple, to intimate the ardency that ought to be in their affections, then there is a silken string that encloseth both their bodies, to witness the insoluble bond of wedlock, that in marriage there ought to be no desertion or forsaking one another. After this bond there is a cloth interposed betwixt them, shewing that before marriage they ought not to make their nakedness known one to another. This custom, they say, was taken from the meeting of Brammon with Sauaitree, who, because they were naked, covered their immodest parts till the words of matrimony were uttered. So the Bramanes pronouncing certain words, enjoining the man to afford all things convenient to the woman, and charging the woman to loyalty in the marriage vow, with pronunciation of a blessing of fruitful issue to them both; the speeches concluded, the cloth interposed, rent away, the bond by which they were engirt, unloosed; and after that, full freedom to communicate themselves to each other. Dowry there is none given, that the drifts of marriage might not be

be mercenary, save the jewel sworn on the bridal day, and to the feast none repair but those of the same cast. To conclude, in marriage they have some particular legal injunctions, by which the tribes are differenced, as first, that no woman may be admitted to second marriage, except in the tribe of Wyse which are in the handicrafts-men. Secondly, that men in all tribes are admitted to second marriages, except in the Bramanes. Thirdly, that every tribe do marry of such as are of his own cast. therefore the Bramanes must marry with such as are descended from the Bramanes, and the Cutterys with such as are descended from the Cuttterys, so likewise the Shudderys But the Wyses are not only enjoined to match into their own tribe, but into such as be of their own trade; as a barber's son to a barber's daughter, and so of others, to keep their tribes and trades from commixion.

Lastly, as for their burials, this is their custom: when any man is desperately sick, and past hopes of recovery, they enjoin him to utter Narraune, which is one of the names of God, importing mercy to sinners, of which mercy at that time he standeth most in need. His spirits languishing, they stretch out his hand, pouring fair water into it, as the offering of his life, praying to Kistneruppon, the god of the water, to present him pure to God, with this offering of his hand. His life being departed, they wash his body as a testimony of his cleanliness and purity, this is the ceremony observed in the visitation of their sick. After this, for the burial of their dead — it is after this manner, first, they bear the dead body to a river side appropriate to such purpose, where setting the corpse down on the ground, the Bramane uttereth these words; "Oh, earth! we commend unto thee this our brother, whilst he lived thou hadst an interest in him: of the earth he was made, by the blessing of the earth he was fed, and therefore now he is dead we surrender him unto thee" After this, putting combustible matter to the body, accended and lighted by the help of sweet oil, and aromatical odours strewed thereon, the Bramane saith, "Oh, fire! whilst he lived, thou hadst a claim in him, by whose natural heat he subsisted, we return therefore his body to thee, that thou shouldst purge it." Then the son of the deceased taketh a pot of water, and setteth it on the ground, upon which he setteth a pot of milk, when throwing a stone at the lower pot, he breaketh it to sheards, which rendereth the water to loss, and perishing, the vessel of milk above, defrauded of his support, poureth forth his humidity on the ground likewise: upon which the son thus moralizeth the action; that, as the stone by his violence caused the vessels to yield forth their humour, so did the assault of sickness ruin his father's body, and bring it to loss, as milk and water that is spilt on the ground, never to be redeemed The body then being incinerated or burnt to ashes, they disperse the ashes abroad into the air, the Bramane uttering these words, "Oh, air! whilst he lived by thee he breathed, and now having breathed his last, we yield him to thee." The ashes falling on the water, the Bramane saith; "Oh, water! whilst he lived, thy moisture did sustain him; and now his body is dispersed, take thy part in him." So give they every element his own, for as they affirm man to have his life continued by the four elements, so they say he ought to be distributed amongst them at his death. After this funeral solemnity, the Bramane presenteth to the son, or nearest kindred of the deceased, a register of the deceases of his ancestors, as also readeth to him the law of mourners; that for ten days he must eat no beetle, nor oil his head, nor put on clean clothes, but once in every month throughout the whole year, on the day of the month in which his father deceased, must make a feast, and pay a visitation to that river that drunk up his father's ashes. Since these laws and injunctions, there hath sprung up a custom among them, that the women that survive their husbands, should offer

 themselves

themselves up alive to be sacrificed in the flames with them, which to this day is observed in some places, and for some persons of greater worth, though the examples be more rare now than in former times; of which custom Propertius thus speaketh;

Fœlix Eois lex funeris una maritis,
Quos Aurora suis rubra colorat aquis
Namq, ubi mortifero jacta est fax ultima lecto,
Uxorum fusis stat pia turba comis,
Et certamen habent lethi quæ viva sequatur
Conjugium, pudor est non licuisse mori
Ardent victrices et, flammæ pectora prabent,
Imponuntq, suis ora perusta viris

THE ENGLISH

A happy funeral law these Indians hold,
Where bright Aurora shines with beams of gold;
For when in fiery brands the husbands lie,
The women stand with hanging tresses by,
And strive who to their husband first may turn,
A body chaste into the flaming urn,
Whilst to the fire they yield a constant breast,
And with parch'd mouths do kiss their loves to rest

But though Propertius maketh this to be a witness of their conjugal chastity, yet Strabo maketh the ground thereof to be the Indian women's disloyalty to their husbands; who in former times, by secret means, untimely poisoned them, to enjoy their paramours. The Rajahs therefore, to restrain this practice, did procure the Bramanes to make it an act of religion to interdict second marriages to the women, and that after the decease of the husband, the woman should no longer survive, that so they might become more careful of their preservation. The chaster sort, to gain an honour out of the infamy cast upon their sex, did, by voluntary sufferance, remove all suspicion of such machination of evil, since they were so ready to cope with the terror of death, to confirm their love, the ceremony whereof is this: when their husbands die, they array themselves in their best ornaments and jewels, and accompany the body to the funeral pit, singing all the way encomiastick songs in praise of their deceased husbands, expressing a desire to be with them. The body then being laid in the grave, the woman with a chearful countenance imparteth her jewels to her dearest friends, leapeth in to the corpse, whose head she layeth in her lap; the music sounding aloud, the pile is kindled by the fire, and set on a flame, whilst she maketh herself a martyr to approve her love.

These observances, partly enjoined by their law, and by themselves instanced in their present practice, may have been sufficient to give you information what might be the substance of the second tract of the book delivered to Bremaw. What the third tract imported, and how it is confirmed by their present manners and customs, we shall glance at in the following chapters.

CHAP. X — *Of the third Tract delivered to Bremaw, concerning the four Tribes or Casts; their Injunction to follow that Order of Government, and so touching the first of those Tribes called the Bramanes, the Derivation of the Name, their Kinds, the Number of their Casts, their ministerial Discharge, Studies, and school Discipline.*

AFTER the consideration of the ceremonies enjoined and observed by them in matters of their worship, as it was the subject of the second tract of the book delivered to Bremaw,

Bremaw, now followeth the third tract, declaring in what manner of order or distinction they should live, and what was meet for every one to observe in his own particular tribe.

And because there could be no invention more commodious for the government of the world, than was used by the four tribes in the first age, as to have Bramanes to instruct the people in matters of religion; to have Cutterys that should sway the scepter, and keep men in obedience, to have merchant-men that should use traffic and trade, as did Shuddery, to have servile and manufactory-men that should serve the use of the world in the handicrafts, as did Wyse; therefore they were by this tract bound to keep their own peculiar tribe or cast, and to observe what was proper to the faculties of each in several, which accordingly was done, and is yet continued so far as it lieth in their power, to conserve this ancient form of government and policy; wherein, if I shall somewhat digress from their injunctions, which for the most part present things less pertinent to be known, to a more particular display of their manners, I shall better discharge the parts required in this tract.

The Bramanes, then, being the first of these tribes, something shall be noted in particular touching them, and first of the name Bramane. Suidas is of opinion, that they are called Bramanes, of one Brachman that was the first prescriber of their rights. Postellus, lib. de origin. cap. 13 and 15, affirmeth them to be descended from Abraham by Cheturah, who seated themselves in India, and that so they were called Abrahmanes; the word suffering a syncope, they in the tract of time, for brevity of pronunciation, became called by the name of Bramanes. But they neither know of any such as Brachman, neither have they heard of Abraham, but affirm they receive this name of Bramanes from Brammon, which was the first that ever exercised their priestly function, as they find by record, or else from Bremaw, by adjection of this particle (nes), who was the first of the second age, to whom the law was delivered.

Touching the kinds of these Bramanes, taking them for such as discharge the priestly office amongst the people, they are of two sorts, first, the more common Bramanes, of which there are a great number in India, or the more special, of which there be fewer; and these be called by the Banians, Verteas, by the Moors, Seurahs.

The common Bramane hath eighty-two casts or tribes, assuming to themselves the names of that tribe; which, were so many wise men or scholars famed for their learning amongst them, called Augurs, or sooth-sayers, of such a place of dwelling. Thus the prime of them was called Visalnagranauger, that is, the augur of Visalnagra; the second Vulnagranauger, that is, the augur of Vulnagra, a town so called, and so of the rest, according to these eighty-two casts to be distinguished, being Bramanes of the discipline of such an augur.

These Bramanes, as they discharge their ministerial function in praying with the people, or reading their law, have some peculiar injunctions, as first, that they should strain their bodies into certain mimical gestures, so as may most face the people to gaze upon them and listen to them; that they pray with both their hands open to heaven, as ready to receive the things they pray for, that they pray with demissive eyelids, and sitting with their knees deflected under them, to shew their fear and reverence. Next that they must never read of the book delivered to Bremaw, but it must be by a kind of singing, and quavering of the voice, which, they say, was not only practised by Bremaw when it was published, but was also enjoined by God, that they might make his law as the matter of their rejoicing.

The Bramanes are likewise the seminaries of discipline amongst the younger sort of that cast, whose orders, both in their initiation and entrance into that manner of learn-

 ing,

ing, is obſervable; as alſo, no leſs in their confirmation, and ordination to the prieſthood: for firſt, about the ſeventh year of their age, they are received to diſcipline, being clean waſhed, to intimate the purity of that caſt; then they are received naked, to ſhew that they have ſtripped off all other cares, to apply themſelves to ſtudy; then their heads are ſhaven, a long lock being only left on the hinder part of the head, to ſhew that they muſt not forſake their ſtudy; if they do, by that lock they ſhall be drawn back again. They are bound to a Pythagorean ſilence and attention, and prohibited haulking, ſpitting, or coughing; wearing about their loins a girdle of an antelope's ſkin, and another thong of the ſame about their neck, deſcending under the left arm. About the fourteenth year of their age, (if they be capable,) they are admitted to be Bramanes, exchanging thoſe leather thongs for four ſealing threds that come over the right ſhoulder, and under the right arm, which they ſleep withal, and never put off, but wear them in honour of God, and the three perſons Bremaw, Vyſtney, and Ruddery, and as the badge of their profeſſion. In which ordination they are enjoined, firſt, not to alter their caſt or tribe; next to obſerve all things enjoined in the Bramanes' law; laſtly, not to communicate the myſteries of their laws to any of a different religion. Theſe be the moſt of the principal things obſerved by theſe Bramanes.

Now for the more ſpecial Bramane, by them called the Vertea, he is ſome man of the caſt of the Shudderies, or merchant-men, who for devotion taketh this condition on him: he is one, that for his habit weareth a woollen garment of white, deſcending to the middle of his thigh, leaving the lower parts naked: his head is always uncovered, as a witneſs of his perpetual reverence of God above. They do not ſhave, but pluck off all the hair on their head, ſave ſome ſmall remainder on the crown: the like they do from their chin alſo.

Of this ſort of Bramane there be ſeveral caſts likewiſe; one is called the Soncaes, and theſe go not to church, but perform divine rites at home. Another is of the Tuppaes, theſe go to church to pray. A third, is of the Curthuns, and theſe pray by themſelves, without ſociety. A fourth, called the Onkeleaus, and theſe indure not images. A fifth called the Puſhileaus, the moſt ſtrict of them all.

Theſe kind of Bramanes have a feſtival called Putcheſon, which is kept once every month, by five days ſolemnization, but betwixt each day of the five they keep a feaſt: this feaſt is kept at the ableſt men's houſes, and commonly at thoſe times a penſion is given, to reſtrain the death of cattle, or other living creatures.

More ſtrict they ſeem to be in many things than the common Bramanes, for the other are not forbidden marriage as theſe are; more abſtinent they are in diet, for out of the former feaſts they eat nothing but what is given them, and reſerve nothing for another meal; more cautious they are for the preſervation of things animate, for they will drink no water but boiled, that ſo the vapour, which they ſuppoſe the life of the water, may go out. They diſperſe their very dung and ordure with a beſom, leſt it ſhould generate worms that be ſubject to deſtruction; and they keep an hoſpital of lame and maimed flying fowl, redeemed by a price, which they ſeek to reſtore: they have all things common, but place no faith in outward waſhings, but rather embrace a careleſs and ſordid naſtineſs. And this is ſufficient to note concerning this kind of Bramane.

CHAP. XI. — *Concerning the ſecond Tribe or Caſt, called the Cutterys, preſenting them in their flouriſhing Eſtate, their declining Eſtate, and their preſent Eſtate.*

THE ſecond caſt or tribe, being the Cutterys, had their denomination from Cuttery, the ſecond ſon of Pourous, who, becauſe domination and rule was committed unto him, therefore

therefore all ſoldiers and kings are ſaid to be of his tribe. That particular of Bremau's book that concerned this caſt or tribe, contained certain precepts of government and police, the knowledge of which being but of common import, I rather chooſe to omit, and proceed to ſhew ſome other things notable concerning this tribe, touching their ſtate or condition. Theſe Cutteries may then be conſidered, either according as they were in their flouriſhing eſtate, or elſe in their declining eſtate, or in their preſent eſtate.

As they were in their flouriſhing eſtate, they were the ancient kings and rulers of India, eſpecially of that part called Guzzarat, and were called by the name of Rajahs, which ſignifieth a king, whereof ſome were of greater dominion than others, according as they were of greater force. Theſe Rajahs had principally four men about them of eminency. The firſt of which were the Bramanes, who by ſoothſaying and augury did ſhew the kings what time was moſt meet to begin their deſigns to proſecute them with ſucceſs. The ſecond was one called the Pardon, which was a man of policy in the carriage of ſtate buſineſs, and diſpatched all matters of judicature, having reference to the King for juſtice. The third was one that was called the Moldar, or the King's chamberlain, who was moſt commonly preſent with the King, as the companion of his converſation. The fourth was the general of the King's armies in the field, called Diſnacke, who was ſent abroad about all expeditions of war. Theſe were the four that had chief eminency about the King. Furthermore, theſe Rajahs are ſaid to have thirty-ſix tribes, as the noble families whence they were deſcended, ſome were of the caſt or tribe of Chaurah, ſome of the Solenkees, ſome of the tribe of Vaggela, ſome of the Dodepachacs, ſome of the Purmars, that ſo no man of obſcure birth might preſs to dignity, but being deſcended from ſome of the thirty-ſix families. thus the Rajahs lived in their flouriſhing eſtate.

Now touching their declining eſtate, it is recorded in their hiſtory, that one Rannedevill, a virtuous woman, did at her death propheſy the decline of the Banian ſtate, in the time of Ravisaldee, chief Rajah, the beginning of which decline ſhould be in his next ſucceſſor's days, which they ſay accordingly happened, as ſhall appear by the ſtory following.

It is then declared in their hiſtory, that there was a Rajah called Raviſaldee, who had a ſon called Syderayſaldee. Raviſaldee ſuffering the common change of mortality, his ſon was careful to expreſs his duty to his deceaſed father, in a coſtly monument, at a place called Sythepolalpore, which being finiſhed with great curioſity of art, and coſt correſpondent to that curioſity, being pleaſed with the work, and deſiring to keep both his father's memory and his own laſting by that monument, he conſulted with the Bramane, to know whether that temple ſhould long abide, or if that pile of goodly workmanſhip ſhould ſuffer ruin, by whom it ſhould be defaced. It was divined to him by one Madewnauger, one famous in the diſcipline of the Bramanes, that one Sultan Alaudin, a Pitan, King of Delee, ſhould deface the ſame, as alſo gain ſome great conqueſt in Guzzarat. Syderayſaldee hopeful to prevent the defacement of this temple, by ſome timely compoſition, diſpeeded his Bramane Madewnauger, and his Pardon to Delee, to enquire out the ſaid Alaudin, and by a ſum of money to procure the peace of his father's bones, and the ſparing of the temple. But coming thither they could find ſo ſuch man of any eminency, but another in the goverment only by ſtrict inquiſition they met with a wood-gatherer there, who had a ſon ſo called: thither they repair to the amazement of Alaudin's poor parents, they make known the reaſon of their coming, and find the boy adminiſtering food to a young kid in his father's backſide. The Bramane propoſing to him the high fortunes that ſhould betide him in being

being King of Delee, and in the conqueſt of Guzzarat; as alſo the end of their meſſage, that Sydrayſaldee did greet him, and did deſire him, that when thoſe things ſhould happen, and he ſhould invade Guzzarat, that he would forbear to deface the temple and monument of his father, erected at Sythepolalpore, as a motive to which favour Sydrayſaldee did freely preſent him with a ſum of money, which ſum they tendered to Alaudin. Alaudin boldly anſwered, that he was not in appearance capable of any ſuch fortunes, but if the heavens had ſo ſet it down in their great volume, he could not alter it, but muſt lay waſte the temple, and in the majeſty of his nature refuſed the gift and treaſure brought him. His parents, better inſtructed by their own neceſſity what was meet for him to do than his heroic diſpoſition would be taught, importuned him to take the treaſure, urging their own need, and how convenient a help it might be to raiſe him to theſe fortunes that were to him diviſed. So apprehending the counſel to be but reaſonable, he took the treaſure, and gave an eſcript, or writing, that albeit the heavens had decreed that he ſhould ſcatter ſome ſtones out of that building, yet he would pick them out of the corners thereof in ſuch manner as ſhould fulfil his fortune, and make good his promiſed favour to Sydrayſaldee, in the ſparing of that temple and tomb of his father. By this money of compoſition, Alaudin gathered ſoldiers, and betook himſelf to arms, wherein he proved himſelf ſo reſolute, that he gained great fame, whereunto his divining fortunes became ſuch a ſpur, that he was made King of Delee, and after that made invaſive conqueſts on Guzzarat, fulfilled his promiſe to Sydrayſaldee in treaty, on the fore-mentioned buſineſs. In which conqueſt he overthrew many Rajahs, to the great ruin and decline of the Banian ſtate. But growing weary of the long war, and many Rajahs flying to places inacceſſible, led with a deſire to return to Delee, his native place, he committed the further managing of theſe wars to one Futtercon, that was his cupbearer in this manner. For Alaudin conſidering how great he was grown from nothing, (and that accidentally,) he determined as accidentally to heap this fortune upon another, purpoſing over night with himſelf, that whoever did firſt preſent him the next with any gift, on him to confirm the government of that part of Guzzarat he had conquered. It ſo fell out, that whilſt this ſecret was lodged up in the King's breaſt, that the fore-mentioned Futtercon, the King's wine-keeper, by the riſing ſun tendered a cup of wine to the King's hand, who ſmiled and looked favourably upon him, and in the preſence of his army, confirmed him his ſucceſſor in the government of that he had won, enjoining them alſo to acknowledge him, and to do whatſoever he ſhould command in the further proſecution of that conqueſt. So Sultan Alaudin departed to Delee, and the ſaid Futtercon did further invade Guzzarat, and ſo did the reſt of the Mahometans that ſucceeded him, to the decline of the Banian ſtate and regiment.

Now for their preſent eſtate, ſome of the Rajahs yielded, others flying to retirements impregnable, lay in the maw of the country, and could not be conquered even to this day; but making outroads, prey on the Caſſaloes paſſing by the way, and ſometimes come to the ſkirts of their ſtrongeſt and moſt populous towns, having many reſolute ſoldiers to go on in theſe attempts of rapine, called Raſhpoots, which implieth as much as the ſons of Kings, for being of the caſt of the Cutteries, it is like they were nobly deſcended, and ſome of the progeny of thoſe that were overrun in the Guzzarat conqueſt. Of thoſe that live unconquered at this day, ſuch a one is Rajah Surmalgee, living at Raſpeeplaw, Rajah Berumſhaw, at Molere, Rajah Ramnager, Rajah Barmulgee, and the great Rannah, who hath fought many ſet battles with the Mogul's forces. This may be obſervable concerning the caſt of the Cutteries.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII. — *Of the third Tribe or Caſt, called the Shudderies, of the Meaning of the Name Banian, of their Caſts, and the Form of their Contracts in buying and ſelling.*

THE third ſon of Pourous being called Shuddery, and the profeſſion appointed him to follow being merchandize, all ſuch as live in the nature of merchants are compriſed under this name, and belong to this caſt: that which the book delivered to Bremaw contained concerning this tribe, was no other than a ſummary of religious advertiſements, proper to the carriage of this profeſſion, enjoining them to truth in their words and dealings, and to avoid all practices of circumvention in buying and ſelling. What may be further worthy of note concerning this tribe (being thoſe that are moſt properly called Banians) at preſent, is either concerning the name Banian, the number of their caſts, or the form of their contracts of buying and ſelling

Firſt, under the name of Banians is compriſed either ſuch as are merchants only, or brokers for the merchants, for nothing is bought but by the mediation of theſe, who are called Banians, which importeth as much in the Bramane's language, wherein their law is written, as a people innocent and harmleſs, becauſe they will not endure to ſee a fly or worm, or any thing living injured, and being ſtrucken, bear it patiently without reſiſting again.

Next for the number of their caſts they are equal to the Bramanes, being the ſelf ſame caſts, chuſing either to be under their diſcipline, that are Viſalnagranaugers, or Vulnagranaugers, from the peculiar inſtruction of which Bramanes they are guided in matters belonging to religious worſhip, for being moſt like unto the Bramanes in their law, they more ſtrictly follow their injunctions than the other tribes.

Laſtly, their form of contract in buying and ſelling is ſomewhat notable, and diſtinct from the cuſtom of other nations, for the broker that beateth the price with him that ſelleth, looſeth his pamerin, that is folded about his waiſt, and ſpreadeth it upon his knee, with hands folded underneath, by their finger ends the price of pounds, ſhillings, or pence is pitched, as the chapman is intended to give, the ſeller in like manner intimateth how much he purpoſeth to have, which ſilent kind of compoſition, they ſay their law enjoineth as the form of their contract.

CHAP XIII — *Of the fourth Caſt called the Wyſes, the Meaning of the Name, their Kinds and ſeveral Caſts, Bremaw's Time is expired, he is took up to Heaven, the ſecond Age is concluded by the Deſtruction of Wind and Tempeſt.*

LASTLY, as the fourth ſon of Pourous was called Wyſe, and was the maſter of the mechanics or handicrafts, ſo all manufactory men were to belong to the caſt of the Wyſes. Thoſe directions that were in Bremaw's book for theſe, were in precepts touching their behaviours in their callings

This name Wyſe implies as much as one that is ſervile or inſtrumentary, for this cauſe, as it may be ſuppoſed, becauſe they are ſervile or helpful to ſuch as need their art; as was Wyſe, and thoſe deſcended from him, who were indued with divers inventions: theſe people are at this preſent moſt ordinarily called by the name of Gentiles

Which Gentiles are of two ſorts, or kinds. firſt, the purer Gentiles, ſuch as liveth obſervant of the diet of the Banians, abſtaining from fleſh and wine, or uſing both very ſeldom: or elſe the Gentile Viſceraun, called the impure or unclean Gentile, which taketh a greater liberty in diet, eating fleſh or fiſh, or things animate; ſuch are the huſbandmen or inferior ſort of people, called the Coulees.

The purer sort of Gentile, as they hold greatest relation in their religious liberty with Cutteries, so they agree in the number of their casts, having six-and-thirty, according to the number of the trades or professions practised amongst them. In the particular of their handicrafts this is observable, that they make as few instruments serve for the effectuating of divers works as may be; and whatsoever they do is contrary to the Christian form of working, for the most part. Such is the substance of the third tract of the book delivered to Bremaw, concerning the four tribes or casts, somewhat accommodate to their present manners.

This book, comprising in it the platform of religion and government, thus delivered to Bremaw, was by him communicated to the Bramanes of those times, and by them published to the people, shewing what religion they should observe, and how they should live in their several tribes or casts. After which, according to the prescriptions therein, the rulers did keep the people in the order of government, the priests or Bramanes did give advice in matters of religion, the merchants did follow traffic and merchandizing; and the handicraftsmen did follow their several professions, serving the need of all men that had use of them. All things having a good beginning in this second age, religion was embraced, prayers were made to God, and the three persons, Bremaw, Vystney, and Ruddery, the banks of the river were frequented, and daily washings were not neglected.

But after the people were multiplied, the succeeding generations were not of the primitive integrity, but the lower the times grew, the worse they were at the bottom. The Bramanes grew hypocritical and lip-laborious; the Cutteries, or rulers, swelled with pride and ambition, cried out for larger territories, meditating unjust amplifications of government; the merchants grew full of fraudulency in their dealings, and the handicrafts grew idle and overvaluing their labours.

In this uproar of ungodliness, the Lord grew angry and full of indignation, and descended on mount Meropurbatee, acquainting Bremaw with the wickedness of the world, who descended and premonished them of the judgment to come, which awhile hushed the cry of their wickedness, but they fell to their old evils again. Bremaw then interceded for them, but the Almighty would not be pacified, but took Bremaw up into his bosom, the time of his abode on earth being expired, that he might not behold the evils of the time to come.

Then the Lord made known his purpose of destroying the world to Vystney, whose nature and office being to preserve the people, did intercede for them, but the Lord would not be pacified, but gave charge to Ruddery, whose office was to bring judgment and destruction on sinners, to cause the bowels of the earth to send out a wind to sweep the nations as the dust from the face of the earth.

So Ruddery enraged the winds in the bowels of the earth, which burst forth into eruptions, and the great body of the world had her trepidations and waverings, the day seemed to change colour with the night, the mountains and hills were hurled from their foundations, and, as some report, the river Ganges was carried from her wonted route to run in a new channel; so the tempest destroyed all people, saving a few that the Lord permitted Vystney to cover with the skirt of his preservation, reserved to be the propagators of mankind in the third age. and so this age concluded.

CHAP.

CHAP XIV. — *Shewing the Beginning of the third Age; the Restoration of the same by Ram, new Evils bring a Judgment, concluding the third Age by an Earthquake or Chasma.*

RUDDERY having restrained the winds from their former violence, all now was hushed; but miserable and lamentable it was to behold the earth so desolate and void of inhabitants, more miserable to see the carcases that were scattered on her surface, some blown from the tops of high mountains, others bruised to mash, all ruined and destroyed; so that the Almighty repented him of his own work, and Ruddery was sorry that he should be an instrument of so great fury and destruction.

But because the head of all the former disorders was from the wickedness and ill government of the kings and rulers, therefore the Lord utterly rased out all of the tribe or cast of the Cutterys; those that were preserved from destruction by the skirt of Vystney's preservation, being some few of the other three casts or tribes.

Now, because these four casts were so necessary to the world's government, that it could not subsist without them, though the cast of the Cutterys perished entirely for their wickedness, yet that they might be renewed again from a holier beginning, the Lord appointed that from the Bramanes the line of the kings should be renewed. So the chief of the Bramanes that was then preserved by Vystney, was called Ducerat, the next child that was born after this destruction, and which was the youngest of four, was chosen to propagate the race of their kings and rulers, who being religiously educated, might as well favour piety as policy, and with holiness and prudence govern men in their several tribes.

So he did many worthy acts, and exceedingly maintained religion, was a patron to the Bramanes and churchmen, and his name was Ram; who became so memorable for his worthy deeds, that his name is made honourable in the mention amongst them, even to this day, that whensoever they meet and salute one another, they cry Ram! Ram! as a word importing the wishes of all good.

It is like that after him there ruled many worthy kings, but tract of time rendering every thing worse at the latter ending than at the beginning, brought forth such as followed the course of the ancient wickedness, and new ambitions, and new hypocrisies, and new frauds and circumventions, and daily breaches of the law delivered in Bremaw's book began afresh to make intrusion amongst them.

So the Almighty was again angry, that after so many judgments, the people would not be warned to his fear, therefore by God's appointment, Ruddery caused the earth to open and swallow them up alive, reserving only some few of the four tribes, as a last trial for the new peopling of the world again. And such was the conclusion of the third age of the world.

CHAP. XV. — *The fourth and last Age of the World, Vistney's Rapture to Heaven, the Banian's Opinion touching the final Conclusion of the World, and in what Manner they suppose it shall be.*

AFTER this, the Almighty again commanded, that the world should be peopled by those that were reserved, among whom there was one Kystney, a famous ruler and pious king, of whose virtues they have ample record, as being one most notable in the last age, which they think now by the course of time to be devolved upon us, he did wonderfully promote religion, upon which there was a reformed beginning of goodness

By this, Vyſtney's time (as they ſay) being expired, in this place and vale of mortality, the Lord took him up to heaven, there being no further need of his preſervation, for when this age is concluded there ſhall be a final end of all things.

But the Bramanes, though they ſuppoſe time to be running on the fourth age of the world, yet they ſuppoſe this age ſhall be longer than any of the reſt, in the end whereof they ſay Ruddery ſhall be rapt up into heaven. Theſe ages they call by four names: the firſt, Curtain; the ſecond, Duaper; the third, Tetraioo; the fourth, Kolee.

Concerning the manner of this final judgment, they hold it ſhall be more dreadful than any of the reſt, and that it ſhall be by fire; that Ruddery then ſhall ſummon up all the power of deſtruction; that the moon ſhall look red; that the ſun ſhall ſhed his purling light like flaming brimſtone, that the lightning ſhall flaſh with terrors, the ſkies ſhall change into all colours; but eſpecially fiery redneſs ſhall overſpread the face of heaven; that the four elements of which the world at firſt was conſtituted, ſhall be at oppoſition and variance, till by this agony ſhe be turned to her firſt confuſion.

And that the final conſummation of the world ſhall be by fire, they gather hence; of ſuch as was the beginning of the world, of ſuch ſhall be her diſſolution; but the principles of the world's conſtitution, were theſe four, Earth, Air, Water, and Fire; therefore by them ſhall ſhe be deſtroyed, which alſo they gather by the deſtruction of the ſeveral ages: for the people of the firſt age were deſtroyed by water; the people of the ſecond age were deſtroyed by wind, which they account the air, the people of the third age were deſtroyed by earth; and the people of the laſt age ſhall be deſtroyed by fire.

Then (ſay they) ſhall Ruddery carry up the ſouls of all people to heaven with him, to reſt in God's boſom, but the bodies ſhall all periſh. So that they believe not the reſurrection, for they ſay heaven being a place that is pure, they hold it cannot be capable of ſuch groſs ſubſtances.

The Author's Concluſion to the Reader, together with a Cenſure on the material Parts of this Relation.

THUS, worthy reader, thou haſt the ſum of the Banian religion, ſuch as it is, not void of vain ſuperſtitions, and compoſed forgery, as well may be judged by the precedent diſcourſe, wherein, as in all other hereſies, may be gathered how Satan leadeth thoſe that are out of the pale of the church, a round, in the maze of error and gentiliſm. I might leave the particulars to thy cenſure, as well as to thy reading, but ſince I have detected ſuch groſs opinions in this ſect, I cannot let them paſs without a rod truſt at their backs, as a deſerved penance for their crime.

To help thy memory therefore in a ſhort reviſe of their forementioned vanities; What ſeemeth their firſt age to preſent, but a figment of their own deviſing, to confirm them to be the moſt ancient of all people? as if, like the Egyptians, in the ſecond book of Juſtin, they would only boaſt of antiquity, and to lay the firſt ground of religion and government, when the Scythians had better arguments to plead than they. How fabulous and like an old woman's tale ſeems their deviſed medium for the world's propagation, in placing four women at the four winds? And for the ſecond age and the world's reſtoration therein, if by thoſe three perſons, Bremaw, Vyſtney, and Ruddery, they glance on the Trinity, how prodigious have they made that myſtery; making it rather a quaternity, than a trinity? What a monſtrous fancy have they formed and ſhaped for the peopling of that age; and if they aim not at a mark ſo ſublime, what men

men ſhall deſerve the attributes to them appropriate? Touching their law, the main pillars thereof have been demoliſhed in its confutation: "The kingdom of God conſiſts not in meats and drinks." For other their ceremonies and rites, contained in their ſecond tract of the book, what man of reaſonable underſtanding doth not wonder at their ſuperſtitions, which place their faith in outward waſhings, lotions and ſprinklings? in worſhip of ſun, moon, and other living creatures, in paintings, unctions, and gariſh proceſſions, in offerings under green trees, in cringings, beckings, and bowings to images, and other multifarious ceremonies? All evidences of brains intoxicate with the fumes of error and polytheiſm. As for their four tribes, or caſts, as in all things elſe, how Pythagorically they ſtand upon the number of four? The world was formed of four principles; divided into four points of the compaſs; to endure for four ages; planted by four men, matched by four women; reſtored again by four; and to be demoliſhed by four ſeveral deſtructions; in four ſeveral elements; and, to conclude, like Sadducees, denying the reſurrection, in which conſiſteth the hopes of the bleſſed: of which of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 15. 29. "If in this life only we have hope of Chriſt, we are of all men moſt miſerable."

All theſe declare how they have made their religion a compoſed fiction, rather than any thing real for faith to lean on. Though, then, the novelty of this relation may make it grateful to any, who like an Athenian deſireth to hear ſome ſtrange thing or new, I know not wherein it may be more profitable than to ſettle us in the ſolidneſs of our own faith, which is purged of all levities, for the vainneſs of error makes truth's greateſt opinion, which duly conſidered may well move us to ſay,

——— Micat inter omnes
Julium Sydus, velut inter ignes
Luna minores

"That our great light outſhines all theſe, as far
"As ſilver moon outſhines each leſſer ſtar"

THE RELIGION OF THE PERSEES

THE INTRODUCTION.

HAVING declared the religion, rites, cuſtoms, and ceremonies of a people living in the Eaſt Indies, called the Banians, a ſect not thoroughly publiſhed by any heretofore, whilſt my obſervation was beſtowed on ſuch inquiry, I obſerved in the town of Surrat, the place where I reſided, another ſect called the Perſees; who, becauſe I did diſcern them to differ both from the Moor and Banian in the courſe of their living, and in the form of their religion; as alſo that the ſcripture, Dan. vi. 15. ſpeaketh of the law of the Medes and Perſians that might not alter; finding theſe to be that ſame people that are linked with the Medes, I thought it would not be unworthy of my labour to bring to the eyes of my countrymen this religion alſo, eſpecially ſince I never read of any that had fully publiſhed the ſame, but that it hath remained obſcure and hid from common knowledge. For this cauſe, deſirous to add any thing to the ingenious that the opportunities of my travels might confer upon me, I joined myſelf with one of their churchmen, called the Daroo, and by the interpretation of a Perſee, whoſe

whose long employment in the Company's service, had brought him to a mediocrity in the English tongue, and whose familiarity with me, inclined him to further my inquiry; I gained the knowledge of what hereafter I shall deliver, as it was compiled in a book writ in the Persian character, containing their scripture, and in their own language, called their Zundavastaw. But because we should be better informed concerning the people spoken of before we lay down their religion, we will first declare who these Persees are, and then proceed to their worship.

CHAP I. — *Declaring who these Persees are, their ancient Place of Abode; the Cause of relinquishing their own Country, their Arrival in East India, and their Abode there.*

THESE Persians, or Persees, of whose religion we are now to speak, are a people descended from the ancient Persians in times not long after the flood, who then had their native kings and governors; but war, that causeth an alteration in states and empires, brought upon them a foreign sceptre.

About nine hundred and ninety-six years ago, one Yesdegerd was native king of Persia, who had his residence in the city of Yesd, near unto the old city of Spahaun, which is somewhat remote from the new city known by that name; this city of Yesd was a goodly city in those times, (as those use to be where kings keep their courts,) spacious for circuit, sumptuous in buildings, and populous for inhabitants, where this people lived in flourishing prosperity.

What time the Arabian captains of the sect of Mahomet made invasion into his country, about the nineteenth year of his reign, who having before been newly assaulted by a great multitude of Turks, that came from Turquestan, he was forced to fly to Karason, where he died suddenly, in the twentieth year of his reign; being the five-and-fortieth king that descended from the race of Guiomaras, and the last in whom the ancient Persian monarchy concluded.

The Mahometans, upon the death of Yesdegerd, carried all in conquest before them, and subjected the natives of the country as vassals unto them; and as new lords bring in new laws, they contented not themselves to bring them to their form of government in state subjection, but also in matters of religion, to live according to Mahomet's constitutions, compelling them to be circumcised according to the Mahometan custom, contrary to the form of their own religion and worship.

These Persees, not enduring to live contrary to the prescript of their own law, and less able to reject their yoke, many of them by privy escape, and as close conveyance as they might of their goods and substance, determined on a voyage for the Indies, purposing to prove the mildness of the Banian Rajahs, if there; though they lived in subjection for matter of government, they might obtain liberty of conscience in regard to religion.

So repairing to Jasques, a place in the Persian Gulph, they obtained a fleet of seven juncks, to convey them and theirs, as merchantmen bound for the shores of India, in course of trade and merchandise. It happened that in safety they made to the land of St. John's, on the shores of India, and arrived together, at or near the port of Swaley, the usual receptacle of such ships as arrive there. Treaty was made by some of them with a Rajah living at Nuncery, publishing their aggrievances, and the cause of their coming thither, as also their suit to be admitted as sojourners with them, using their own law and religion, but yielding themselves in subjection to their government; upon payment of homage and tribute, they were admitted to land the passengers contained in five of their juncks.

The

The other two juncks remaining, one of them put into the road of Swaley, and treated with a Rajah that then resided at Baryaw, near unto Surat, who entertained them on like conditions to the former; but the Rajah of that place having wars with a neighbouring Rajah, who got the conquest, the Persees that resided with the conquered, were all put to the sword as adherents to the enemy.

The last junck coasted along the shores, and arrived at Cambaya, were they were received upon the pre-mentioned conditions, so that howsoever this people have been dispersed in India since their arrival, it hath been from some of these places. Thus, they lived in India till tract of time wore out the memory of their original, and the records of their religion being perished they became ignorant whence they were, being assigned to the profession of husbandry, or the dressing of the palmetoes or toddy trees; till being known by the name of Persees, they were recognized by the remnant of their sect abiding in Persia, who acquainted them with the story of their ancestors, and communicated to them both their law and instructions in the worship according to which they were to live. And these be the Persees, of whose religion we are to treat in the chapters following.

CHAP. II.—*Containing the Opinion of the Persees touching the Creation of the World, and the Creatures therein, together with a short Mention of the Flood, and the general Division of the following Discourse.*

Now, after the consideration of these Persees, of whose religion we are to speak, we proceed more particularly to the subject of this book, which is their worship and religion; wherein first cometh to be rendered their opinion touching the creation.

Touching this, the Persees affirm, that before any thing was there was a God, that was the Maker of all things, who, when he did determine to make himself known by his works in the creation of the universe, and the creatures therein, did divide this great work of the creation into a six-fold labour.

First then, they say, he made the heavens with their orbs, a place most glorious and pleasant, which he adorned with great lights and lesser, as the sun, moon, and stars; as also he did make the angels, which, according to their several dignities, he placed in their several orders one above another, which place he made a habitation of blessedness, for such as should live holily in this life, and having thus done, that he might teach us to do great designs with consideration and advice, he rested five days from the works of further creation.

Next, he made hell in the lower parts of the world, from which he banished all light and comfort; that as heaven might be a place of happiness to those that are good and please the Almighty, so this might be a place of horror and punishment to such as offend his majesty; wherein as in heaven, so God had made several mansions that exceeded each other in dolour, which were proportioned according to the degrees of offenders; about which time Lucifer, the chief of angels, with others of his order, conspiring against God, to gain the sovereignty and command over all, God threw him from the orb of his happiness, together with his confederates and accomplices, damned him to hell, the place that was made for offenders, and turned them from their glorious shapes into shapes black, ugly, and deformed, till the times of the world should be consummate, when all offenders in general should receive their sentence of punishment and condemnation. So God having accomplished this second labour, desisted from the work of the creation five days more.

After

After this, the Almighty began the third labour of the creation, which was to make the earth, which, together with the waters called seas, make this lower world like a globe or ball, so agreeing together, that the sea's humidity maketh the earth fruitful, and the earth's solidity boundeth the waters in their due confine; which work thus finished, God suspended the work of the creation for five days more, and rested.

The fourth labour was to make the trees, plants, and herbs, that so the earth might bring forth fruits pleasant to the eye and taste, and for the comfort of the creatures living in the earth; this also done, God rested, and gave the former respite to his labours.

The fifth work was to make creatures fit to abide in the places forementioned, as beasts of all sorts, to forage in the green pasture; fowls to cleave the air with their nimble pinions, fishes to swim in the unknown depths of the watery oceans. The world thus replenished with creatures, God resumed his wonted rest and intermission from this labour.

And lastly, undertook his sixth labour, which was the forming of man and woman, to whom the rest of the creatures were made ministratory and servile, whose names their records deliver to be Al Adamah, and Evah, who being the first two by whom the multitudes of mankind should be propagated, God, as they affirm, did cause Evah to bring forth two twins every day; for a thousand years together, death did diminish none of the numbers of mankind by mortality.

But Lucifer, thus deposed with the rest of his orders, grew malignant both to God and man; and as God did good, so he laboured to do evil, and to perturb his actions, and tempt men to sin and wickedness, labouring to make man odious to his Maker, as also making himself an enemy to all goodness, which God yet did not fully revenge, as knowing nothing but evil to be in him and his confederates.

But the better to prevent his mischief, set certain supervisors over his creatures, to preserve them in that state wherein they were at first created. Thus, to one Hamull was commited the charge of the heavens; to Acrob the oversight of the angels, that they relapsed not as Lucifer had done, to Joder the oversight of the sun, moon, and stars; to Soreh the care of the earth; to Josah the command of the waters; Sumbolah had the charge of the beasts of the field; Daloo of the fish of the sea; Rocan of the trees; Cooz of man and woman; and Sertan and Asud, to whom God had given strength and power, were made the guardians of Lucifer, and the evil spirits, to master and conjure them from mischief to God's creatures, who yet, notwithstanding the watch of Sertan and Asud, did much mischief in the world by suggestion and temptation to wickedness, which made God offended with mankind for their wickedness.

The sins of men growing great, they say it appeareth in their record that there came a flood or inundation, which overflowed the earth and the inhabitants thereof, some few only God preserved to propagate the generations of the times following; that so there might not be an utter ruin of mankind. These generations were dispersed to people the earth again, from which all nations have had their descent. As, as their historiographer Mircond reporteth, in times not long distant from the flood, these Persees had a race of kings that were their proper governors, continued for above a thousand years by the succession of five-and-forty kings. The first whereof was Guiomaras, who, as Mercond reports, was the son of Aram, the son of Sem, the son of Noah, by the Persees called Adam Asseny, that is the second Adam; the last, in whom the monarchy of this people concluded (as is before shewed), was Yesdegerd. The abridgment of which chronicle I would have gathered from them, but that I found it

 to

to agree punctually, both in matter and order, with that translation of Mr. Grimstone's, called Estates and Empires, &c. in the chronicle of the Kings of Persia, to whom I refer those that desire information therein.

What religion this people had in the reigns of Guiomaras, Syameck, Ouchang, Thamull, Jimshed, Zoack, Traydhun, and Manoucher, unto Lorasph, which was their fifteenth king, is not the scope of this present work, though then they had a peculiar kind of worship. But the religion that is the subject of this book, is a religion that was received in the reign of Gustasph, the son of Lorasph, their sixteenth king in succession, concerning the worship of fire: in the defence of which religion Gustasph was so zealous, that he made war against Arjasph, King of Turron, for that he reprehended him in a letter about this worship.

Having then limited this book to its proper subject, three things in general are to be treated of in this work: first, to declare who was their lawgiver, how their law was delivered, and came to be received of Gustasph, King of Persia. Next, to show the substance of their law. Lastly, to proceed to other ceremonies observed by them, not improper to this present tract.

CHAP. III. — *Concerning Zertoost, the Lawgiver of the Persees; his Parents; the Omens that did forerun his Nativity, their Interpretation, his Perils in his Birth-place; his Escape into Persia, and the Accidents happening in his Travels thither.*

CONCERNING the lawgiver of this people, it is left recorded in their old writings, that there lived in China two poor people, of honest fame and reputation, married together as man and wife; the man was called Espintaman, the woman Dodoo; these two having long lived in the state of marriage without issue, the woman earnestly prayed that God would give her a son, her request was heard, and much time passed not ere she conceived and grew pregnant.

About the time of this woman's conception, she saw a vision presented to her in a dream, that filled her with great fear and terror; for she conceived that the heavens were of a light fire over her head, and that a flaming redness had overspread the firmament, which drove her into a great agony, when on a sudden there rushed into her sight four griffins, of grim and horrid appearance, who, seizing on her body, did from her womb seem cruelly to tear out the child she had conceived, to her great fear and despair of life, when on a sudden stepped in a man, of person goodly, and of warlike aspect, with a truncheon in his hand, in rescue of her, who with fury and resolution vindicated and recovered the child from the griffins, that would have torn it in pieces, and with gentle hand putting the child into the womb of his mother, did by sovereign art close up the rupture, that was by the griffins torn and dilacerated, whose agony thus mitigated by this worthy person, the griffins were driven away, the fierceness of the heavens altered, and Dodoo awaked out of her dream and slumber.

But the passion she suffered in this vision fixing the forepast occurrences more strongly in her mind, she related to her husband the particulars of her dream, the passages of which being so remarkable, she conceived it to be an omen either for good or evil, touching the child in her womb; whereof being desirous to be satisfied, she with her husband repaired to one that was a soothsayer, to be informed touching the significance of this vision. The diviner informed them, that this vision partly foretold good, partly evil, that should happen to the child that was in her womb; that by the fire which gave light was imported some strange revelation that should be shewed to the child, even to the enlightening of the whole world, which in that it did shine in heaven, the relation should

should be touching some [illegible] business; by the griffins was set out enemies that should endanger the life of the mother, but principally endeavour the destruction of the child; by the man, was signified God above, who should [illegible] the [illegible] of those enemies, that they should neither effect their cruelties on the mother or child, but also those dangers should be driven away, as appeared by the restitution of the heavens to their wonted estate, and the driving away of the griffins from the woman; with which interpretation Espintaman and Dodoo being highly satisfied, they returned home, awaiting the hopes that lay folded up in this child.

Time having his accomplishment, played the midwife and brought forth this child, who was no sooner brought from the dark womb to open light, but he foretold the joys he was to bring to the world in open laughter; so the time coming that he should receive his name, they called him Zertoost, which importeth as much as a friend to the fire, because the soothsayer had prognosticated such good to him by the fire his mother beheld in the vision. But these notable things concerning this child could not be concealed, but that they were bruited to the ears of the King of China; who, fearing lest he was born to deprive him of his kingdom, or some of his successors, did, underhand, send the griffins dreamed of, that is, certain conspirators to betray Zertoost to destruction; who attempting evil against him, had their sinews shrunk up, and came to untimely end; so that every one was discomforted in attempting evil against one whom God had so miraculously preserved. But about twelve or thirteen years of age, a great sickness took him, which the King hearing of, he wrought secretly by a certain obscure physician to administer to him poisoned physic, if by such means he might rid away his life; but Zertoost, sensible of their evil practices towards him, refused both the intruding physician and his baneful medicines; and, weary of the wickedness of the place, solicited his parents to fly into Persia, by which means they should avoid those mischiefs that the King intended towards them, which would at some time or other either bereave them of him, or him of them. They, chary of their hopes in him, hearkened to his advice, and did, by the rising of the next sun, betake themselves to escape away. The various accidents that befel them by the way we omit, only it is delivered, that meeting with deep rivers which impeded his passage, he congealed them with hard frosts, and so passed over; and after long travel arrived at the King of Persia's court, in the reign of Gustasph lately mentioned; his parents applying themselves to such courses as might best procure the supplies of living, and Zertoost wholly dedicating himself to the service of God and religious devotions, as to which from his infancy he seemed inclined.

CHAP. IV. — *Shewing Zertoost's Meditation of the World's Wickedness, he goeth out to enquire of God some Revelation for the World's better Government; he meets an Angel, is carried to Heaven; his Request of the Almighty; his Vision; he receiveth a Book from the Lord, and returneth back from Heaven again.*

ZERTOOST thus arrived in Persia, and there making his abode, upon a time went into the fields, and revolving in his mind the world's wickedness, how one followed his lusts, another his pride, another his belly and epicurism, another his cruelty; that one sought the depopulation of countries, another the oppression of inferiors, and none observed good government, or had a good religion or worship amongst them; he began to examine the causes of all this wickedness that thus reigned amongst men below, and found it [illegible] because Lucifer had laboured to corrupt and make nought that which

God had made good; next, because men had received no laws or good institutions, in those parts, to restrain them from sin, but every man lived according to his own devise, liberty, and liking, whether it were evil or good.

Hereof Zertoost more seriously considering, desired God to give him some revelation for the world's better government, and the establishment of religion amongst men; and conceiving the public place where he was not fit for such excellent communications, he went out further till he came to the point of a valley where two mountains joined together, when suddenly there descended before him, as his face was bent towards the earth, an angel whose wings had glorious pinions, and whose face glistened as the beams of the sun, saying, "Hail, Zertoost, beloved of God, what is it thou requirest?" Zertoost replied, that he desired to enter into God's presence to receive some divine laws to deliver to the nations, that so they might live in a better observance of his fear.

So the angel administering something to him to cleanse and purify his body, to make it capable of entrance into so pure a place, bade him close up his eyes, and he would transume and carry him up into that place of glory, where he should come into God's presence; whither being carried by the angel, he beheld such joys as were too mighty for his feeble senses; so that unable to sustain them, he fell into a trance, till God gave him power to endure the height of those pleasures; and being returned to himself, beheld the glory thereof, and heard the Almighty speaking as one encompassed with flames of fire, and revealing to him the secret works of the creation, in what order he made his creatures; and revealed to him things to come, shewing him that he should receive laws for the world's better government, and the establishment of religion, with many other things not fit to be uttered, neither by Zertoost ever published.

Then Zertoost, ready and willing to publish to all people what might be needful to bring them to God's better worship, did desire of God that he might live so long as the world should endure, a publisher of that religion which the Lord had promised to divulge by him, till he should make all nations believe the contents of that book. But the Lord answered, that if he should live ever so long, Lucifer would do more harm than ever he should do good; but if upon better consideration he would desire to live so long, his request should be granted.

So the Lord presented to Zertoost, in a vision, the state of all things past, present and to come, where he saw the troubles, sicknesses, and afflictions of man, more particularly, the state of the Persian monarchy, how Ouchang was slain by a stone; how Thamull died of a pestilence; how Timshed was slain by one of his own Captains; how men followed divers religions, and most their own ways, overlabouring themselves in the works of vanity. Over and above, God presented to his eyes the seven ages, or times of the Persian monarchy; the first was the golden age, that was in the days of Guiomaras; the second the silver age, that was in the days of Fraydhun; the third the brazen age, in the time of Kaykobad, the fourth the tin age, in the time of Lorasp; the fifth the leaden age, in the time of Bahaman; the sixth the steel age, in the days of Darab Segner; the seventh the iron age, in the reign of Yesdegerd. So Zertoost perceiving time to render every thing worse and worse, desired to live no longer than till he should discharge the message about which the Lord should send him, and that then he might be translated to the same place of glory again. So God reduced him to his own proper sense, from which he was ravished to godlike speculations.

Being thus, as he was before, of human capacity, after he had remained in heaven many days, the Lord delivered to him the book before mentioned, containing in it the form of good government, and the laws of religion that the Persians should follow; conferring

conferring likewise on Zertooſt the heavenly fire, and other gifts that were never beſtowed upon any man before or ſince. So Zertooſt taking the heavenly fire into his right hand, and the book that God gave him in his left, he was delivered to the conduct of the angel that brought him thither, who was called Bahaman Umſhaaſpan, who taking up Zertooſt, did cleave the air with his golden wings, till he had ſurrendered him to the place where he found him, and ſo left him.

Chap. V. — *Shewing what happened to Zertooſt, after the Angel left him; the Devil meeteth him and revileth him, he cometh to Guſtaſph's Court, the Joy of his Parents for his Return; the Infamy Guſtaſph's Churchman ſeeketh to put upon him; the Miracles whereby Zertooſt doth vindicate his Fame; Guſtaſph's four Demands, and his four Grants.*

ZERTOOST was no ſooner left by his heavenly guardian, but, Lucifer, an enemy to all goodneſs, met him, and called him a ſeeker after novelties and deluſions, and told him, that God did not love him in ſuch a manner as he believed, otherwiſe he would have kept him in heaven ſtill, and not have ſent him away; or elſe he would have granted him to live to the end of the world, when he deſired it; that the book which he had, was ſtuffed with falſehoods; that he ſhould come to trouble, danger, and ſhame about the publiſhing of it; as alſo that he ſhould be laughed at for his fire, as being a creature of deſtruction, and a conſumer of the works of man, and that there was no need thereof in hot climates; but that if he would depend on him, he could give him a book of better inſtructions, and preſent to him objects of better delight; could give him long life and honour, and power to work great miracles; that if he did not believe him, he was a ſenſeleſs man, and deprived of his wits by his late viſion.

But Zertooſt, having placed his confidence better, told Lucifer, that, having loſt that glory that his eyes beheld, he could not ſpeak well of his Maker, nor be pleaſed with that great favour God had ſhewn him; but envying at it, ſought not only to diſannul his, but every man's happineſs; charged Lucifer by the great name of his Creator, that put him into the dark dungeon of hell, under the cuſtody of Sertan and Aſud, and by the truth of that book, by which he ſhould in the end of the world be arraigned and condemned, and by that fire in his right hand, by which he ſhould be burned and tortured, to avoid his preſence as a black-mouth defamer of God and goodneſs: at which Lucifer vaniſhed with great horror and fear from him.

Lucifer, thus conjured from Zertooſt's preſence, he proceeded on his way to the city where Guſtaſph had his reſidence, and ſo to the place where his parents had their abode, who with no ſmall ſorrow had bewailed the abſence of their ſon, and with vain inqueſt had ſought him, but could not find him in whom their hopes were repoſited; who now, to their ſtrange joy and admiration, told them of his enthuſiaſms and raptures, wherein he had received that book and heavenly fire, that was ſo long before prognoſticated by his mother's viſion, and ſo truly interpreted by the augur and ſoothſayer. His parents bleſſed him, and became inſtructed in this new religion how to worſhip, as God had revealed to Zertooſt.

These things could not be long hid; for the joys of mothers are not ſilent, but in every year did Dodoo pour forth her viſions in her ſon's conception, and the ſoothſayer's interpretation of them; how true the particulars had fallen out; the late raptures her ſon Zertooſt had in heaven; his revelations there, whereof a book written by God's own hands; and the ſtrange fire he brought from thence, were lively evidences. Theſe rumours being ſtrange to all ears, and not teſtified by hearſay, but confirmed by one

one whose eyes had beheld the things averred, got passage, and were carried to the ears of Gustasph, then King of Persia, who therefore sent for Zertoost, of whom he enquired the further truth of this matter, who affirmed the same, to be such as it was reported, that God had delivered him a book concerning his worship, and other secret knowledge inducing the worship of fire, whereof he gave some touches in particular to the King. The King admiring these things, and yet so certainly informed in the circumstances, grew wavering in his former worship and religion, and somewhat inclined to Zertoost, so that he divers times sent for him, and had much conference with him.

Gustasph's churchman then perceiving his sovereign to hearken to this new religion, wherein he had no knowledge, and that by degrees he lost that grace he had wontedly from him, did seek to put some infamy on Zertoost, by which the King might become alienated from him and that new-sprung religion, wherein he had no knowledge, and that by degrees began, as he thought, to sink too fast into the breast of the King; for this cause he suborned the porter that kept the door of Zertoost's house, which was a Persian, to convey under the bed of Zertoost, the bones of dead men, and the dead carcases of dogs, a creature loathsome to the Persians; of which whilst Zertoost was utterly ignorant, the King's churchman put himself into the presence of Gustasph, with some other of his nobles that did not favour Zertoost's innovation, saying, "Oh, King! what new religion is this to which thou standest so much inclined? or what is this new and strange lawgiver Zertoost whom thou so favourest? who the other day came in a poor manner into this land, as a fugitive from his native country, who, as I hear also, was hateful to his prince and the king of his people; that he should find such grace in bringing up a new religion, false and fictitious, and not of that authority it is pretended to be, being, as I also am informed, a man of unclean and beastly living, in whose house, at this time, and under whose bed whereon he hourly lieth, thou shalt find the bones of human bodies, the carcases and limbs of dead dogs, and filthy carrion, an abomination to the eyes of any clean person; continue thou then, Oh, King! in the law of thy fathers, and listen not to this novelist!" This speech being seconded with some of the great ones, and the act reported being so odious and abominable, Gustasph commanded Zertoost's habitation to be searched; and it being (as the churchman of Gustasph had reported) effected by the wicked conspiracy of Gustasph's churchman and Zertoost's servants, Zertoost was cast into prison, despised and hated of all people.

It happened in this time of Zertoost's imprisonment, that Gustasph had a horse which he much prized that fell very sick, and there was not any found that knew his disease, or how to cure him: this being told the jailor that had Zertoost in custody, and the King publishing great rewards to him that could restore him, Zertoost came to the knowledge of it; who told the keeper, that if the King pleased, he would cure the horse, or else be liable to the King's displeasure. The keeper so favoured Zertoost, that he made known his words to the King; so Gustasph sent for Zertoost, who, according to his promise, did restore the beast; which service was so acceptable to Gustasph, that he was had into new estimation again; and maintaining his innocency touching that same plot that was laid upon him, the King gave him liberty and great rewards, and by often conferences became nearly in respect with the King, so that a way was again afforded to publish this religion of Zertoost's; who working strange miracles among them, gained credence to be a man come from God.

This book of Zertoost's gaining every day a better opinion, and his great works really demonstrated shewing him to be a man of more divine endowments than was found in ordinary men; upon a time the King sent for him, and told him, that if he would

grant him four demands which he would propound to him, he would believe his law, and be ever a professor of that religion contained in the book he brought with him. Zertooſt then bade him propoſe his demands, and, if they were ſuch as were reaſonable, they ſhould be granted. The King then propoſed them. The firſt whereof was, that he might aſcend to heaven, and deſcend from thence when he liſt. The ſecond was, that he might know what God would do at preſent, and in time to come. The third was, he might never die. The fourth was, that no inſtrument whatſoever might have the power to wound him or hurt him,

Zertooſt thus replied, that theſe were difficult and high demands; neither did ſo great a power reſt in him as to grant them; neither was it meet that any one man ſhould have them all, for that therein he ſhould rather ſeem to be a God than a man; yet difficult though they were, that the book of laws he had brought might be known to proceed from God, he would procure that theſe requeſts might be granted to ſeveral perſons, but not all to one: So the firſt, which was to aſcend to heaven and deſcend from thence at pleaſure, was obtained for Guſtaſph, who, they ſay, had this power granted him. The ſecond, which was to know what would fall out at preſent or hereafter, was granted to the King's churchman, that ſo he might direct the King in his deſigns, what ſhould be undertaken, what ſhould be left undone. The third, which was to live for ever, was granted to Guſtaſph's eldeſt ſon, called Piſchiton, who yet liveth (as they ſay) if we will believe them, at a place in Perſia called Demawando Cohoo, in a high mountain, with a guard conſiſting of thirty men, to which place all living creatures elſe are forbidden to approach, leſt they ſhould live for ever, as they do that abide there, who never ſuffer mortality. The laſt, which was never to be wounded with inſtrument or weapon, was granted to the youngeſt ſon of Guſtaſph, called Eſpandier, who, they ſay, by Zertooſt's prayers was made invulnerable, that he might put himſelf into the danger of battle, without fear or hazard.

So Guſtaſph and the three other mentioned, proving the power of theſe ſeveral gifts, they all determined to live according to the precepts in Zertooſt's book; wherein that they might be informed, Zertooſt unfolded to them the contents thereof: the matter or ſubject of which book, of what nature it was, ſhall be declared in the chapter following.

CHAP. VI. — *Wherein is ſhewed the main Contents of the Book delivered to Zertooſt, and by him publiſhed to the Perſians, or Perſees.*

HAVING ſhewed who Zertooſt was, that was the lawgiver of theſe Perſees, in what manner, according to their aſſertion, he received the book by ſtrange revelation; with what wonders, as they affirm, he wrought aſſent thereunto, and belief thereon, by Guſtaſph and his nobles; after this it will perhaps be deſired to know, what this book contained, that this ſect deliver to be received after ſo wondrous a manner, which will be the drift of that which followeth.

They affirm then that this book contained in it three ſeveral tracts. The firſt whereof treated of that which we call judicial aſtrology, foretelling the events of things to come by judgment of the ſtars, which by them is called Aſtoodeger.

The ſecond did treat concerning phyſick or the natural knowledge of things, with their cauſes, and the cures of the diſeaſes incident to man.

The third was called Zertooſt, becauſe Zertooſt was the bringer thereof, and this contained their law and matters that concerned religion; which books, according as their matters was divers, ſo they were delivered to men of ſeveral ſtudies and learning.

The

The first of these books, called Afloodeger, which treated of judicial astrology, was committed to their Jesopps, or wise men, which are known by the name of Magies.

The second, which treated of physic, was given to their physicians to instruct them in that science.

The third, which contained their law, and matters of religion, called Zertooft, was delivered to their Daroos or churchmen, that they might know how to worship God themselves, and also instruct others in the knowledge of the same worship; of such three tracts did this book or volume consist.

These tracts were likewise divided into certain chapters, whereof seven were contained in the wiseman's, or Jesopp's book, seven in the physician's book, and seven in the Daroos or churchman's book.

But because that which was given to the augur or soothsayer, as also that which was given to the physician, containeth nothing concerning the religion to be declared, the uses of the former whereof are unlawful, and the knowledge of the latter in these experient times, seemeth unnecessary, we make addressment to the third tract, called Zertooft, which layeth down their law or religion, as most appurtenant to our present drift, in that which followeth.

CHAP. VII.—*Containing the Particulars of the Book of their Law, as they are apportioned, first to the Behedin, or Layman, secondly, to the Herbood, which is the ordinary Churchman; and lastly, to the Distoore, which is their Archbishop.*

THE common division of men being of such as are of the laity, or such as are of the clergy; and those of the clergy being either such as are ordinary, or such as are extraordinary, it pleased God, say the Persees, to apportion and divide his law amongst these three sorts of men.

First, Then, unto the layman, or Behedin, God gave five commandments, who being by secular occasions drawn from the services of religion, had, therefore, a less difficult injunction laid upon him.

" *First*, To have shame ever with them, as a remedy against all sin; for a man would never oppress his inferiors if he had any shame, a man would never steal if he had any shame; a man would never bear false witness if he had any shame; a man would never be overcome with drink if he had any shame; but because this is laid aside, men are ready to commit any of these, and, therefore, the Behedin, or layman, must think of shame.

" *Secondly*, To have fear always present with them, and that every time the eye twinkled or closed his lids together, they should stand in fear at those times of their prayers, lest they should not go to heaven, the thought of which should make them fear to commit sin, for that God sees what manner of ones they are that look up towards him.

" *Thirdly*, That whensoever they are to do any thing, to think whether the thing be good or bad that they go about, whether commanded or forbidden in the Zindavastaw; if prohibited, they must not do it, if allowed by the book of religion, they may embrace and prosecute the same.

" *Fourthly*, That whosever of God's creatures they should first behold in the morning, it should be a monitor to put them in mind of their thanksgivings to God, that had given such good things for men's use and service.

" *Fifthly*, That whensoever they pray by day they should turn their faces toward the sun; and whensoever they prayed by night they should incline towards the moon, for that

that they are the two great lights of heaven, and God's two witnesses, most contrary to Lucifer, who loveth darkness more than light."

These be the five precepts enjoined to the layman or Behedin; now follow those that are to be observed by the ordinary or common churchman, called their Daroo, or Herbood, who, as his place required a greater holiness than the layman's, so his charge was greater; for not only is he by the book of their law enjoined to keep the Behedin's precepts without violation, but also to fulfil these eleven precepts more, as particular to himself.

"*First*, To know in what manner to pray to God, observing the rites prescribed in the Zundavastaw, for God is best pleased with that form of prayer, that he hath given in his own book.

"The *second*, To keep his eyes from coveting or desiring any thing that is another's, for God hath given every man what he thinks meet for him, and to desire that which is another's is not only to dislike of God's dispofure of his own gifts, but to challenge to himself that which God hath denied him, and whereof he seeth him unworthy.

"The *third*, To have a care ever to speak the truth, for all truth cometh from God, and as it is most communicated to men of God, so they should most shew it in their words and actions, but Lucifer is the father of falsehood, and whosoever useth it, it may be a sign that the evil spirit is powerful with such an one; the Herbood, therefore, shall shew himself to be contrary to him by his speaking the truth, for all men must give credit to his words.

"The *fourth*, To be known only in his own business, and not to enquire after the things of the world, it belonging only to him to teach others what God would have them do. Therefore the Behedin or layman shall see that he want nothing needful, but shall afford it him, and he shall seek nothing superfluous.

"The *fifth*, To learn the Zundavastaw by heart, that he may be ready to teach it to the Behedin, or layman, wheresoever he meeteth him, for from him must the people fetch their knowledge concerning God.

"The *sixth*, To keep himself pure and undefiled from things polluting, as from the carcases of the dead, or touching meats unclean, for God is pure, whose servant he is, and it is expected he should be such, abhorring the sight of all things that are foul and loathsome, and stopping the passages of his breath, lest their corrupted air should enter into him to defile him.

"The *seventh*, To forgive all injuries, shewing himself the pattern of meekness, that he may be thought one that cometh from God; for we offend God every day, yet he giveth us things that are good, when we deserve that he should recompense evil for evil.

"The *eighth*, To teach the common people to pray, according to the directions in the book of their law; to go and pray with them for any good they desire to obtain; and when they come to the place of worshipping, to join in common prayer together.

"The *ninth*, To give licence for marriage, and to join the man and woman together; and that no parents match their children without the consent and approbation of the Herbood.

"The *tenth*, To spend the greatest part of their time in the temple, that he may be ready for all that come to him; for to that God hath appointed him, and to that he must bind himself.

"The *eleventh* and last injunction is, upon pain of damnation, To believe no other law than that which was brought by Zertoost; to add nothing to it, to take nothing from

form it, for therefore was it so miraculously delivered, and such gifts given to Zertoost, that it might be believed to come from God."

These are the precepts that are to be observed by the Herbood, or ordinary churchman, contained in the book of their law. Now their Distooree, or high priest, whereof they have never but one, to which all the Herboods pay their observance, as he is above the rest in dignity, so he is enjoined to be above the rest in sanctity; his injunctions, therefore, are transcending; for not only is he bound by their Zundavastaw, or book of religion, to observe all that is commanded the Behedin, or layman, in his five precepts, and all that is commanded the Herbood in his eleven precepts, but also to fulfil thirteen precepts more as peculiar to himself.

"The *first* is, That he must never touch any of a strange cast or sect, of what religion soever, nor any layman of his own religion, but he must wash himself, because God hath made him especially holy to himself, for which cause he must not approach to God in prayer with the touch of others uncleanness.

"The *second* is, That he must do every thing that belongeth to himself with his own hand, both to witness his better humility, as also the better to preserve his purity; namely, to set the herbs in his own garden, to sow the grain of his own field, to dress the meat that he eateth, unless he have his wife to administer to him in that, which is not ever usual.

"The *third* is, That he take the tythe or tenth of all things from the Behedin, as the Lord's dues, and employ it to such uses as he thinketh meet, since the Lord hath made him as his almoner and dispenser of charity.

"The *fourth* is, That as he must use no pomp or superfluity; so of that great revenue which cometh yearly to him, he must leave nothing overplus at the year's end, that must not be bestowed in good uses, either in charitable contributions to the poor; or in building of the temples of God.

"The *fifth*, That his house be near adjoining to the church, where he must keep and make his abiding, continuing in prayer and abstinence, not ostentating himself to public view, but living recluse and retired from the world, as a man wholly dedicate to God.

"The *sixth*, That he must bind himself to greater purity than others, both in his frequent washings and also in his diet, in feeding on meats accounted more pure by the law, as also that he live sequestered from his wife in time of her pollutions.

"The *seventh* is, That whereas the Herbood is enjoined only to be known in the law or book called Zertoost, that the Distooree be acquainted with all the learning contained in the Zundavastaw, both in that part which treated of judicial astrology, committed to the Jesopp, or wise man, as also in that which concerneth the physician, and most especially in the book of the law, for it is expected that he should inform all men, and none should be found like him therein, before he be admitted to be high priest.

"The *eighth*, That he must never eat or drink excessively, for these are enemies to the high speculations required in a high priest.

"The *ninth*, That he stand in fear of nobody but God, nor fear any thing but sin, for he is so to trust in God, that he must not fear what Lucifer can do unto him.

"The *tenth*, That God hath given him power over all men in matters of the soul, that therefore when any man sinneth he may tell him of it, be he ever so great, and every man is to obey him, as one that speaketh not in his own cause but God's.

"The *eleventh*, That according to the wisdom that God hath given him, he be able to discern in what manner God cometh to reveal himself; in what manner Lucifer; and how to decide between falsehood and truth.

"The

" The *twelfth*, That when God manifesteth himself to him in vision of the night, and sheweth him in what manner he made his works in the creation; he should not reveal God's secrets, but keeping them to himself should admire his power, for God doth not publish himself to any as he doth to his Distoree, or high priest.

" The *thirteenth*, That he keep an ever living fire, that never may go out, which being kindled by that fire which Zertoost brought from heaven, may endure for all ages, till fire shall come to destroy all the world, and that he say his prayers over it, according as it is enordered by the book of the law."

This is a summary of those precepts contained in the book of their law, that Zertoost by them is affirmed to bring from heaven, and that religion which Gustasph with his followers embraced, persuaded by the forementioned miracles by Zertoost wrought amongst them.

CHAP. VIII. — *Declaring other Ceremonies amongst these Persees, in their Feasts and Fasts, in their idolatrous Worship of Fire, Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials.*

THE third particular concluding this tract, consisteth in the display of certain rites and ceremonies observed by this sect, differencing them from others in the contents above mentioned, the particulars follow in their order.

First, then, Touching their liberty in meats and drinks, and their customs observed in their feasts and fasts. Their law alloweth them great liberty in meats and drinks; but because they will not give offence to the Banians, amongst whom they live, nor displease the Moors, under whose government they are, they especially abstain from eating of kine and hog's flesh, meats prohibited by the laws of the two former. It is observable also amongst them, that they eat alone, as a means for greater purity and cleanness; for they suppose they participate of another's uncleanness by eating with him they likewise drink every one in several cups, proper and peculiar to their own uses, for the same cause; and if any chance to drink in another man's cup, they wash it three times, and abstain from the use thereof for a certain season after.

Secondly, For their festivals enjoined by their laws, they observe six in the year; and these feasts are celebrated for five days together, each of them according to the six works of the creation. The first is called Meduserum, which is upon the fifteenth of their month called Fere, which is our February, for joy that the Lord made the heavens to be a place of glory, to entertain such as fear him. The second is called Petusahan, which is upon their month Sheruar, our April the six and twentieth: for that the Lord had made hell to be a place for the devil and his angels. That feast, therefore, is a memorial to put them in mind that they take heed of what evil that may bring them thither. The third is Yatrum, celebrated upon the six-and-twentieth of their month Mahar, which is our May, in memory that the Lord made the earth and seas, to bring forth creatures for the use of man. The fourth is Medearum, kept upon the sixteenth of their month Deh, which is our August, in memory that God made the plants and trees, by whose fruits man is sustained and nourished. The fifth is Homespetamadum, upon the month Spindamud, which is our October, beginning on the thirtieth day, in remembrance that God made the beasts, fish, and fowl, creatures ordained for the sustenance of man. The sixth is called Medusan, falling on the eleventh of their month Ardebest, which is December, for joy that then the Lord made man and woman, from whence all mankind had their original.

In the third place, touching their fasts. After every one of their feasts they observe days abstinence, eating but one meal a day, in memory that the Lord after every

 one

one of theſe labours, reſted five days, and whenſoever they eat of any fowl or fleſh, they carry ſome part of it to the eggaree, or temple, as an offering to appeaſe God, that for the ſuſtenance of man they are forced to take away the life of his creatures: and theſe are the rites moſt notable touching their meats and drinks.

Now, in the ſecond place, for their worſhip of fire, becauſe this is an idolatry moſt notably diſtinguiſhing their worſhip from the worſhip of other ſects: Firſt, for the ground of this their worſhip of fire, it is fetched from the lawgiver Zertooſt, who, as they affirm, being rapt up to heaven, had fire delivered unto him from God, and brought it thence, together with the book of their law, as the worſhip by them to be embraced, and by their law enjoined. Moreover, they affirm that Zertooſt, being in the forementioned rapture in the place of glory, did not ſee God, but heard him ſpeaking to him out of the fire, and when the fire was delivered, received it as the virtue of God, and his firſt-born of excellence, and for theſe cauſes to be worſhipped and reverenced.

Next, for the nature or quality of this fire. The firſt fire thus worſhipped and idolized was that Zertooſt brought from heaven with him, which was a living fire, that nothing could extinguiſh, but whether this has certainly been preſerved in the ſucceſſion of time, to be communicated to all, is unknown, upon defect hereof they are licenſed to compoſe a fire of divers mixtures, to be kept living from time to time, to which they are to perform their enjoined worſhip Such is that which is idolized in India, where this ſect remaineth, in a place called Nuncery, that hath not been extinguiſhed for the ſpace of two hundred years, as they affirm. Firſt, then, this fire conſiſteth of that fire that is made by the ſparks flying from the flint, by the ſmiting of a ſteel. Secondly, of that fire that is made by the rubbing of two pieces of wood together, a cuſtom much uſed amongſt the heathens of ruder manners, by which they kindle their fires in all places where they need. Thirdly, of ſuch fire as is occaſioned by lightning falling on ſome tree or thing accendible. Fourthly, of ſuch fire as is called wild-fire, which flying from place to place, and lighting on matter combuſtible, conſumeth it. Fifthly, of artificial fire made by coals or wood moſt ordinary in uſe. Sixthly, of the fire wherewith the Banians uſe to burn the bodies of their dead Seventhly, of the fire that is made by burning-glaſſes, and the beams of the ſun of all theſe ingredients they compoſe their idolatrous fire, which they call their Antiſbeheraun, or religius fire. Laſtly, for their ceremony or rite beſtowed about this fire ſo variouſly compoſed, and by their Diſtoree, or high prieſt, ſo tended, that it may not extinguiſh: whenſoever the Perſees aſſemble themſelves together to this worſhip, the Doſtooree, or, in his abſence, the Herbood, together with the aſſembly, encompaſs the fire about, and ſtanding eleven or twelve feet diſtant therefrom, (for they hold it ſo holy that they fear to approach too near,) the Diſtoree or Herbood uttereth this ſpeech: "That foraſmuch as fire was delivered to Zertooſt, their lawgiver, from God Almighty, who pronounced it to be his virtue and his excellency, and that there was a law delivered for the worſhip of this fire, confirmed by ſo many miracles, that therefore they ſhould hold it holy, reverence and worſhip it as a part of God, who is of the ſame ſubſtance, and that they ſhould love all things that reſemble it, or were like unto it, as the ſun and moon which proceeded from it, and are God's two witneſſes againſt them, if they ſhould neglect that religion and worſhip ſo enjoined: as alſo to pray to God that he would forgive them, if, in the ordinary uſes of this element, ſo ſerviceable to man's need, they ſhould either ſpill water, which might in ſome manner quench it, or ſpit in it unawares, or put ſuch fuel to it to keep it burning as was impure and unworthy of that holineſs that was in that element,

element, for whatsoever abuses else they should do, as they used it in the necessary services of their life." And this is the sum of their worship touching the fire.

In the third place, for their baptism or naming of children when they enter them into the church, this is their form, as soon as ever the child is born, the Daroo, or churchman, is sent for to the party's house, who, observing the punctual time of his birth, calculateth his nativity, after that, considering about the name of the child, at last the parents and friends approving the same name that the churchman giveth, the mother in the presence of them all giveth the name to the child, there being no ceremony but the naming of the infant as then used. After this the kindred of the child, together with the infant, accompany the churchman to the eggaree or temple, where he taketh fair water, and putting in into the bark or rind of a tree called holme, which groweth at Yeld in Persia, and is admired in this one particular, as they affirm, for that the sun of heaven giveth it no shadow he then poureth the water into the infant, uttering this prayer, "That God would cleanse it from the uncleanness of his father, and the menstruous pollutions of his mother," which done he departeth. About the seventh year of the child's age, when the same is more capable of his entrance into their church, he is led thither by his parents, to have a further confirmation, where he is taught by the churchman to say some prayers, and to be instructed in religion: wherein when he is prompt, he uttereth his prayers over the fire, having a cloth fastened about his head, and over his mouth and nostrils, according to their general custom in that worship, lest their breath issuing out of their sinful bodies, should taint that holy fire. Then after prayers be concluded, the Daroo giveth him water to drink, and a pomegranate leaf to chew in his mouth, to cleanse him from inward uncleanness, so washing his body in a tank with clean water, and putting on him a linen cassock, which he weareth next his skin, called shuddero, which descendeth to his waist, as also a girdle of camels hair called cushee, which he ever weareth about him, and is woven like incle by the preacher's own hand, he uttereth these prayers over him, "That God would make him a true follower of the religion of the Persees all the days of his life, of which those garments are the badge or sign, that he might never believe in any law but that which was brought by Zertoost; that he might continue a worshipper of their fire, that he might eat of no man's meat, nor drink of any man's cup, but in all things might observe the rites and customs of the Persees. All which transacted, he is held a confirmed Persee, and one of their own sect.

Fourthly, touching their marriages, and the rites in them observed. They have a five-fold kind of marriage distinguished by several names. The first they call Shausan, which is the marriage of a man's son and a man's daughter together in the time of their youth, where the parents agree without the knowledge of the children, to this they attribute much, and suppose them to go to heaven that are married in this state. The second is called Chockersoro, when the party once widowed, is married again. The third, Codesherahasan, when a woman enquireth out a husband for herself, according to her own free choice. The fourth, Ecksan, when a young man or maid dying before they be married, then they have a custom to procure some man's son or daughter to be matched to the party deceased, attributing the state of marriage to be a means to bring people to happiness eternal in another world. Those that commonly use this, are the richer sort, who by a price hire the parties to such a contract with a sum of money. The fifth is called Ceterson, when the father having no son, a daughter of his own having sons, he adopteth some of them to be his, and marrieth them as if they were his own children, for they account that man unhappy that hath not a male or female, a son or a daughter to join in the state of marriage.

Now,

Now for the rite or ceremony obferved in their marriages it is this: the parties being agreed and met together for the purpofe of contracting, about the time of midnight the parties to be married are fet upon a bed together (for they are not married in their churches:) oppofite to the parties to be married, ftand two churchmen, the one in the behalf of the man, the other in behalf of the woman, with the kindred of each by the Herbood or churchman to either deputed, holding rice in their hands, an emblem of that fruitfulnefs they wifh to them in their generations. Then the churchman that ftandeth in the man's behalf, moveth the queftion to the woman, laying his forefinger on her forehead, faying, "Will you have this man to be your wedded hufband?" who giving confent, the churchman deputed in the woman's behalf, laying his forefinger on the man's forehead, moveth a like queftion, of which receiving anfwer, they join their hands together: the man making a promife to her, that he will give her fo many dinars of gold, which is a piece worth thirty fhillings, to bind her to him, implying by that promife to maintain her with all things neceffary, the woman again promifeth that all fhe hath is his. So the Herboods or churchmen fcattering the rice upon them, pray God to make them fruitful and fend them many fons and daughters, that may multiply as the feed in the ears of harveft, that they may live in unity of mind, and many years together in the ftate of wedlock. Thus, the ceremony being done, the woman's parents give the dowry, for the men give none, and the marriage feaft is celebrated for eight days after, when fuch time is expired, they are all difmiffed. And this is all that may be obfervable about their marriages or matrimonial ceremony.

In the laft place, for the burial of their dead, two things are notable: firft, the place of their burial, fecondly, the ceremony ufed therein, differing them from others. Firft, for the place of their burial, they have two places or tombs built of a round form, a pretty height from the ground, fufficiently capacious and large, within they are paved with ftone, in a fhelving manner; in the midft of them a hollow pit, to receive the bones confumed and wafted, about by the walls are the fhrouded and fheeted carcafes laid, both of men and women, expofed to the open air. These two tombs are fomewhat diftant one from the other, the one is for all thofe that are of commendable life and converfation, but the other is for fuch as are notorious for fome vice, and of public defame in the world for fome evil, by which they are branded. Touching the ceremony obferved in the burials of their dead, whenfoever any of them are fick unto death, the Herbood or churchman is fent for, who prayeth in the ear of the fick man in this manner, "O Lord, thou haft commanded that we fhould not offend; this man hath offended: that we fhould do good, this man hath done evil: that we fhould worfhip thee, this man hath neglected. Lord forgive him all his offences, all his evils, all his neglects." When he is dead the churchman cometh not near him by ten feet, but appointeth who fhall be the naceffelars or bearers: they then carry him on an iron bier, for the law forbiddeth that the body of the dead fhould touch wood, becaufe it is a fuel to the fire they account moft holy: and thofe that accompany the dead are interdicted all fpeech, becaufe the grave or place of the dead is a place of reft and filence. Being come to the place of burial, the Naceffelars or bearers lay the body in, and the churchman ftanding remote from the place, uttereth the words of burial in this manner. "Thus, our brother, whilft he lived confifted of the four elements, now he is dead, let each take his own; earth to earth, air to air, water to water, and fire to fire." This done, they pray to Sertan and Afud, to whom was given the charge over Lucifer and the evil fpirits, that they would keep the devils from their deceafed brother, when he fhould repair to their holy fire, to purge himfelf. for they fuppofe

 the

the soul to be vagrant on earth for three days after his decease, in which time Lucifer molesteth it: for security from which molestation it flieth to their holy fire, seeking preservation there: which time concluded, it receiveth justice or reward, hell or heaven Upon this opinion, they all (as their business will permit) assemble themselves for three days together, and offer up their prayers at morning, noon and evening, that God would be pleased to be merciful to the soul departed, and remit the sins that the party committed in his lifetime. After the three days are expired, and that they think the definitive sentence is past, what shall become of him, they on the fourth day make a festival and conclude their mourning.

The Author's Conclusion to the Reader.

SUCH in sum (worthy reader,) is the religion which this sect of the Persees profess I leave it to the censure of them that read, what to think of it This is the curiosity of superstition to bring in innovations into religious worship, rather making devices of their own brain, that they may be singular, than following the example of the best in a solid profession. What seem these Persees to be like in their religious fire, but those same gnats that, admiring the flame of fire, surround it so long till they prove *ingeniosi in suam ruinam*, "ingenious in their own destruction?" And if the Papists would hence gather ground for purgatory, and prayers for the dead, and many other superstitions by them used, to be found in these two sects, we can allow them, without any shame to our profession, to gather the weeds of superstition out of the gardens of the Gentile idolaters. But the Catholic Christian, indeed, will make these errors as a sea-mark to keep his faith from shipwreck. To such I commend this transmarine collection, to beget in good Christians the greater detestation of these heresies, and the more abundant thanksgiving for our calling, according to the advice of the apostle, Ephes iv. 17. "This I say, and testify in the Lord, that ye henceforth walk not as other Gentiles walk, in the vanity of their mind, having their understandings darkened, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their hearts" but rather that we may pray, that God would establish us in his truth; his word is that truth.

A JOURNEY FROM MADRAS

THROUGH

THE COUNTRIES OF MYSORE, CANARA, AND MALABAR.

By FRANCIS BUCHANAN, M D *

CHAPTER I. — *From Madras to Conjeveram, Arcot, Vellore, Paligonda, Satgudam, Pedda Naikena Durga, Vencataghery, Baydamungulum, Waluru, Catcolli, Tayculum, Bangalore, and Seringapatam.*

MY inquiries could not commence, with proper effect, till after my arrival at Seringapatam, nor until I had there procured ſufficient authority from the Raja's Dewan, I truſt, however, that my obſervations on the appearance of the country, as I paſſed along, will not be conſidered as entirely uſeleſs.

In the afternoon of the 23d April 1800, I ſet out from Madras, in the very hot dry weather, which uſually prevails at this ſeaſon. After leaving the plain occupied by the houſes of Europeans, I entered a country then ſcorched up by a powerful ſun, yet containing little waſte land; for the ſoil, being fine, produces a very good crop of rice, provided, in the wet ſeaſon, the uſual quantity of rain falls. In ſome places, the induſtry of the natives cauſes a verdure that is highly refreſhing, by watering a few fields, that are near tanks, or reſervoirs of water. Theſe fields are now covered with rice, approaching to maturity, and in the rainy ſeaſon they will yield another crop. The appearance of the country, however, at this time of the year, is dreary It is almoſt as level as Bengal · and in general forms a naked, brown, duſty plain, with few villages, or any thing to relieve the eye, except a ridge of abrupt detached hills toward the ſouth. The roads are good, and many of the huts being built of mud, and neatly covered with tiles, have a better appearance than thoſe in Bengal but the roofs of ſuch as are thatched look ragged, as the thatch is not compoſed of ſmooth ſtraw, but of Palmira leaves, which never can be put on with neatneſs

Near the road, charitable perſons have built many reſting-places for porters, who here carry all their burdens on the head These reſting-places conſiſt of a wall about four feet high, on which the porters can depoſit their burdens, and from which, after having reſted themſelves, they can again, without aſſiſtance, take up their loads The inns, or choultries, which are common on the road, evince an attention to travellers not to be found in Bengal. At theſe places, the pooreſt, without expence, have ſhelter from the inclemencies of the weather, and the richer traveller, can purchaſe both for himſelf and for his cattle, at leaſt the neceſſaries of life.

* London 1807, 3 vols 4to The long agricultural and commercial details are omitted

This

This part of the country, although at present naked, seems capable of raising trees and hedges; and shows evident appearances of its being in a state of improvement, there being in view many new plantations, especially of fruit-trees, and coco-nut palms.

Leaving on the right the road to Poonamalee, I went to Condaturu, near which the country assumes a very different and a very pleasing aspect. Numerous small canals, from the Saymbrumbacum tank, convey a constant supply of water to most of the neighbouring fields, and fertilize them without the trouble of machinery. They consequently yield every year two crops of rice. The one at present on the ground will be reaped in June, and has a very promising appearance

Instead of preventing the crops from being cut down, till the rent is paid, as is usual in Bengal, the custom here is, to collect the grain in stacks, or heaps, after it has been thrashed out on the field. In order to guard against embezzlement, several pieces of clay, stamped with a seal, are then put on the surface of the heap, and, to prevent injury from the weather, it is thatched The grain continues in these heaps, till the cultivator is able to satisfy the renter, either by advancing money, or by dividing the produce. In every village a particular officer, called Talliari, keeps watch at night, and is answerable for all that may be stolen.

The cattle in the neighbourhood of Madras are of the species which is common to the Decan, but much smaller than those which are brought from the northern parts of that country They seem, however, to be larger than the cattle produced in the southern parts of Bengal. They are mostly light-brown, or white, and, notwithstanding the apparent want of pasture, are in better condition than the labouring cattle of Bengal, owing, probably, to the superior care that is taken of the rice straw by the inhabitants of Madras. Milch cows are fed entirely on grass, grain, or pulse, is rarely given to such cattle as are not employed in hard labour.

Near Madras, buffaloes are in general use, and are often yoked in the same cart with bullocks, although the paces of the two animals are very different. The buffaloes here are much smaller than in Bengal

24th April.—I set out early, and soon arrived at Saymbrumbacum tank, which is of great extent. It has not been formed by digging, like those in Bengal, but by shutting up, with an artifical bank, an opening between two natural ridges of ground. The sheet of water is said to be seven or eight miles in length, and three in width, and in the dry season is let out in small streams, as wanted for cultivation. In the rainy season it receives a supply of water from the river Chir-nadi, and from several small streams that are collected by a canal As at times the water overflows, and would break down the bank by falling over it, and sapping its foundations, the natives in different places construct what they call codies, or sluices of stone. These are twenty or thirty feet wide, and are lower by some feet than the other parts of the bank. On the surface, they are strongly fortified by large stones placed in a sloping direction, so that the water rushes over without undermining the bank, and is conveyed away from the fields by a canal. This is a matter of the utmost importance; for there are instances where, the banks of these large tanks having given way, whole villages have been destroyed by the torrent. In order, however, that when there is plenty of rain, the tank may be completely filled, a row of stone pillars is placed on the top of the sluice; and, on the water rising to a level with their base, a temporary wall is formed of mud, sticks, and straw, placed between the pillars, so as to confine the water till it rises as high as the top of the bank. People watch this

night

night and day, in order to break down the temporary bank, should any additional rain endanger the whole. The water is let out, to supply the fields, by a sluice lined with cut stone, or bricks, and placed under the bank, on a level with the country. The inner end of this sluice is covered by a flat stone, in which is cut a circular opening, that can be shut or opened by a plug fixed to a bamboo, and secured in its place by two pillars of stone, which rise above the level of the water. The proper name for a tank of this kind, in the Tamul language, is Eray. Saymbrumbacum tank is said to be sufficient to supply with the water lands of thirty-two villages (should the rains fail) for eighteen months. In these villages, it is said, there are five thousand persons employed in agriculture. In a country liable to famine from want of rain, a reservior, such as this, is of inestimable value.

The late collector, Mr Place, although he augmented the revenue considerably, by the repairs made on this tank during his administration, gave great satisfaction to the inhabitants. Another of Mr Place's measures seems to have been very well judged. He caused each village to be surrounded by a hedge of bamboos, with two small towers at each gate. By this measure, in case of any invasion, small parties of plundering cavalry may be kept off, and a great quantity of that most valuable plant, the bamboo will in time be raised. At present it is brought from the neighbourhood of Tripetty, and sells three-fold dearer than at Calcutta for from ten to sixteen Bamboos cost here a pagoda, or 7s 4½d.

The remaining part of my journey to Sri Permaturu tank was along the high grounds that bound it, and the Saymbrumbacum reservoir on the south. The land is no where so steep as to prevent the use of the plough, but in most places the soil is very indifferent. The rocks, or large detached masses of granite, project in many fields, and almost every where the country is overrun with low prickly bushes, such as the *Rhamnus circumfissus* of Linnæus, *Rhamnus scendens* of Roxburgh, *Paulinia Asiatica*, and *Monetia Barlerioides*. Except in a few fields, which in the rainy season are sown with ragy (*Cynosurus corocanus*), and other dry grains, there is here no cultivation, and I am assured by the natives, that in most places the crop would not be worth the seed. It appears too dry for any useful purpose, except giving a scanty pasture. Perhaps some forest trees might be planted on it with advantage, such as the Gurgions of Bengal, and the *Lagerstroemia regina*. The Palmira thrives on it without trouble, but the produce is so cheap and abundant, from those which spring forth almost spontaneously, that, I am assured, the planting them on a large scale would not be profitable. The wild date (*Elate sylvestris*) is in a similar predicament.

The tári, or fermented juice, and the jagory, or inspissated juice of the Palmira tree (*Borassus flabelliformis*), are in this country more esteemed than those of the wild date, which is contrary to the opinion of the Bengalese. The people of the Carnatic alledge, that the produce of the latter is very heating. They pretend to be very moderate in the use of the tári, but consume much of the jagory. It sells in the country for 30 vees, a pagoda, or about 9s 5d a hundred-weight. Could it be converted into either a palatable spirituous liquor, or sugar, the barren plains of the Carnatic might rendered productive. The former appears not to be improbable, and seems to be an object worth trying. If it should answer, the whole of the grain distilled in Europe might be saved for food.

A native of Bengal, who accompanies me as a painter, is delighted with the plenty of milk and dhui in this part of the country. The dhui, or sour curds, is made of buffalo's milk, and is much superior, he says, to that of Calcutta, and considerably cheaper.

cheaper. On account of the comparatively high value of provisions, he has hitherto been rather depressed in spirits.

Throughout the Carnatic the ass is a very common animal. The breed is as small as in Bengal, but there is a singular variety among them in their colour; some are of the usual ash colour, whilst others are almost black, in which case the cross on their shoulders disappears. Milk-white asses are also to be found, but they are rare. These are not varieties as to species, for black individuals have sometimes ash-coloured colts, and, on the contrary, black colts are sometimes produced by ash-coloured dams. They are kept by five classes of people, who are all of low cast, for the higher ranks disdain the use of an animal so impure. The ass is kept, 1st. by washermen, called Venar, 2d, by a people called Caravar, that carry salt from the sea-coast to the interior parts of the country; 3d, by tinkers, called Cunnar, who go up and down selling brass utensils, 4th, by people called Vaylacarar, who sell the glass rings worn on the wrists by the women of this country; lastly, by a wretched kind of people called Chensu Carir.

I have as yet obtained but an imperfect account of this tribe. They are said to have neither house nor cultivation, but catch birds and game, part of which they sell for rice. One common article of their food is the white ant, or termes. They travel about from place to place, conveying their baggage and children on asses. Every man has also a cow, instructed like a stalking horse, by means of which he approaches his game, and shoots it with arrows.

The Chensu Carir, who preserve their native manners, and never come among the villages, are said to speak an unintelligible jargon, and have no clothing but the leaves of trees. Those, who occasionally wander about in the cultivated country, understand many Telinga words, and wear a small slip of cloth to cover their nakedness

April 25th.—Early in the morning I went from Sri Permaturu to an inn, or choultry, erected by Vira Permal Pillay, who was Dubash to Sir Charles Oakley. The country is high and barren, like that eastward of Sri Permaturu but it has more Palmira trees, and in the neighbourhood of several tanks have been planted tamarind, Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*), Banyan (*Ficus indica*), and mast trees (*Uvaria altissima*), all of which thrive well, if they are watered for two or three years after being planted. The only trees that grow spontaneously are the *Melia Azadirachta*, and the *Robinia mitis*, the last of which flourishes both on the arid hills of the Carnatic, and on the muddy banks of the Ganges. Very little of this soil, at the usual rent, will repay the expence of cultivation, and in the present state of population it perhaps would not be proper to let it low, as by that means useful labourers might be taken away from more valuable lands The same reason prevents the fields near the inn from being cultivated. They are level, but too poor to produce rice. The inhabitants would willingly bring them into cultivation for dry grains, were they allowed the two first years free of rent· but then part of the rice fields must remain uncultivated.

The inn, choultry, or chaturam, or Vira Permal Pillay consists of two square courts enclosed by low buildings, which are covered with a tiled roof, and divided into small apartments for the accommodation of travellers. The buildings on the outside are surrounded, by a colonnade, and are constructed of well-cut, whitish granite, brought from the distance of twenty miles. Although said to have cost 15,000 pagodas, or 5515l. 8s. 1d. they are very mean structures.

April 26th.—In the morning I went from Vira Permal's choultry, to the greater Conjeveram, called by the natives, Kunji. The country is in general level, but the

 soil

soil is wretched. It consists chiefly of a coarse sand, seemingly deriving its origin from decomposed granite, and at this season of the year is almost destitute of vegetable covering; nor is it, perhaps, capable of being ever converted to use. Some spots possess a tolerable soil, and in these have been formed rice fields, that in the rainy season produce a crop, but at present they look quite desert. Near Conjeveram, many of the fields, receiving a supply of water from a large reservoir on the north side of the town, were covered with a thriving crop of rice, which displayed a verdure highly refreshing to the eye.

In one of the most desert places of the country, a very fine tank has been dug by a Dewan of the late Mahomed Aly. It is square, and lined all round with stones of cut granite, which descend to the bottom in steps. The water is said to be very deep. At two of the sides of this tank are choultries, built also of cut granite. Each consists of a room divided by two rows of pillars, that support a flat roof consisting of long stones. This apartment, which is shut up on three sides by a wall, and entirely open in front, is surrounded by a colonnade, or veranda, which in front is double. The pillars are very rude and inelegant, but are covered with figures, in basso relievo, of the Hindu deities, of fishes, and of serpents.

It must be observed, that there are two distinct kinds of buildings confounded by Europeans under the common name, choultry.

The first is called by the natives chaturam, and built for the accommodation of travellers. These, like that of Vira Permal Pillay, have in general pent roofs, and commonly are built in form of a square enclosing a court in the centre.

The other kind, like those here, are properly built for the reception of images, when these are carried in procession; although, when not occupied by the idols, travellers of all descriptions may take up their quarters in them. These have flat roofs, and consist of one apartment only, and by the natives are called mandapam.

The inhabitants here distinguish also two kinds of tanks.

The first is the eray, which is formed by throwing a mound, or bank, across a valley, or hollow ground, so that the rain water collects in the upper part of the valley, and is let out on the lower part by sluices, for the purposes of cultivation.

The other kind of tank is the culam, which is formed by digging out the earth; and is destined for supplying the inhabitants with water for domestic purposes. In this country the culams are very frequently lined on all the four sides with cut stone, and are the most elegant works of the natives. By making tanks and choultries, the wealthy Hindus endeavour to procure a lasting good name, and they certainly deserve it, as the sums they expend in this way are very considerable, and the utility of the works is very great.

In passing through the Company's Jaghire, I have found very little inclination among the natives to oblige a European traveller. It appears to me, that their condition is better than that of the people in Bengal, but this is entirely contrary to the opinion of my painter. He has, no doubt, better opportunities than I can have of knowing the truth, the houses of the natives in both countries being inaccessible to a European. I suspect, however, that he is not exempt from prejudice in favour of his native land.

The town of Conjeveram is of considerable size, and very regularly built, but it appears to be by no means populous, as many of the lots for building are unoccupied, and none of the houses are more than one story high. The streets are tolerably wide and clean, and cross one another at right angles. On each side is a row of cocoa-

nut-trees, enclosed by a small mud-wall, painted vertically with red and white stripes.

The houses have mud-walls, and are roofed with tiles. Each is built in the form of a square, with a small court in the centre. They certainly appear to be much more comfortable than the houses in the country towns in Bengal. Most of them are inhabited by the Bráhmans belonging to two large temples, that are dedicated to Iswara, and to his wife Cámachuma. Of these Bráhmans there are one hundred families; a hundred dancing girls are kept for the honour of the deities, and the amusement of their votaries; and any familiarity between these girls and an infidel would occasion scandal. About three miles off, at the lesser Conjeveram, is another grand temple, dedicated to Vishnu, who has here a mandapam, for his reception at the two visits which he makes in a year to Iswara. Siva returns the visit once a year only. At these visits the worshippers of the two gods, who are of different sects, are very apt to fall into disputes, occasioning abusive language, and followed by violence, so that the collectors have sometimes been obliged to have recourse to the fear of the bayonet, to prevent the controversy from producing bad effects.

I have no occasion to describe the covils, or pagodas, that having already been done with sufficient accuracy. I shall only remark, that they are great stone buildings, very clumsily executed both in their joinings, and carvings, and totally devoid of elegance or grandeur, although they are wonderfully crowded with what are meant as ornaments. The rat'hs, tær, or chariots, on which the images of the gods are carried in procession, are much superior to those I have seen in Bengal. There are here three tær, one for Iswara, a second for his wife, and a third for his son Ganésra. In Bengal, the images of Vishnu only, and of this family, are conveyed in rat'hs; Mahádéva, or Iswara, is never carried in procession.

At Cunji there is a small mosque of very neat workmanship. The Hindoos say, that it was originally a covil, or pagoda; but if it has been such, great alterations have been made on it for the better.

The divisions of the Bráhmans here, are different from those found in Bengal.

The most numerous class here, and which comprehends about one half of all the Bráhmans in the Lower Carnatic, is called the Smartal sect, and its members are followers of Sankara Achárya. They are commonly said to be the sect of Siva; but they consider Brahmá, Vishnu, and Iswara, to be the same god, assuming different persons, as the creator, preserver, and destroyer of the universe. They consider their souls as being portions of the divinity, and do not believe in transmigration as a punishment for sin. They are readily distinguished by three horizontal stripes on the forehead, made with the ashes of cow-dung.

The next most numerous sect of the Bráhmans here, are the followers of Ráma Anuja Achárya, who form about three-tenths of the whole. They are called Sri Vaishnavum and A'ayngar, and may readily be known by three vertical marks on the forehead, connected by a common line above the nose, and formed of a white clay. They abhor Iswara, calling him the chief of the Rákshasa, or devils, and worship only Vishnu, and the gods of his family. They form two sects; the Wadagalay, who believe in transmigration, and the Tangalay, who do not.

The Madual form the remaining two-tenths of the Brahmans. These use the vertical marks on the forehead, which are appropriate to the followers of Vishnu; but they worship Siva also; they believe in the generation of the gods in a literal sense, thinking Vishnu to be the father of Brahmá, and Brahmá to be the father of Siva.

All these sects admit the authority of the same Puráns; but each sect explains some obscure passages so as to confirm its own doctrines.

Each sect of Bráhmans has here a number of followers, in proportion nearly to its own comparative strength. This, I am told, is not the case in Bengal, where the sect of Iswara or Mahadáva prevails among the Bráhmans, while that of Vishnu is the most common among the vulgar.

27th April.—In the morning I went to Oular Sát-ghadam, which is a choultry, or inn, with hardly any houses in its neighbourhood; but it is remarkable for having formerly had seven hill-forts in its vicinity; and from this circumstance it derives its appellation, Sát-ghadam. In the Decany dialect of the Mussulman language, Ghadam signifies a fortress situated on a hill, while Kilah is applied to one built on a plain. In the Sanscrit language, Patanam or Patana is analogous with Kilah, and Durga or Durgam, is analogous with Ghadam. In the Tamul language a fort of either kind is called Cotay.

Besides the chaturam and mandapam, there is another kind of building, which by Europeans is called choultry; in the Tamul language it is called tany pundal, or water shed. These are small buildings, where weary travellers may enjoy a temporary repose in the shade, and obtain a draught of water or milk. In some of the inns or chaturams, provisions are sold; in others, they are distributed gratis, at least to Brahmans or other religious mendicants, as is the case in the choubaries of Bengal.

When a man erects a building of any of these kinds, the natives add its name to his, as a title of honour; thus any person speaking of Vira Permal, would call him Vira Permal Chaturam. Others derive a similar title from having dug a culam, or constructed an eray.

28th April.—In the morning I made a long journey to Arcot. From Oulur to Kávary-pák, the barren ridge on which the road leads is very narrow; and the country, being abundantly supplied with water from the Kávary-pák tank, has a fertile delightful appearance: and with its distant hills, verdant fields, and running streams, would afford a most beautiful prospect, were it somewhat better wooded. The great eray, or tank, is about eight miles long and three broad, and fertilizes a considerable extent of country. I never viewed a public work with more satisfaction, a work that supplies a great body of people with every comfort which their moral situation will permit them to enjoy. Kávary-pák is a large but dirty village, with a stone mosque in its centre. The fort by which it was protected, is also built of stone, but is now ruinous.

After passing Kávary-pák, I found the barren ridge more extensive, reaching almost from the Palar to the northern hills, and in most places consisting of immense beds of granite, or of that rock decomposed into harsh coarse sand. The whole country is almost destitute of verdure, but a little withered grass affords sustenance to a few wretched sheep. Other parts have somewhat of a better soil, and in the rainy season may produce some of the dry grains; several reservoirs have been formed in the waste, the water of which produces crops in a few narrow strips of land chiefly near the river. The bed of the river Palar at Arcot, where we crossed it, is above half a mile wide, but at present is quite a dry loose sand, except in two narrow channels, containing a stream not sufficient to turn a mill.

Arcot, or Arrucate, is the nominal capital of the Carnatic páyin ghát, (Carnatic below the passes) as the Mussulmans and English call the dominions of the Nabob. He maintains a garrison of his own troops in the fort, which is pretty large, but not

 in

in good repair. The [illegible] of his nabut, or [illegible] much superior to any thing I have ever heard among the natives, and is [illegible] harsher than the clarionet. His brother-in-law, who manages this part of the country, resides near the fort, in a good house belonging to the Nabob.

The town surrounds the glacis on all sides, and is extensive. The houses are as good as in the towns of the Jaghire, the inhabitants speak the Decany dialect of the Mussulman language, which we call Moors or Hindustany. They took advantage of us as strangers, and for every supply we procured, demanded three times the usual price. At this place coarse cotton cloth is made. It seems to be cheaper than in the Jaghire, but dearer than in Bengal.

From Madras to Kávary pák, the road is tolerably good. From Kávary pák to Arcot, a wheel carriage could not easily pass. Many of the rich natives travel in bullock coaches like those in Calcutta, called chaycra. Near Arcot, I met the Mussulman women riding on bullocks, and entirely wrapt up in white veils, so as to conceal both features and shape.

The heat on the glacis of the fort, where I encamped, was intense. The hills in this vicinity are the most barren I have ever seen, those even of St. Jago in the Cape de Verd islands not excepted. They appear to be composed of the same granite that abounds in the elevated barren grounds, on which the road from Madras is conducted. They seem to be undergoing a rapid decay, and will probably continue to do so, till they are reduced to nearly a level with the circumjacent plain, when the decomposed parts, no longer rolling off, will cover them with a bed of sand, and prevent them from farther decay, as is now the case in the waste lands already mentioned. In many parts of the vallies, formed by these hills, is found chunam, or lime-stone nodules, which in Bengal is called congcar.

29th April. — The country between Arcot and the western hills contains some good ground, some that serves for gardens, and dry grains, and some that is barren, consisting of granite covered with beds of sand.

The road leading to Vellore is conducted along the foot of the hills, which bound the Palar-valley on the south, and is formed on the rocky basis of these hills, and on the sand and fragments that have fallen from them. A greater verdure, however, prevails here, than any I have seen in the Carnatic, owing probably to a subterraneous supply of water; for on the whole way there is not a spring visible. This ground at the foot of the hills is in some places pasture, and in others is overgrown with trees and bushes, especially with the wild date, or elate sylvestris, which thrives very well, but here is considered as useless. There are also many Palmira trees, from which tári is extracted. The lower part of the valley, near the river, is very good land, and looks well, the greater part of it being verdant with the second crop of rice. The houses and villages by the way are very miserable.

30th April. — I remained at Vellore in order to give my people rest. The present fort is large and beautiful; and having been chosen for the residence of the family of the late Sultan of Mysore, is strongly garrisoned by English forces. The town, which belongs to the Nabob, is pretty large, and well built after the Hindu fashion. Above it are three small forts, which occupy the summits of a hill that overlooks the town, but one of them only has a supply of water. The fortifications are said to have been erected by the Canarese monarchs.

The greater part of the Bráhmans in the lower Carnatic follow secular professions. They almost entirely fill the different offices in the collection of the revenue, and administration of justice; and they are exclusively employed as hircarras, [illegible]

garas

guides or messengers, and as the keepers of inns or choultries. Much of the land is rented by them; but, like the Jews, they seldom put their hand to actual labour, and on no account will they hold the plough. Their farms they chiefly cultivate by slaves of the inferior casts, called Súdra, and Pánchum Bundum.

The Panchum Bundum are by far the most hardy and laborious people of the country, but the greater part of them are slaves. So sensible of their value was Hyder, that in his incursions it was these chiefly whom he endeavoured to carry away. He settled them in many districts as farmers, and would not suffer them to be called by their proper name, which is considered opprobrious; but ordered, that they should be called cultivators. The Panchum Bundum consist of four tribes; the Parriar, the Baluan, the Schecliar, and the Toti. The Shecliars dress hides; and from among the Toti is chosen a particular class of village officers.

There are a few mussulman farmers, who possess slaves; but the most numerous class is composed of the different tribes of the Súdra cast. Some of these possess slaves, but many of them cultivate their farms with their own hands.

In this Carnatic payin ghát, or Carnatic below the mountains, there are no fairs like the hauts of Bengal; but the shop-keepers purchase the articles in demand from the farmers and manufacturers, and retail them daily in the bazars or towns. Milk and its preparations are commonly sold by women, who sit by the road side.

1st May.—I went from Vellore to Paligonda. The valley is in general very fine, much of it having water for two crops of rice; some part, however, is covered with rocks of granite. The villages are very poor; and the two towns, Verimchepurum, and Paligonda, are full of ruins, at each of them is a considerable temple; that of Paligonda is within the remains of a fort. The name of the place is derived from a Tamul word, which signifies sleeping. It arises from the image in the temple, which represents Ranganáth, one of the forms of Vishnu, in a sleeping posture.

A procession, that took place to-day at Paligonda, gave me an opportunity of learning, that only the three pure casts of Bráhmans, Vaishyrs, and Súdra, are allowed to attend on such occasions. The fourth pure cast (the second in rank,) the Kshatriyas, are considered by all the Bráhmans here, as having been for many centuries quite extinct. The Parriar, and other impure tribes, composing what are here called the Panchum Bundum, would be beaten, were they to attempt joining in a procession of any of the gods of the Bráhmans, or entering any of their temples. The Bráhmans, indeed, despise those poor people so much, that they will give them on religious advice, nor perform for them any religious ceremony; and, what is still more extraordinary, will not even receive money from them as charity. The Parriars have among themselves a kind of priests, named Velluan, who possess books in the Tamul language. They have also small temples, in which the only image is said to represent the head of the mother of Parasu Ráma Avatár. This, according to the legend, was taken up by the Parriars, when it had been cut off by her son.

I have already mentioned the three grand sects prevailing among the Bráhmans of this country, and which are said to prevail also over all the five nations of Bráhmans, called collectively Pansh Drawada, who occupy the southern parts of India. There are, however, many other divisions among these Bráhmans, arising from their various occupations.

The proper duty of a Bráhman is meditation on things divine, and the proper manner of his procuring a subsistence is by begging (Bhikshà.) This mode of living is considered as very agreeable to the gods; and all industry is deemed derogatory to the rank of a man, and more especially to that of a Bráhman. The lower classes of society,

society, however, in this degenerate age, not being sufficiently charitable, nor quite so willing to part with their money, as the noble cast of Bráhmans could wish, many of that sacred order have been obliged to betake themselves to what they consider as unworthy employments, such as being governors and judges of cities, collectors of revenue, and accomptants; nay some even condescend to cultivate the earth by means of slaves. Hence arises the distinction of Bráhmans into Vaidika and Lókika, or Lovadica; the former of whom follow the proper duties of the cast, while the Lókika debase themselves by dedicating their labours to worldly affairs. The diversity of employment, however, does not create an absolute distinction of cast; the daughter of a Vaidika Bráhman may marry a Lókika, and the son of a Lókika may betake himself to the occupations of a Vaidika Bráhman; but instances of either circumstance are not common. It is, however, not so unusual for a poor Vaidika, to be tempted to give his daughter to a wealthy Lókika Bráhman; as for the son of a Lókika Bráhman to acquire the character of a pure Vaidika. He is always considered as a new man; and several generations, devoted to study and mortification, would be required to wash away the stain of ignoble birth, before the merits or learning of a Lókika family could enable them to procure a comfortable subsistence by charity.

The Bráhmans are considered as the priests of the Hindus; yet there are none, even of the lowest among the Lókika, who would intermarry with the families of the Bráhmans that officiate in the temples of Vishnu and Siva: and in this country no Bráhman officiates in any of the temples of the inferior gods, whose altars are stained with blood.

The highest among the Bráhmans are certain Vaidika, who by more than usual mortification attain a large proportion of divine favour. They cut off their hair; dress in a yellow or red cloth; eat but once a day; abstain entirely from women; and, relinquishing all the domestic enjoyments of society, live in pagodas, or matams, that is to say convents, where they dedicate their time entirely to devotion, and the instruction of those who are less pious, and who follow them as disciples. A Bráhman of this kind is called a Sannyási, and must be a man of learning, that is to say, must be able to read Sanscrit, and be acquainted with the dogmas of his particular sect. The number of Bráhman Sannyásis is very small, and is chiefly confined to those who are Gurus, Swamalus, or bishops of the different sects, and who, in every thing relating to religion and cast, have a jurisdiction over all their inferiors. They also perform certain ceremonies, such as Upadésa, and Chicranticum, which may be considered as analogous to the confirmation granted by our prelates. They are supported entirely by the contributions of their disciples; but these are so burthensome, that a Guru seldom continues long in one place, for the contributions even of Madras are not equal to supply the wants of a Swamalu for more than one or two months. A hundred pagodas a day, 36l. 15s. 5d. is as little, as can be decently offered to such a personage. The Raja of Tanjore is said to give his Guru 250 pagodas a day, (91l. 18s. 6½d.), when that personage honours him with a visit. The Gurus travel in great state, with elephants, horses, palankeens, and an immense train of disciples, the least of whom considers himself as highly elevated above mankind by his sanctity. They generally travel at night, in order to avoid their Mussulman or European conquerors, who would not show them that veneration, or rather adoration, to which they consider themselves entitled; and they have therefore been seldom seen by travellers. On the approach of a Guru to any place, every inhabitant of pure birth must go to meet him; the lower classes are not admitted to his presence. The Guru, on being conducted to the principal temple, bestows Upadésa, or Chicranticum, on such

as have not received theſe ceremonies, and diſtributes holy water. He then inquires into matters of contention, or tranſgreſſions againſt the rules of caſt; and having ſettled, or puniſhed theſe, hears his diſciples and other learned men diſpute on theological ſubjects. This is the grand field for acquiring reputation among the Bráhmans. Theſe diſputations are ſaid to be very ſimilar to thoſe which were common among the doctors of the Romiſh church ſeven or eight hundred years ago; and in fact a ſtrong reſemblance will be found between the preſent ſtate of Hindu knowledge, and that which then prevailed in Europe.

The contributions for the ſupport of the Guru are made chiefly by the rich Bráhmans, eſpecially by the Lókika. Small donations offered by a Súdra would be rejected with ſcorn, as being proper only for the Bráhman who performs ceremonies for him; but ſhould a Sudra offer a thouſand or two thouſand pagodas it would be received. As the Guru is ſuppoſed to be entirely weaned from the pleaſures of the world, the whole of theſe contributions ought to be expended in charity, that is to ſay, in the ſupport of buildings and men dedicated to the honour or ſervice of the gods.

At Paligonda, the river Palar is conſiderably diminiſhed in ſize, from what it is at Arcot; but at this ſeaſon its channel is occupied entirely by dry ſand. The people, however, procure water from it, by digging canals in the ſand ſix or ſeven feet deep. Theſe canals tranſverſe the channel diagonally, and collect a gentle ſtream of pure water about a foot deep, and ſix feet wide, this by other canals is conveyed through the country to water the fields, and renders the valley of Vellore one of the fineſt tracts in the Carnatic.

2d May.—In the morning I went fifteen miles to Sátghadam. I firſt croſſed the Palar, and proceeded up its northern bank till I came to the Camundala. Following the courſe of this river, I came to Gurietum, a pretty large town, about five miles N. N W. from Paligonda. Part of it is on either ſide of the river, and that on the eaſtern ſide is guarded by a mud fort. Soon after, I turned towards the left from the Camundala, and entered a narrow valley leading weſt. So far was a fine valley, like that near Vellore, and well watered by canals, cut from the Palar and Camundala. This laſt river has water in many parts of its channel; but at this ſeaſon, it does not afford in any place a quantity ſufficient to form a ſtream on the ſurface. The narrow valley, by which I proceed, is watered in its lower part by a reſervoir. The head of the valley riſes conſiderably, and conſiſts chiefly of dry fields; towards the upper end ſome is barren land full of granite. The hills approaching here, a ſtone wall, with a gateway, marks the boundary of Sátghadam. On the north this gate is commanded by a naked rocky hill, irregularly fortified by various walls and caſtles, after the country faſhion. Theſe are called Sátghadam, the Decany pronunciation of Sátghur, or the ſeven caſtles. The Malabar, or Tamul name of the place is Elamulla Durgam. The village under the hill, or the petta, is ſurrounded by a wall, and is pretty conſiderable in point of ſpace, but it is ruinous. The diſtrict belonging to it is extenſive and fertile. It is ſurrounded on all ſides by granite rocks; and in the rainy ſeaſon, the water of three torrents falls from it into the Palar near Amboor. The principal cultivation in it, however, is that of dry grains, with ſome fruit gardens, for which it is celebrated.

The Nabob has here an extenſive garden, which he lets to ſome Armenians at Madras. The fruit, eſpecially the oranges, are reckoned the beſt in the Carnatic, and the choiceſt are ſent to the Nabob, and to other perſons of diſtinction. This garden is a large piece of ground, thickly planted with a variety of fruit trees; and to the

roots

roots of each water is convey by separate canals: but the whole is kept in a very slovenly condition. More extensive gardens might be formed here, but the expence of watering them would be considerable.

Since leaving Madras, I have found the weather very hot and dry. The thermometer at noon in my tents, which are well constructed for keeping out the heat, has been from 95° to 98°. In a house it would probably have been two or three degrees lower. The wind has generally been strong; but so arid, and hot, as not to mitigate the effects of the sun, or cool the burning atmosphere.

I am gravely informed by my interpreter, a Bráhman, that he has relations, who live by performing a variety of wonderful feats. Among others, they can make a Mango stone, in the course of four hours, shoot out a small tree a foot high. He maintains, that this is not a deception, but a real art, the manner of doing which is as follows: Take of the kernels of a shrub which is a species of Vantanea, a convenient quantity, and grind them between two stones for seven days and seven nights, without ceasing. Then place a sword upright, with its point in a cup. Rub the pulp of the kernel on the blade of the sword, exposed to the sun, and an oil will run down into the cup. Put the oil in a bottle to be preserved for use. In order to perform the experiment, take a ripe Mango stone, rub it over with the oil, and place it in a pot of earth properly watered. The young shoot will be immediately formed; but dies soon; that is, whenever it has exhausted the nourishment contained in the kernel. I have seen the experiment performed at Calcutta; and know that it is a mere deception.

3d May.—I went to Naiekan Eray, by the Pedda Naikana Durga Pass. After crossing the first hill by a very bad road, I descended into a narrow valley, running north and south, and containing two channels, in one of which was a small quantity of clear running water. These two currents uniting, and having joined the streams from Satghadam fall into the Palar near Amboor. In this valley was encamped an officer, with many pioneers, employed in making a road up the Ghats, from Amboor to Pedda Naikana Durga. The new road is very well formed; but for about half a mile is exceedingly steep, so as to render a noble work of comparatively little value. The mountains of the Ghats have not quite so barren an aspect as those to the east; and contain many trees, some of which are fit for timber.

Specimens of the following were brought to me, as being the most useful trees on the Ghats of this place. The names are Telinga.

1. Nara Vaypa, described by Dr. Roxburgh as a species of Copaifera. A black, hard timber, taking a good polish.

2. Yegu, which in my manuscripts I call Pterocarpus? Vaynga.—Gives small planks for doors, &c.

3. Naro, Premna tomentosa Willd.—Used for beams and posts in the huts of the natives.

4. Neruddy.—Serves for both planks and beams.

5. Muddi.—The wheels of the immense chariots of the gods are made from this tree.

6. Topissi, Ulmus integrifolia, *Roxb.*—Serves for door-frames, and similar uses.

7. Tayca, Tectona Robusta.—In this neighbourhood about a hundred full grown trees might be procured.

8. Chigry, a Mimosa, which I call Tuggula.—Said to be a black, heavy, strong timber.

9. Tella Maliki, which I call Bilitalium Farinosum.—A white wood used for posts in huts.

 10. Wudaga.

10. Wudaga. — Used by Tippoo for stocking firelocks.

11. Palawaraynu, Nerium tinctorium, *Roxb. MSS.* — The timber is sawed into planks, and ploughs, and other implements of agriculture, are made of it. The natives are acquainted with the process for extracting indigo from its leaves.

12. Devadarum, Erythroxylon Siderovyloides, *L. M.* — A sweet-scented black wood, used by the poor instead of sandal wood.

13. Bilu, Sweitenia Chloroxylon, *Rox.*—The timber is reckoned of little value by the natives, although it is said to be our satin wood.

14. Raynou, Rhamnus xyloprus Koen. — A stronger timber used for posts and beams.

15. Aree Bauhinia. — A strong black timber.

16. Pedualinge. — A black wood.

17. Mimosa Lebec, *L. M.* — A white heavy timber.

18. Tenaca. — Used for planks and beams.

19. Vaypachitu, Melia Azadirachta, *Lin.*—Used for beams and posts.

20. Nayla Balasu, Haydarany of the Canarese — A black wood, that kindles readily, and burns clearly, and therefore is used for torches.

In ascending the Ghats, I had an excellent opportunity of observing the strata, where the rock has been cut away to form the road. The grand component part of these mountains is a granite, consisting of white felspar and quartz, with dark green mica, in a small proportion to the other two ingredients. The particles are angular, and of moderate size. It seems to come near to the granitello of the Italians (Waller. Min. II p. 423), and is an excellent material for building, as it is readily cleft by wedges, and is at the same time strong and durable. Intermixed with this is another stone, in a state of decay, consisting of angular masses of various sizes, divided by fissures, so as to be separable with little difficulty. The sides of the fissures are tarnished, and covered by extraneous matter. This is a stone commonly called a granite in decay, the mica being supposed to have been entirely decomposed, and the felspar to be in the act of decomposition, and to have assumed an arid powdery appearance, while the glassy quartz retains its natural consistence. That the strata in question are in a state of decay, from the numerous fissures in them, I have no doubt, but there are other strata of similar component parts common all over the lower Carnatic, especially at Mahabalipura (the seven Pagodas,) which are in the most perfect state of preservation, without the smallest mark of decay, and fit for forming the most durable buildings. Mr. Fichtel, who has been so kind as to look over my specimens, and to assist me with his opinion concerning their nature, thinks, that the stone of Mahabalipura consists of a mixture of arid and of fat quartz; and, although he calls the stone of the Ghats granite, I have no doubt of its component parts being the same with those of the Mahabalipura stone

Both these rocks appear to be stratified, but the strata are wonderfully broken, and confused. In some places they are almost horizontal, in others they are vertical, with all intermediate degrees of inclination. Sometimes the decaying stratum lies above the perfect, and at other times is covered by it. I saw many strata not above three feet wide; while in other masses, of eight or ten feet high, and many long, I could perceive no division.

Immersed in both kinds, I observed many nobules, as large as the head, which were composed of a decaying substance containing much green mica. In other places there are large veins, and beds, containing small rhomboidal masses, of what Mr. Fichtel takes to be a composition of a small proportion of quartz with much iron.

 The

The country about Naiekan Eray rises into swells, like the land in many parts of England, and is overlooked by the high barren peaks of the Ghats, which close the view to the eastward. Among these peaks, the most remarkable is that occupied by Pedda Naiekana Durga, or the Great Chief's castle, which, till the overthrow of the late Sultan, was a frontier of the Mysore kingdom. It formerly belonged to a Polygar, called the Pedda Naieka, who was restored by Lord Cornwallis; but obliged again to leave his dominions, after his Lordship granted peace to Tippoo. During the remainder of the Sultan's reign he continued to harass the country in nocturnal predatory excursions; but is now quietly waiting for the decision of the British government concerning his fate. The country formerly belonging to his family has, by the partition treaty of 1799, been annexed to the British possessions, and is under the authority of Captain Graham, the collector of Khistnaghery

At Naiekan Eray, or the chief's reservoir, the only remains of a village are a ruinous choultry, and a few wretched shops called a bazar The houses of the cultivators are scattered about in groupes of four or five families. The common language spoken here, as well as in the neighbouring parts of the Nabob's dominions, is the Telinga, or Beder, as it is commonly called. The people are infinitely more obliging than those below the Ghats, and my servants find here no difficulty in procuring supplies.

4th May.—In the morning I went from Naiekan Eray, to Vencataghery, about nine miles. So far as I can judge by the view, one half of the country has been ploughed, of the half that has never been cultivated, a small part, perhaps about a tenth of the whole, rises into hills too steep for the plough, the remainder is gently swelling ground, like the rest of the country, but the soil is very poor, and covered with copse, having a few large trees intermixed. The whole of the copse land serves for pasture, such as it is, and the bushes supply the natives with fuel for their domestic purposes, for burning limestone, and for smelting iron. The bushes seem also to preserve a moisture in the soil, which it is alledged would improve it, should it ever be determined to extend cultivation, so that I do not think the pasture would be improved by clearing the country, and the loss of fuel, and timber for country uses, that would be sustained by the operation, would be of serious inconvenience.

About two miles from Naiekan Eray, a torrent, in the rainy season, brings down from the hills a quantity of iron ore in the form of black sand, which in the dry season is smelted. The operation is performed by Malawanlu, the Telinga name for the cast called Parriar by the natives of Madras. Each forge pays a certain quantity of iron for permission to carry on the work.

Vencataghery was formerly the usual residence of the Pedda Naieka Polygar, and the ruins of his fort are still conspicuous. It is built on a rising ground, and consists of various enclosures, surrounded by walls of mud and stone, flanked by towers and bastions, that rise higher and higher as you advance inwards, till you come to the central enclosure, which contained the Raja's dwelling. There have been in this place three small temples, two of which are preserved. The remains of this place do not indicate that it ever possessed any grandeur, few of the rooms being more than seven or eight feet square The outer enclosures contain much ground formerly occupied by the town, which is now reduced to one street of shops. The houses are much inferior to those in the Tamul villages. They are built of mud with thatched roofs, but do not surround a square court, nor have they any verandah to keep off the sun or rain. The inhabitants are almost all Telingas, or Gentoos, as the English of Madras call this nation.

Near Vencataghery alſo iron is ſmelted from black ſand, and mixed with the ſoil of different fields. lime-ſtone, in form of nodules, is common. The ſtrata reſemble thoſe in the Ghats. The white granite is the moſt prevalent; but the maſſes of quartz impregnated with iron are much larger, and more perfect. I ſaw no other rocks: it would however appear, from the ſtones in the wall of the fort, that the country produces red granite. Near Vencataghery I obſerved the water tinged with an iridescent oily matter, floating on its ſurface, as is uſual in coal countries.

5th May. — In the morning I went to Baydamungulum; leaving on my right a hill crowned with a fortreſs, and a temple dedicated to Seitadeva. By the way I viſited a place to the north of my rout, where the natives obtain limeſtone. I found it to be two ſmall fields, containing what in Bengal is called congcar. Theſe fields are diſtant from each other about three hundred yards, and are ſituated on a low piece of ground, ſurrounded by naked rocks of white granite. This low ground is interſected by the channel of a torrent, which at this ſeaſon is quite dry; and the water of the only ſpring that I have yet ſeen in this arid country, paſſes by the ſides of the two calcareous fields. In ſome parts of theſe fields, the ſmall concretions, of which congcar conſiſts, are found on the ſurface, mixed with the ſoil, in others a foot of ſoil muſt be removed, before they are found in any quantity The natives have never dug deep to aſcertain the thickneſs of the bed. This kind of ſtone ſeems to be the calcareus œquabilis incarnatus of Wallerius. II. p. 124. Similar beds are ſaid to be ſcattered all over the country. A few families of Malawanlu gain a ſubſiſtence by collecting the lime-ſtone, by burning it in kilns, and ſelling the chunam, or quick-lime, for chewing with betel.

Common ſalt (muriate of ſoda) ſeems to be alſo very generally diffuſed over this part of the country It is found in low wet grounds, contained in a black poor ſoil, and in Tippoo's reign was extracted in conſiderable quantities. The trade with the Nabob's dominions being then entirely contraband, ſuch a bulky article could not be ſmuggled in quantities ſufficient for the conſumption, and the inhabitants were obliged to have recourſe to this their native ſalt, againſt which, however, they are ſtrongly prejudiced, conſidering it as inferior to the ſalt made from from ſea-water.

I am informed, that in every part of the country the black ſand ore of iron is brought down by the torrents, but that it is ſmelted in ſuch places only as abound with woods. It is called nalla iſaca, in the Telinga language, cari uſu, in the Carnataca, and carupa manul, in the dialect of the Tamuls.

The land that has not been cultivated is much leſs in proportion than in my yeſterday's route. I do not think that it occupies above three-tenths of the country. It conſiſts entirely of rocks, or ſtones, without copſe wood, but affords ſome miſerable paſture in the interſtices between the lumps of granite. In a few places are ſmall hills. The wet ground cannot be more than one-fortieth part of the arable land.

The country is exceedingly bare, and the population ſcanty. All the houſes are collected in villages, and the ſmalleſt village, of five or ſix houſes, is fortified. The defence of ſuch a village conſiſts of a round ſtone wall, perhaps forty feet in diameter, and ſix feet high. On the top of this is a parapet of mud, with a door in it, to which the only acceſs is by a ladder. In caſe of a plundering party coming near the village, the people aſcend into this tower with their families, and moſt valuable effects, and having drawn up the ladder defend themſelves with ſtones, which even the women throw with great force and dexterity. Larger villages have ſquare forts, with round towers at the angles. In thoſe ſtill larger, or in towns, the defences are more numerous, and the fort ſerves as a citadel, while the village, or pettah, is ſurrounded by a weaker

defence

defence of mud. The inhabitants consider fortifications as necessary for their existence, and are at the whole expence of building, and the risk of defending them. The country, indeed, has for a long series of years been in a constant state of warfare; and the poor inhabitants have suffered too much from all parties, to trust in any.

The mud here is excellent for making walls. It is a reddish ferruginous clay, intermixed with small fragments of quartz, and other materials of decayed granite; and a wall constructed of it will, with tolerable care, resist the rains for many years. So good is it, that in many towns and villages, the houses have flat roofs terraced with this mud, which is laid on in the dry season, and turns the rain very well. The houses and huts have their walls universally built of this mud, and have a tolerable appearance, the mud being smooth, and painted on the outside, with alternate vertical broad stripes of white and red. The white is lime, and the red colour is given by a ferruginous clay, which is called caym-munnu in the Karnataca language, shay-manu in the Telinga, and erra-manu in the Tamul. The huts are built in the form of a parallelogram, without verandah or windows, or any other vent for the smoke than the doors. Rich men, instead of enlarging the house, generally build a number of similar huts in the form of a square, sufficient to accommodate their families, which are always numerous.

It is said by the people here, that for two months from this time, they expect to have occasional rains, with strong westerly winds. In the two succeeding months much wind, and almost constant rain usually prevail. In September and October the winds abate, and there are only occasional showers. After this comes cold weather with heavy dews. In the hot weather preceding the rainy season, there is very little dew.

Baydamungulum was formerly the residence of a Polygar, and a considerable place. In the dispute for the dominion, between its ancient lord and Hyder, the town suffered exceedingly, and is now reduced to sixty or seventy miserable houses, fortified by a mud wall, and some towers in a ruinous state. At the south side are the remains of a large fort, now totally useless, but at the north side is another fort, not so far decayed. One end of this the inhabitants have lately repaired as a last resource, and say that they will defend it to the utmost extremity. It contains an old temple, the roof of which, as an additional defence, has been surrounded by a parapet of mud.

The town stands about three hundred yards west from the Palar, which here is not above forty feet wide, and at this season contains two or three feet depth of water, nearly stagnant. In the rainy season, it fills several fine reservoirs, or tanks, for the use of cultivation.

The people here are a mixture of Tamuls, Telingas, and Karnataca, or Canarese, with a good many Mussulmans. They complain, that the Amildars of the Mysore government take more money from them, than they did in the reign of Tippoo, but acknowledge, that they are exempted from the licentiousness of that Prince's army, and from the arbitrary exactions usual in his government.

Tayculum is strongly situated at the end of a small hill of granite, and has a triple wall, each line strengthened with various defences. The houses, about a hundred in number, are very poor, and hardly fill up the space between the outer and second line of defence; about sixty of these houses are occupied by Mussulmans, among whom is the Amildar. There are eight families of Bráhmans, who are in possession of all the other offices under government. On the outside of the fort is a temple of Siva, and within it one of Vishnu, both of which are ruinous. On visiting the latter, I asked when and by whom it was built. A Mussulman, who was my conductor, replied, that owing to the great antiquity of the building, nobody knew. On hearing this a Bráhman,

man, sitting at the porch, asked with a sneer, if every body did not know that it had built itself The Mussulman, attempting to be witty, asked the Brahman if he had seen this. "How should I," replied the other, "when it happened so long ago?" The prevalent language at Tayculum is the Karnataca, called by us Canarese. I could not purchase a bullock here for less than double the price that I had paid at Madras. I found the people very unwilling to give me information; and I am clearly convinced, from what I have already seen, that without authority to demand it, very little useful information on statistical subjects could be procured by a mere traveller.

7th May —In the morning I went to Waluru. On the whole day's route I saw no hills, except those mentioned yesterday, but at least six-tenths of the whole country seemed never to have been cultivated, and of this the greater part is covered with brush or copse wood. There is no large timber; but in some places the trees grow to a size sufficient for building the natives' houses, and other country purposes.

9th May.—I went to Catcolli, through a country containing much less granite than any that I have yet seen above the Ghats The arable land may amount to seven-tenths of the whole, and perhaps a twentieth part of it is watered. The rice lands are mostly situated near the banks of the southern Pennar, or Dakshana Pinakani, as it is called in the Sanscrit language. This river passes southward by the east side of Catcolli. At present it contains a good deal of stagnant water, but in the rainy season, its current is rapid, and it is frequently not fordable. The waste land contains much low brush wood, in some places intermixed with stunted mimosas. The hedges surrounding the villages in this part of the country, rise very high and thick, so as almost entirely to conceal the mud wall, which enlivens the prospect considerably, especially as at the villages there are a good many mango trees. The planting of these, or other fruit trees, is here attended with a considerable expence, as every young tree is surrounded by a mud wall, three or four feet high, and perhaps twenty in diameter, and in the dry season the plant requires to be watered every second or third day for three years.

There having now been several showers, the soil has been softened, and the farmers are busy ploughing their dry fields Their plough and manner of working resemble those of Bengal. Both oxen and buffaloes are used, and frequently an animal of each kind is yoked in the same plough This strongly marks a deficiency of stock, the two animals, from their different paces, being very ill suited to work together. Before the field is ploughed, it is manured with a compost of cow-dung, ashes, and mud. The manure is carried out by the women, in baskets placed on their heads, and is distributed very scantily, the baskets being emptied at the distance of about thirty feet from each other

All the way between Arcot and this place I have frequently observed strata of gneiss, consisting of the same materials with the common grey granite of the country, and disposed in vertical strata. Under the great tank here is a remarkable bed of it, consisting of rough grains, and divisible into laminæ from one quarter to one inch thick, and these are united into strata from one to two feet wide. These strata run by the compass north and south; and are intermixed with others of hornblende slate, interspersed with small grains of white quartz, which thus compose a granitell. These strata, as are also those of the grey granite throughout the country, are intersected nearly at right angles by veins of quartz, often a foot and a half wide. These veins cross the various strata of granite, gneiss, and hornblende, to great lengths, without altering their direction, they frequently also contain felspar, or felspar and quartz intermixed, as is the case at Catcolli, where the veins are filled with a mixture of reddish

dish felspar and quartz; which, if not venigenous, would form a granitell. It has commonly been alleged, that large veins of these materials denote a country to be productive of gems; but the contrary is the case here, no precious stones having been ever found in Mysore. It must be observed, that among the natives the gneiss and grey granite are called white-stone; and the hornblende-slate with quartz, and the quartz impregnated with iron, which I have before mentioned, are called the black-stone; in fact these are found to approach to each other by such gradual shades, that it seems difficult to distinguish them, at least as genera; yet in many cases the two extremes of each kind are so different, that they have very little resemblance to each other.

In the soil of this country are found two varieties of congcar, or calcarious nodules. The nodules are often as large as a man's head, are very irregular in shape, and frequently perforated with holes, apparently from having been formed round the roots of plants. Outwardly they have an earthy resemblance, although in some parts there is an appearance of irregular crystallization. They are very hard with a splintery fracture. Both dissolve readily, and with a strong effervescence, in the muriatic acid; but deposite a fine sand, that is insoluble. The solution contains iron, and their specific gravity is very considerable. The one is externally of a greyish white, but its fracture has a dull purplish brown tinge, intermixed with shining particles, arising from its texture, which is a mixture of compact and sparry. Its fracture is splintery; and it is opake. The scratch is of a colour similar to that of the stone, which is hardish. Its lustre is common. The sand which it contains seems to be quartz, stained of a rust colour by iron. The other variety has, both externally and internally, a darker colour, and it has more numerous and larger sparry concretions. On breaking it, are discovered many irregular cavities lined with small, white, irregular crystallizations. It contains many black dots, probably fragments of shorl.

There can be little doubt, that these nodules have been formed by a deposition from water, and are therefore a tophus, or calcarious tuffa. I have already stated, that they appear to be the calcareus æquabilis incarnatus of Wallerius, or marmor margaceum of Linnæus. Mr. Kirwan would probably call them silicious marlites. The small pieces of quartz have evidently been involved by the calcarious matter, while that was in the act of deposition.

The burning of these calcarious nodules into quicklime, which they produce of a beautiful white colour, is at Catcolli the occupation of about ten families. The stones are brought from a distance of five miles, some on oxen, but the greater part on men's heads. The lime is burned in kilns about six feet high, at the bottom about four feet, and at the top about two feet in diameter. The structure is of mud wall; and, in order to give admission to the air, it is perforated in many places through its whole height. The fewel used is charcoal, the making of which is the duty of the men, and the bringing it home that of the women.

10th May.—In the morning I travelled from Catcolli to Bangalore, through a very naked country, of which about six-tenths appear to be arable. The remainder is covered with low bushes, and much of it seems capable of being brought into cultivation. Not above a twentieth part of the arable ground is watered. The pasture is rather better than any that I have seen above the Ghats, and the cattle are in rather better condition than those in Bengal are at this season, when they are reduced to the lowest state of wretchedness compatible with existence.

The morning being cool and pleasant, I walked through the ruins of the fort of Bangalore, which was constructed by Hyder after the best fashion of Mussulman

military

military architecture; and which was destroyed by his son, after he found how little it was fitted to resist British valour. The entrance toward the petta, or town, is a very handsome building of cut granite, and was probably considered by the defenders as the strongest part of the works. It certainly would have been a very difficult matter to have forced a way through all the various gateways in this entrance; as the troops, after having forced one gate, would have been exposed to a fire from all quarters before they could have reached another, But there are no ditches between the different gates, nor even without the outer one, and, if the enemy obtained possession of the works above the first gateway, they had a ready communication with all the others, as our troops found when they stormed the place, which they did at this part of the works. In the buildings of this entrance is a dungeon, amply provided with all the horrors that usually attend such places.

The garrison contained well-constructed magazines, and many huts for the accommodation of the troops, but no good building, except the mahal or palace. Although this is composed of mud, it is not without some degree of magnificence. On the upper story it contains four halls, each comprising two balconies of state for the Prince, and each balcony faces a different cutchery, or court for giving audience. No persons, except a few trusty guards, were admitted into the hall with the Sultán: but at each end of the court was erected a balcony for the officers of the highest rank. The inferior officers occupied a hall under the balcony of the Prince, open in front, and supported by columns as high as the roof of the upper story. The populace were admitted into the open court, in which there were fountains for cooling the air. At each end of the halls are private apartments, small, mean, and inconvenient. The public rooms are neatly painted, and ornamented with false gilding. The offices are mean, and the bath consists of a small room, in which a person may sit, and have water poured over him. The same bath seems to have served both the Prince and his women, as it communicates with their apartments by a small court, which contains the huts that served for kitchens, and for lodging the female slaves. There were two apartments for the ladies One, for the principal wife, contains a cutchery, where, like the Sultán she gave audience to the concubines, and to the ladies of the Mussulman chiefs. The other apartment belonged to the concubines. It is a square court, having at two of the sides a corridor, under which the women sat at their meals and amusements. Behind the corridor are their sleeping rooms, which are mean, and dark, being about twelve feet square, and without any air or light, but what is admitted by the door, or in some by a hole about a foot wide. Lowness of roof is a fault prevailing over the whole structure. Before the palace is a large square court fronted by the nóbat khána, or station for the band of music, and surrounded by a fine corridor. The palace lately served the officers of a European regiment for quarters, while the privates were lodged in the corridor.

In the centre of the fort are still visible the ruins of the mud wall, that surrounded the small village, which occupied the place before Hyder founded the city.

11th May.—I visited the gardens made by the late Mussulman Princes, Hyder and Tippoo. They are extensive, and divided into square plots separated by walks, the sides of which are ornamented with fine cypress trees The plots are filled with fruit trees, and pot-herbs. The Mussulman fashion is to have a separate piece of ground allotted for each kind of plant. Thus one plot is entirely filled with rose trees, another with pomegranates, and so forth. The walks are not gravelled, and the cultivation of the whole is rather slovenly, but the people say, that formerly the gardens were

were well kept. Want of water is the principal defect of these gardens; for in this arid country every thing, during the dry season, must be artificially watered. The garden of Tippoo is supplied from three wells, the water of which is raised by the capily, or leather bag, fastened to a cord passing over a pulley, and wrought by a pair of bullocks, which descend an inclined plane. This, the workmen say, is a much more effectual machine than the yatam. Hyder's garden is watered from a reservoir, without the assistance of machinery. The taste of Hyder accorded more with the English than that of his son. His walks are wider, his cypress trees are not so much crowded; and in the means for watering the plots there is not so much masonry, or bricklayer's work, employed. There is, indeed, so much of these in the parts of Tippoo's garden which he probably considered the finest, as almost to cover the ground, and to leave nothing but holes, as it were, through which the trees grow.

In this climate the cypress and vine grow luxuriantly, and the apple and peach both produce fruit; the former much better, and the latter much worse than at Calcutta. Some pine and oak plants, lately introduced from the Cape of Good Hope, seem to be thriving. I think there can be little doubt, but that in this country all the valuable plants of the Levant would succeed. The people at the gardens could form no estimate of the quantity of grapes produced by any number of vines.

At Bangalore there are many Musulmans, and, owing to the change of government, they are in great distress. Accustomed to a military life, they do not readily enter into civil occupations, nor are they willing to attach themselves to the military service of the enemies of their late Sultán. Many of the more wealthy among them, however, are now betaking themselves to trade, and the poorer sort are gaining a livelihood by agriculture.

I was much surprised to hear, that the greatest complainers against the change of government are certain Bráhmans, although, by the fall of Tippoo, this cast has been freed from persecution, and is now in the almost exclusive possession of public offices. But it is alleged, that under the government of Tippoo, the persecutions fell chiefly on the Bráhmans attached to temples, who are considered as low men, while the Lókika, being the only men of business in the country, were in full possession of the revenue department. During the reign of the Sultán, the number of petty officers in this department was immense, and every one was permitted to share in the spoil of the country. The present system is, to reduce the number of officers, and to give to those who are employed allowances that ought to put them above temptation, while a strict watch at the head of affairs renders it very dangerous either to injure the revenue, or the subject. By this system many Bráhmans, formerly employed, are now destitute, and are said to be very clamorous.

I saw here a man labouring under the durda, elephantiasis, or lepra arabum; and am told, that in almost every village one or two persons will be found afflicted with this terrible malady. It is very much confined to the poorer class of inhabitants, who here, however, enjoy a dry air, and use very little fish in their food. The frequency of the disease in the lower parts of Bengal, and about Cochin on the coast of Malabar, had led to an opinion, that it was produced by a moist climate, and a diet consisting of the fish which frequent muddy places. but the prevalence of the disease among the dry hills of Mysore strongly invalidates this opinion, especially as fish are little used by the inhabitants of that country.

Above the Ghats the kusht'ha, or leprosy, in which the skin of the natives becomes white, is also very common. The persons troubled with it enjoy, in every respect, good health, and their children are like those of other people.

12th May.—I went to Kingara, or Tingara, which seems to have formerly been much more flourifhing than it is at prefent. The hedges, and other defences of the town, are of much greater extent than would be neceffary for the prefent population; and the fpace within them contains the ruins of many houfes. It is faid to have been deftroyed by Tippoo, in order to prevent it from being of ufe to Lord Cornwallis, and never to have recovered the lofs which it then fuftained. The inhabitants were very inhofpitable; a Bráhman encouraging them to refufe us any affiftance, by pretending that my people would not pay for what they might obtain. The fort is in good condition.

The arable land on this day's route does not appear ever to have exceeded four-tenths of the country, and the fmall proportion of irrigated land which has formerly been cultivated, appears to be now wafte, owing to the decay of the refervoirs. The uncultivated land is more hilly than any between the Ghats and Bangalore. It is very rocky and bare, and does not contain even copfe wood. Some part of our route led by the banks of a fmall river, which contained a little running water.

It is here alleged, that Tippoo's regulations, prohibiting trade to the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot, were very ill obferved, and that paffports were privately given to traders by the principal officers of government. The Sultan's table was ferved with country falt, and his nobles attended the court in their native manufactures; but, among the rich at home, fea-falt, and the cloths of Europe, Bengal, and Madras, were in conftant ufe.

The country about Wiridy is beautiful. A fmall river runs north and fouth through the valley, which is about a mile wide, and extends far in the direction of the river. It confifts of fields, fwelling like the grounds in Kent, and contains many fcattered trees, mangoes (*mangifera*), banyans (*ficus Bengalenfis*), and the like. It is on all fides furrounded by hills, moft of them covered with wood, but fome rifing into bare rocky peaks. If the rivulet were adequate to the other parts of the view, this would be complete, but at prefent it contains only fmall pools of dirty ftagnant water.

The villages are fmall and poor, and are not fortified like the others in the country; the woods, by which they are furrounded, having probably been fufficient to keep off the irregular troops that attend all Indian armies, and which generally are cavalry. In cafe of invafion, the inhabitants have alfo been accuftomed to take refuge in the neighbouring hill-fort called Ramagiri.

The ftrata throughout thefe hills, as well as in the country between them and the eaftern Ghats, are difpofed about north and fouth, by the compafs, and are all nearly vertical. A very common ftratum here is white quartz running parallel to the gneifs, and difpofed between two ftrata of that rock. I have obferved thefe ftrata of quartz three feet thick.

In both the Upper and Lower Carnatics, taking fnuff is much more common than in Bengal: indeed I have never been in a country where the cuftom was more prevalent. Smoking, on the contrary, is in great difrepute. The hooka is totally unknown, except among Muffulmans. The lower claffes fmoke cheruts, or tobacco rolled up in a leaf, but a Bráhman would lofe caft by fuch a practice, and it is not confidered as becoming, even among the richer part of the Súdra tribe.

14th May.—I went to Chinapatam, or Chinapatana, through a very beautiful country, confifting of fwelling grounds, in fome places cultivated, and in many more covered with trees, which are intermixed with fteep fantaftic rocks and hills. The trees here are by far the fineft that I have feen in either Carnatic, although they fall

very short of the stately forests of Chittagong. In these woods the bamboo is common. It is now in flower, and produces a great quantity of grain, which is gathered for food by the poor inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

The cultivation is said to extend but a short distance from the road, there being on either hand extensive woods. I therefore reckon the arable land, on this day's route, at one tenth of the country. It consists entirely of dry fields.

At a small temple, dedicated to Hanumanta, I observed, for the first time, the rock of red granite. It is a handsome variety, consisting of bright red felspar, a small quantity of glassy quartz, and a very minute proportion of black mica. I had before seen many detached masses of it in buildings; so that it is probably common in the country. It is a most elegant stone.

Chinapatam, or Chinapatana, is an open town, containing about a thousand houses. At some distance from it stands a handsome stone fort: this was formerly the residence of a Polygar family of distinction, which derived its name from Jacadéva Raja.

The cutwal, or superintendent of the market at Chinapatam, is a Mussulman, and is extremely attentive to strangers. This, however, does not proceed from any principle of hospitality, a virtue which seems little known in India. He expects a present in return, and charges three times the usual price for every thing that he furnishes. Between this and Madras I have met with two other native officers that were civil. One of these was a eunuch, the cutwal at Satghur in the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot, but he seemed to be actuated by the same motives with the cutwal of Chinapatam. The other was a Bráhman, the amildar at Waluru, who was very polite, and did not seem to have any sinister design. Among all the other officers of government, I found that any attention to a traveller was considered as degrading to their rank, and could only be extorted by authority.

In sight of Chinapatam, but at a considerable distance, is Capála durga, one of the places to which Tippoo sent those unfortunate wretches who incurred his displeasure. It is a fort situated on a high steep rock. Death soon terminated the sufferings of those confined in it, for the air and water were extremely bad; and the wells were frequently rendered more loathsome and pernicious, by having purposely thrown into them the branches of euphorbium, and dead snakes, or other reptiles, in order to increase the putrefaction. It is said, that no native prisoner ever returned to detail the horrors of this dungeon.

The oppressions of Tippoo, and the miseries of war, are said to have driven away four-tenths of the cultivators. That tyrant received the country in a very flourishing state from his father, of whom every native that I have conversed with on the subject speaks in terms of the highest respect.

As we approach the capital, I think the style of building becomes somewhat better. The houses, although in other respects equally mean, have in general small verandas, or open galleries, in front, to shelter from the sun their shops and their customers. The villages are not fortified, the vicinity of the capital having been a sufficient security against marauders.

Near Muduru are the ruins of a stone fort, containing a temple of Vishnu, and the houses of several Bráhmans. This fort was built by the grandfather of the present Raja of Mysore, and destroyed by the late Sultan with great propriety; for it could make no resistance against a European army, but might serve as a protection to their convoys; at the same time, it was burthensome, by being much stronger than was necessary for protecting the town against plundering parties of native cavalry.

In

It must be observed, that throughout both Carnatics, except at Madras, and some other large towns under the government of infidels, the Bráhmans appropriate to themselves a particular quarter of every town, and that generally the best fortified. A Súdra is not permitted to dwell in the same street with a Bráhman; while he again exacts the same difference from the Whalliaru or Parriars, and other low casts. These people in general live in wretched huts about the suburbs. A Bráhman is considered as polluted by merely walking through such a place.

Although the Nerium odorum is very common by the sides of rivers in most parts of the Mysore dominions, I found a garden here, of about an acre in extent, which was planted with nothing else. The flowers are dedicated to the temple, and a garland-maker is paid by a merchant to gather them for the use of the god. This is one of the deeds called charity by the Hindus. This plant has usually been taken for the oleander, which, I believe, is not a native of India.

16th May.—I went to Mundium, through a country free from hills, but of which not more than one half is arable. Much of it, however, might be rendered so without difficulty. The soil is in general poor. The waste land is occupied by brushwood, and many places are covered with the Phœnix farinifera, *Roxb.* among which are some trees of the wild date.

It is reported, that this tree was formerly very common, but Tippoo, observing that his subjects frequently intoxicated themselves with the tári, ordered the whole to be cut down; and in places near the capital the order was enforced.

This Prince is said to have attempted to introduce a great strictness of manners; absolutely prohibiting the use of all spirituous liquors, and ordering that no loose women should be tolerated. He was himself, however, unreasonably addicted to women; and the Bráhmans here allege, that he sometimes forced away the most beautiful of their daughters. After some detention in the Zenana, if he did not like them, he sent the girls back to their fathers, who, in general, refused to admit them into their families. But Tippoo was not to be treated in this manner with impunity. On such occasions, he sent for the father, took from him all his property, and flogged him severely. He then ordered the girl to point out any Bráhman for a husband, and the unfortunate man was flogged until he gave his consent. A loss of cast, of course, ensued, but the husband commonly fled out of Tippoo's dominions, leaving his wife behind, to want, or prostitution. On going to another place, and turning away his unclean wife, he could get an absolution from his Guru, with permission to marry again.

The hedges here, like those which I saw yesterday, are very bad fences, and are made of the Euphorbium antiquorum. When the ground is sown, the farmers fill up the gaps with thorns cut from the Mimosa indica of Lamarck. This tree is allowed to grow promiscuously through the fields, and its branches are lopped off for fuel, and for repairing the fences. Its shade does not injure the crops, and its timber is valuable for making ploughs, and other instruments of agriculture.

Mundium is a poor village, fortified by a mud wall that has been rebuilt since the restoration of the Raja's government. It was formerly an agrarum, or village bestowed in charity on the Bráhmans. They were deprived of it by Tippoo, when he annexed to the circar or public, all the property of that kind.

In the evening a flight of locusts passed over the town. It extended in length probably about three miles; its width was about a hundred yards, and its height fifty feet. The insects passed from west to east in the direction of the wind, at the rate of six or seven miles an hour. The whole ground and every tree and bush, was covered with

them; but each individual halted for a very short time on any one spot. They went in a very close body, and left behind them very few stragglers. In an hour after the flock had passed, few were to be discovered in the neighbourhood of the town. The stragglers from the grand body did not extend above a hundred yards on each side of it, and were perhaps not more than one to the cubic foot. In the middle of the flock four times that number must be allowed to the same space. I could not perceive, that in their passage they did the smallest damage to any vegetable; but I was informed, that last year a flock passed, when the crop of iola (*Holcus sorghum*) was young, and had entirely devoured it. The noise of this immense number of insects somewhat resembled the sound of a cataract. At a distance they appeared like a long, narrow red cloud near the horizon, which was continually varying its shape. The locusts were as large as a man's finger, and of a reddish colour. Some of them I put into a box, intending next day to examine them; but in the course of the night they were devoured by the ants.

17th May.—In the evening I went from Mundium to the banks of the Cávery (Kavari), opposite to Seringapatam. For one half of the way the country is almost entirely free from rocks, or waste lands. Here I observed a space of about fifty yards in diameter, consisting entirely of a denudated rock of very white glassy quartz. There was no other rock near it. The quartz separates into fragments of a rhomboidal form, from the size of an orange, to that of a man's head, but those are all disposed in strata, every six or eight inches of rock separating, with a clean straight surface, from the similar parts on either hand. These strata are vertical; but, contrary to all the others that I have seen in the country, run nearly east and west.

About half way to Seringapatam I arrived at a hilly country that reaches very near to the Cávery. On the south side of these hills Lord Cornwallis encamped, before the final engagement which gave him possession of the island. His marches from Bangalore may every where be traced by the bones of cattle, thousands of which perished through fatigue and hunger. The road among these hills is no where steep, as it leads over a part of the ridge that is not high; but towards the west are numerous small mountains. Many parts of these hills are cultivated; but much more is incapable of ever becoming arable. The whole is stony, and the barest country that I have ever seen. From ascending the ridge, until reaching the Cávery, one can hardly find a bush sufficiently large to make a broom. Of the country in this day's route perhaps seven-tenths are arable, and of these a fifth at least produces wet crops. Many of the tanks however are ruinous, and their beds are now cultivated with iola, or Holcus sorghum.

The strata on these hills are various. I saw red granitic porphyry, and took specimens of a fine-grained gneiss, consisting of pale red felspar, white quartz, and black mica. The most common rock, however, is the hornblende slate with quartz, which I have before mentioned. When exposed to the air in large high masses, so as to prevent the water from lodging on it, the pieces decay into fragments of a rhomboidal form; but, when exposed to the air on a level with the ground, so as to be penetrated by the rain water, it divides into thin laminæ, like common schistus.

Chap. II.—*Seringapatam and its Vicinity.*

MAY 18th, I was employed at Seringapatam in delivering my credentials.

19th May.—I had an interview with Purnea, the Dewan of the Mysore Rája, and, during that Prince's minority, the chief administrator of his government. By means of

of Colonel Close, I have received assurances of every assistance in forwarding the objects of my mission; and a Bráhman has been appointed to accompany me, with orders to call upon every person that I shall desire for information.

Purnea is a Bráhman of the Madual sect, and descended from a family of the Coimbetore country. His native language is, of course, Tamul, but he speaks the Karnataca, Mussulman, Marattah, and, I believe, the Persian. He is said, by good judges, to be a person extremely well versed in the affairs of the country, and is much more active than Bráhmans in general are. By the inhabitants he is now called Srí Mantra, the same title that is given to the Peshwa at Poonah. It is said to signify a person who has been fortunate from the time of his having been in the womb. Next to Meer Saduc, he seems to have enjoyed a greater power, under the late Sultan, than any other person; but his authority was greatly inferior to that of the above mentioned favourite; and he is said to have been in no small danger from the bigotry of his master. The Sultan is reported to have once proposed to Purnea to become a convert to the faith of Mahomet: as all proposals from a Sultan are tantamount to orders that must be obeyed, the Bráhman replied, "I am your slave," and immediately retired. Those who knew the man, and especially the Sultan's mother, a very respectable lady, represented to that Prince, how dangerous such a proceeding was, and that, if persisted in, it would throw every thing into confusion, for the apparent acquiescence of Purnea, was merely words of course, and his influence among the people was considerable. Tippoo very properly allowed the affair to rest, and nothing more was said on the subject.

From the 20th of May, to the 5th of June, I was employed in visiting every thing remarkable in Seringapatam and its neighbourhood, and in taking an account of the state of agriculture, arts, and commerce at that place.

Seringapatam, as is well known, is situated at the upper end of an island surrounded by the Cavery, which is here a large and rapid river, with a very extensive channel, filled with rocks, and fragments of granite. At this season it is in many places fordable with facility, but during the rains it rises very high, to the great inconvenience of the inhabitants. On the south branch of the river a bridge has been erected, which serves also as an aqueduct, to convey from the upper part of the river a large canal of water into the town and island. The rudeness of this bridge will show the small progress that the arts have made in Mysore. Square pillars of granite are cut from the rock, of a sufficient height to rise above the water at the highest floods. These are placed upright in rows, as long as the intended width of the bridge, and distant about ten feet from each other. They are secured at the bottom by being let into the solid rock, and their tops being cut to a level, a long stone is laid upon each row. Above these longitudinal stones others are placed contiguous to each other, and stretching from row to row, in the direction of the length of the bridge. The whole breadth of this may be twenty feet. One half is occupied by the aqueduct, which is secured at the bottom, and on both sides by brick and plaister. The road is laid with gravel, and secured by a parapet wall on one side, and by the aqueduct on the other. But, however rude such a bridge may be, it is of most essential convenience to the town, and to the inhabitants of the southern bank of the river, though the construction is attended with great expense. The inconveniencies felt from the want of a bridge to the northern branch are so great, that both Purnea and the resident are very anxious to have one erected; but on an estimate being formed, it is found, that even without an aqueduct, a rude bridge of this kind would cost 16,000 canter'raia pagodas, or 5,372l. 9s. 4d. It is very fairly proposed, that the

Com-

Company should defray one half of this, as lords of the island; while the Raja should defray the other half, on account of the advantages to be derived by his subjects on the north side of the river.

Seringapatam is commonly called Patana, or Patan, that is to say, the city; but the name used in our maps is a corruption from Srí Ranga Patana, the city of Srí Ranga, from its containing a temple dedicated to Vishnu under that name. The temple is of great celebrity, and of much higher antiquity than the city, which did not rise to be of importance until the time of the Princes of the Mysore dynasty.

The island is about three miles in length, and one in breadth, and has a most dreary, ugly appearance; for naked rock, and dirty mud-walls are its predominant features. The fort or city of Srí Ranga occupies its upper end, and is an immense, unfinished, unsightly, and injudicious mass of building. Tippoo seems to have had too high an opinion of his own skill to have consulted the French who were about him; and adhered to the old Indian style of fortification, labouring to make the place strong by heaping walls and cavaliers one above the other. He was also very diligent in cutting ditches through the granite; but, as he had always on hand more projects than his finances were adequate to defray, he never finished any work. He retained the long straight walls and square bastions of the Hindus; and his glacis was in many parts so high and steep, as to shelter an assailant from the fire of the ramparts. In the island also, in order to water a garden, he had dug a deep canal parallel to the works of the fort, and not above eight hundred yards distant from them. He was so unskilled, as to look upon this as an additional security to the place; but had it been deemed necessary to besiege the town regularly from the island, the assailant would have found it of the utmost use. Had Tippoo's troops been capable of defending the place properly, this mode of attack would have been necessary, but the confidence which our officers justly reposed in the superiority of their men, and the extreme difficulty of bringing up the immense stores necessary to batter down many heavy works, made them prefer an attack across the river, where the works were not so strong, and where they ventured on storming a breach, that nothing, but a very great difference between the intrepidity of the assailants and defendants, could have enabled them to carry. The depth of the river was of little importance; but the assailants, in passing over its rocky channel, were exposed to a heavy fire of artillery, and suffered considerable loss.

On ascending the breach, our men found an inner rampart lined with troops, separated from them by a wide and deep ditch, and defended at its angle by a high cavalier. By this they were for a little while discouraged; as, from the information of spies, they had expected to have been able to mount the cavalier from the breach, and to form a lodgment there, till means could be taken to gain the inner works, and expel the garrison, which consisted of about eight thousand men, nearly the same number with that employed on the storming party.

After, however, the first surprise occasioned by this disappointment, the troops soon recovered their spirits, and pushed on, along the outer rampart, towards both the right and left of the breach. Those who went to the left found great opposition. At every twenty or thirty yards distance, the rampart was crossed by traverses, and these were defended by the Sultan in person. The loss of men here was considerable; but the English troops gradually advanced, and the Sultan retired slowly, defending his ground with obstinacy.

The enfilading fire from the Bombay army, on the north side of the river, had been so strong, that the defendants had been entirely driven from the ramparts on the right of the breach, and had been prevented from raising any traverses. Our people who went in that direction did not meet with the smallest opposition; and the flank companies of the 12th regiment, having found a passage across the inner ditch, passed through the town to attack the rear of the enemy, who were still opposing the Europeans on the left. The Sultan had now been driven back to the eastward of the palace, and is said to have had his horse shot under him. He might certainly have gone out at a gate leading to the north branch of the river, and nothing could have prevented him from crossing that, and joining his cavalry, which, under the command of his son Futty Hyder, and of Purnea, were hovering round the Bombay army. Fortunately he decided upon going into the inner fort, by a narrow sally-port, and, as he was attempting to do so, he was met by the crowd flying from the flank companies of the 12th regiment; while the troops coming up behind, cut off all means of retreat. Both parties seem to have fired into the gateway, and some of the Europeans must have passed through with the bayonet; as a wound, evidently inflicted by that weapon, was discovered in the arm of the Sultan. His object in going into this gateway, is disputed. The Hindus universally think, that, finding the place taken, he was going to the palace to put all his family to death, and then to seek for his own destruction in the midst of his enemies. But, although such is considered by the Hindus as the proper conduct for a Prince in his situation, we have no reason to think that a Mussulman would conduct himself in this manner; nor was Tippoo ever accused of want of affection for his family. I think it more probable, that he was ignorant of the British troops having got into the inner fort, and was returing thither in hopes of being still able to repel the attack.

No individual claimed the honour of having slain the Sultan, nor did any of either party know that he had fallen in the gateway. The assailants were, indeed, at that time too much enraged to think of any thing but the destruction of their enemy. Each division pushed on towards the eastern end of the town; and, as they advanced, the carnage increased. The garrison threw themselves from the works, attempting to escape into the island, and from thence to their cavalry. The greater part, however, were either killed by the fall, or broke their limbs in a most shocking manner. Meer Saduc, the favourite of the Sultan, fell in attempting to get through the gates. He is supposed to have been killed by the hands of Tippoo's soldiery, and his corpse lay for some time exposed to the insults of the populace, none of whom passed without spitting on it, or loading it with a slipper, for to him they attributed most of their sufferings in the tyrannical reign of the Sultan.

The two divisions of the storming army now met at an open place surrounding a very fine mosque, into which the remains of the garrison withdrew, and with their destruction the fighting nearly ceased. The number of burials amounted to somewhat above seven thousand, several of these were towns people of both sexes, and all ages; but this was accidental, for our soldiers killed none intentionally but fighting men. Those who are disposed to declaim on the horrors of a town taken by assault, may always find room to dwell on the women, infants, and aged persons killed, and on the little protection given by places, however sacred, for such terrible things must always happen, when an enraged soldiery with fire-arms are pursuing an enemy through a populous place.

When our two parties had met, and no longer saw before their eyes the enemy, by whom they, or their countrymen, had been often most barbarously used, they soon cooled,

cooled, and were disposed, by their officers, in the manner most proper to secure their new conquest; many, however, left their ranks; and the followers of the camp, under pretext of taking refreshment to their masters, poured into the town; and an entire night was employed in plunder. In this, I believe, very little murder was committed; although there can be no doubt that many persons were beaten, and threatened with death, in order to make them discover their property. The women on this occasion went out into the streets, and stood there all night in large groupes; I suppose, with a view of preventing any insult, by their exposed situation; few men being capable of committing brutality in public. This precaution was probably little necessary. The soldiers had mostly been in the trenches two days, they had been engaged in a hard day's work, and their hopes and their rage having then ceased, they were left in a state of languor, by which they were more inclined to seek repose, or cordial refreshments, than to indulge in sensual gratification.

Next day the wounded and bruised of the enemy were collected from the works, and neighbourhood, to which some of them had crept, and the mosque, which had been the great scene of bloodshed, became now a place of refuge, in which these poor creatures had every attention paid to them by the British surgeons.

The town of Seringapatam is very poor. The streets are narrower, and more confused, than in any place that I have seen since leaving Bengal. The generality of the houses are very mean, although many of the chiefs were well lodged after their fashion, but for European inhabitants their houses are hot and inconvenient. Within the fort, Tippoo allowed no person to possess property in houses. He disposed of the dwellings as he thought fit, and on the slightest caprice changed the tenants. A great many of the chiefs fell at Siddhiswara, and at the storming of Seringapatam, and those who survived, and the families of those who fell (all of whom have been pensioned by the Company,) have mostly retired to the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot, which they consider as more secure and pleasant than Mysore, many of the families having originally come from the Lower Carnatic, and settled here on the establishment of a Mussulman government. Numbers of the houses which had been thus deserted, are now occupied by the officers of the garrison.

The old palace of the Mysore Rajas at Seringapatam is in a ruinous condition. At the time of the siege the family was reduced to the lowest ebb. The old Raja Chrishna, who was first confined by Hyder, died without issue, but left his wife in charge of a relation, whom he had adopted as his son. This young man soon died, not without suspicion of unfair means. His infant son, the present Raja, was under the charge of the old lady, and of Nundi Raja his mother's father, a respectable old relative, who now superintends his education. Shortly before the siege the whole family had been stripped by the merciless Meer Saduc of even the poorest ornaments; and the child, from bad treatment, was so sickly, that his death was expected to happen very soon. This was a thing probably wished for by the Sultan, the family having fallen into such contempt, that the shadow of a Raja would no longer have been necessary. The family of the Raja, having been closely shut up in the old palace, knew very little, during the siege, of what was going forward, and in the confusion of the assault, having been left by their guards, they took refuge in the temple of Sri Ranga, either with a view of being protected by the god, or of being defended by the surrounding walls from the attack of plunderers. On the restoration of the Prince to the throne of his ancestors, a place for his residence was very much wanted; the necessity of keeping the island of Seringapatam for a military station, having rendered the palaces there very unfit for the purpose. Tippoo, with his usual policy

of destroying every monument of the former government, had razed Mysore, and removed the stones of the palace and temples to a neighbouring height, where he was building a fort; which, from its being situated on a place commanding an extensive view, was called Nazarbar. This fortress could have been of no possible use in defending the country, and was probably planned merely with the view of obscuring the fame of Mysore, the former capital. At a great expence, and to the great distress of the peasants working at it, the Sultan had made considerable progress in the works of this place, when he began to consider that it afforded no water. He then dug an immense pit, cutting down through the solid black rock to a great depth and width, but without success; and when the siege of his capital was formed, the whole work was lying in a mass of confusion, with a few wretched huts in it for the accommodation of the workmen. Into the best of these, in July last, the young Raja was conducted, and placed on the throne. At the same time the rebuilding of the old palace of Mysore was commenced. It is now so far advanced, as to be a comfortable dwelling, and I found the young Prince seated in it, on a handsome throne, which had been presented to him by the Company. He has very much recovered his health, and, though he is only between six and seven years of age, speaks, and behaves with great propriety and decorum. From Indian *etiquette*, he endeavours in public to preserve a dignified gravity of countenance, but the attentions of Colonel Close, the resident, to whom he is greatly indebted for that officer's distinguished efforts in his delivery, make him sometimes relax, and then his face is very lively and interesting.

The sovereign Rája of Mysore is called the Curtur, in order to distinguish him from the head of another branch of the family, called also Rája, but distinguished by the title of Dalawai, or Putarsu. The two families generally intermarried, and the power of the Curtur was frequently as much controlled by the Dalawai, as it was afterwards by Hyder. The Dalawai family still exists, having been spared by the magnanimity of Hyder, although they had attempted to procure his destruction; and they had sunk too low in the estimation of the people, to be objects of Tippoo's jealousy. By the Mussulmans, they were in derision called the Pettahutty Rájas; but the head of this branch, a handsome young man, being now pensioned by the Rája, and treated by the resident with respect, the subjects pretend to be ignorant of the appellation Pettahutty, and he is spoken of by his proper titles, although he has no authority. Numerous other branches of the Mysore family, in the male line, are scattered over the country, and are called Arsu Mocalu, or Raj'bundy. They are little respected, and few of them are possessed of wealth sufficient to support the appearance of rank.

The palace of the Sultan at Seringapatam is a very large building, surrounded by a massy and lofty wall of stone and mud, and outwardly is of a very mean appearance. There were in it, however, some handsome apartments, which have been converted into barracks, but the troops are very ill lodged, from the want of ventilation common in all native buildings. The private apartments of Tippoo formed a square, in one side of which were the rooms that he himself used. The other three sides of the square were occupied by warehouses, in which he had deposited a vast variety of goods, for he acted not only as a Prince, but also as a merchant.

These goods were occasionally distributed among the amildars, or governors of provinces, with orders to sell them, on the Sultan's account, at a price far above their real value; which was done by forcing a share of them upon every man in proportion to his supposed wealth. This was one of the grand sources of oppression, peculation,

tion, and defalcation of revenue. The friends, or wealthy corruptors of the amildars, were excused from taking a large share of the goods; while the remainder was forced upon poor wretches, whose whole means, when torn from them, were inadequate to the estimated value of the goods; and the outstanding balances on this account were always large.

The three sides of the square, formerly used as warehouses, are now occupied by the five younger sons of Tippoo, who have not yet been removed to Vellore. They are well looking boys, and are permitted to ride and exercise themselves in the square, when they are desirous so to do: they are also allowed to view the parade, and to hear the bands of music belonging to the troops in garrison.

The apartment most commonly used by Tippoo was a large lofty hall, open in front after the Mussulman fashion, and on the other three sides, entirely shut up from ventilation. In this he was wont to sit, and write much, for he was a wonderful projector, and was constantly forming new systems for the management of his dominions, which, however, he wanted perseverance to carry into execution. That he conceived himself to be acting for the good of his subjects I have no doubt; and he certainly believed himself endowed with great qualities for the management of civil affairs; as he was at the pains of writing a book on the subject, for the instruction of all succeeding Princes: his talents in this line, however, were certainly very deficient. He paid no attention to the religious prejudices of the greater part of his subjects; but every where wantonly destroyed their temples, and gloried in having forced many thousands of them to adopt the Mussulman faith. He never continued long on the same plan; so that his government was a constant succession of new arrangements. Although his aversion to Europeans did not prevent him from imitating many of their arts; yet this does not appear to have proceeded from his being sensible of their value, or from a desire to improve his country; it seems merely to have been done with a view of showing his subjects, that, if he chose, he was capable of doing whatever Europeans could perform: for although he made broad-cloth, paper formed on wires like the European kind, watches, and cutlery, yet the processes for making the whole were kept secret. A French artist had prepared an engine, driven by water, for boring cannon, but so little sensible was the Sultan of its value, that he ordered the water wheel to be removed, and employed bullocks to work the machinery. One of his favourite maxims of policy was, to overthrow every thing that had been done in the Raja's government, and in carrying this into practice, he frequently destroyed works of great public utility, such as reservoirs, and canals for watering the ground. Although an active Prince, he in a great measure secluded himself from his subjects (one of the greatest evils that can happen in an absolute monarchy), and his chief confidant, Meer Saduc, was a monster of avarice and cruelty. The people universally accused Tippoo of bigotry, and vain glory, but they attribute most of their miseries to the influence of his minister. The Bráhmans, who managed the whole of the revenue department, were so avaricious, so corrupt, and had shown such ingratitude to Hyder, that Tippoo would have entirely displaced them, if he could have done without their services, but that was impossible; for no other persons in the country had any knowledge of business. Instead of checking them by a constant inspection into their conduct, by exemplary punishment when detected in peculation, and by allowing them handsome salaries to raise them above temptation, he appointed Mussulman asophs, or lord lieutenants, to superintend large divisions of the country; and this greatly increased the evil, for these men, intirely sunk in indolence, voluptuousness, and ignorance, confident of favour from the bigotry of their Sovereign, and destitute

 of

of principle, universally took bribes to supply their wants; and the delinquencies of the Brahmans were doubled, to make good the new demands of the asophs, over and above their former profits. Owing to this system, although the Sultan had laid on many new taxes, the actual receipts of the treasury never equalled those in the time of his father. The amildars, under various pretexts of unavoidable emergency reported prodigious outstanding balances: while they received, as bribes from the cultivators, a part of the deductions so made. Although the taxes actually paid by the people to government were thus much lighter than they had been in the administration of Hyder, the industrious cultivator was by no means in so good a condition as formerly. The most frivolous pretexts were received, as sufficient cause for commencing a criminal prosecution against any person supposed to be rich; and nothing but a bribe could prevent an accused individual from ruin. Tippoo certainly had considerable talents for war; but his fondness for it, and his engaging with an enemy so much his superior in the art, brought on his destruction, while his early habits of contending with the Marattah plunderers had given him a ferocity and barbarity, that must prevent every considerate person from pitying his overthrow. The policy in which he succeeded best, was in attaching to him the Lower Mussulmans. He possessed in the highest degree all the cant, bigotry, and zeal, so well fitted for the purpose, and which some few men of abilities have succeeded in assuming, but with him, I believe, they were natural. None of his Mussulmans have entered into our service, although many of them are in great want, and they all retain a high respect for his memory, considering him as a martyr, who died in the defence of their religion.

Though Tippoo had thus secured the affections of many of his subjects, and though he was perhaps conscious of good intentions, and fondly imagined that his government was fit to be a pattern to all others; yet whoever sees his private apartments, will be sensible, that the mind of the despotic monarch was torn with apprehension. Such is, perhaps, the universal state of men of this description, and although a knowledge of the circumstance may not be sufficient to prevent the ambitious from grasping at this power, nor to induce the person who has once possessed it to return to the calm of private life, yet it may be some consolation to the persons exposed to its baneful influence to know, that their ruler enjoys less security and tranquillity of mind than themselves.

From the principal front of the palace, which served as a revenue office, and as a place from whence the Sultan occasionally shewed himself to the populace, the chief entry into the private square was through a strong narrow passage, wherein were chained four tigers; which, although somewhat tame, would in case of any disturbance become unruly. Within these was the hall in which Tippoo wrote, and into which very few persons, except Meer Saduc, were ever admitted. Immediately behind this was the bed chamber, which communicated with the hall by a door and two windows, and was shut up on every other side. The door was strongly secured on the inside, and a close iron grating defended the windows. The Sultan, lest any person should fire upon him while in bed, slept in a hammock, which was suspended from the roof by chains, in such a situation as to be invisible through the windows. In the hammock were found a sword and a pair of loaded pistols.

The only other passage from the private square was into the zenána, or women's apartments. This has remained perfectly inviolate under the usual guard of eunuchs, and contains about six hundred women, belonging to the Sultan, and to his late father. A great part of these are slaves, or attendants on the ladies; but they are kept in equally strict confinement with their mistresses. The ladies of the Sultan are about

 eighty

eighty in number. Many of them are from Hinduſtan Proper, and many are the daughters of Bráhmans, and Hindu Princes, taken by force from their parents. They have been all ſhut up in the zenana when very young; and have been carefully brought up to a zealous belief in the religion of Mahomet. I have ſufficient reaſon to think that none of them are deſirous of leaving their confinement; being wholly ignorant of any other manner of living, and having no acquaintance whatever beyond the walls of their priſon.

Without the walls of Seringapatam are two gardens and palaces, which formerly belonged to the Sultan, but are now occupied by the commandant of the forces, and by the reſident at the court of Myſore. The gardens have been laid out at a conſiderable expence, and canals from the river afford them a copious ſupply of water. The palace at the Laul Baug, which occupies the lower end of the iſland, though built of mud, poſſeſſes a conſiderable degree of elegance, and is the handſomeſt native building that I have ever ſeen. Near to it ſtands the mauſoleum of Hyder, where his ſon alſo repoſes in ſtate. The tombs of both are covered with rich cloths at the Company's expence, and the eſtabliſhment of Moulahs to offer up prayers, and of muſicians to perform the Nobat, is kept up as formerly. The buildings are handſome of the kind, and are ornamented with miſhapen columns of a fine black hornblende, which takes a moſt ſplendid poliſh. The other palace and garden, called the Durria adaulet Baug, was Tippoo's favourite retreat from buſineſs. Its walls are covered with paintings, which repreſent the manner in which the two Muſſulman Princes, Hyder and Tippoo, appeared in public proceſſions; the defeat of Colonel Bailie; and the coſtume of various caſts, or profeſſions, that are common in Myſore. In theſe paintings the figures are much in the ſtyle of caricatures, although they retain a ſtrong likeneſs of native countenance and manner.

The principal workman employed by Colonel Cloſe in repairing the palace in the Laul Baug, gave me the following account of the proceſſes uſed for finiſhing the inſide of the palaces at Seringapatam.

At firſt ſight, one would imagine, that much gilding is uſed in the ornaments, but in truth not a grain of gold is employed. The workmen uſe a paper covered with falſe gilding. This they cut into the ſhape of flowers, and paſte theſe on the walls or columns. The interſtices are filled up with oil colours, which are all of European preparation.

The manner of making this falſe gilded paper is as follows:

Take any quantity of lead, and beat it with a hammer into leaves, as thin as poſſible. To twenty-four parts of theſe leaves add three parts of Engliſh glue, diſſolved in water, and beat them together with a hammer, till they be thoroughly united; which requires the labour of two perſons for a whole day. The maſs is then cut into ſmall cakes, and dried in the ſhade. Theſe cakes can at any time be diſſolved in water, and ſpread thin with a hair bruſh on common writing paper. The paper muſt then be put on a ſmooth plank, and rubbed with a poliſhed ſtone, till it acquire a complete metallic luſtre. The edges of the paper are then paſted down on the board, and the metallic ſurface is rubbed with the palm of the hand, which is ſmeared with an oil called gurna, and then expoſed to the ſun. On the two following days the ſame operation is repeated, when the paper acquires a metallic yellow colour, which, however, more reſembles the hue of braſs, than that of gold. The gurna oil is prepared as follows: Take three quarters of a maund (about 18 lbs.) of agaſhay any (linſeed oil), half a maund (12 lbs.) of the ſize called chunderaſu, and a quarter of a maund (6 lbs.) of muſambra, or aloes prepared in the country. Boil the oil for two hours in a braſs pot.

pot. Bruise the musambra; and, having put it into the oil, boil them for four hours more. Another pot having been made red hot, the chunderasu is to be put into it, and will immediately melt. Take a third pot, and, having tied a cloth over its mouth, strain into it the oil and musambra: these must be kept in a gentle heat, and the chunderasu added to them gradually. The oil must be strained again; and it is then fit for use.

The chunderasu is prepared from the milky juice of any of the following trees: (*Ficus glomerata* Roxb.), goni (a tree which I call *Ficus gonia*) bayla, bayvina, gobali, &c. It is therefore an elastic gum.

The oil used for painting consists of two parts of linseed, and one part of chunderasu.

In white-washing their walls, over the chunam or lime plaster, the workmen of Seringapatam first give a thin coat of suday, or fine clay, which is mixed with size, and put on with a hair brush. They next give a coat of whitening made of powdered balapum, or pot-stone, and then finish with a coat composed of eight parts of abracum, or mica, one part of powdered balapum, and one of size. The abracum is prepared from white mica, by repeated grindings, the finer particles being removed for use by washing them from the grosser parts. The wall, when finished in this manner, shines like the scales of a fish, and when the room is lighted, has a splendid appearance: but in the day-time the wall white washed with the powdered pot-stone alone, in my opinion, looks better than when washed with either quicklime or mica.

In the space between the city and the two gardens, the greater part of the island of Seringapatam is covered with the ruinous mud walls of the suburb, called Shahar Ganjam, and nothing can have a look more dismal and desolate. Tippoo, before the siege, had entirely removed the roofs, for he expected that the British army would have taken possession of the island, as they had done under Lord Cornwallis. It must not be supposed, however, that the huts, of which we now see the ruins, have been at any one time all inhabited. They were, in fact, cantonments for the troops, who were removed from one side of the island to another as caprice dictated. In Shahar Ganjam a new town is fast rising up, in which the streets are laid down broad and regular. In the old cantonments, the huts had been miserably huddled together.

According to the register of houses which I received from the cutwal, the fort, or city, contains 4,163 houses, and 5,499 families, and the Shahar Ganjam contains 2,216 houses, and 3,325 families. At five inhabitants to each house, we may estimate the population of the city to be 20,815, and of the suburbs 11,080; in all, 31,895 persons. This, however, is independent of a strong garrison and its numerous followers. The principal merchant in the place says, that in the reign of Tippoo the island contained 500,000 inhabitants; and he pretends to found his estimate on the quantity of grain consumed. In this calculation, I think he exaggerates grossly, as I see no place where such a number of persons could have lived. I know also, that the man, in other respects, is not to be trusted. Perhaps we may safely admit the former population of the island to have amounted to 150,000 persons, who were entirely supported by the court and army, scarcely any manufactures having been established. By the removal of the court, and the diminished number of the troops, the inhabitants have been reduced to the necessity of leaving the island, which is still a very inconvenient place for Europeans; all their servants, and the most common artificers, being people from Madras, who charge the most extravagant wages. Excellent meat and good vegetables are to be had in abundance, but bread being dear, the private soldiers are in general under the necessity of eating rice.

In this country, the division of the people into what are called the left and right hand sides, or Eddagai and Ballagai, is productive of more considerable effects than at any place that I have seen in India, although among the Hindus it is generally known.

The tribes, or casts, comprehended in the Eddagai, or left hand side, are nine.

1. Panchala, comprehending,
   1. The Cubbinadava, or blacksmiths.
   2. Badiga, carpenters.
   3. Cunsugaru, coppersmiths.
   4. Cul'badiga, masons.
   5. Axala, gold and silversmiths.
2. Bheri chitty, merchants, who pretend to be of the Vaisya cast.
3. Devanga, a class of weavers.
4. Heganigaru, oilmakers, who use two oxen in their mills.
5. Gollur, or Golawanlu, who transport money.
6. Paliwanlu, } two tribes of cultivators, who are not of Karnataca origin.
7. Palawanlu, }
8. Baydaru, hunters.
9. Madigaru, tanners or shoemakers. The Panchala command the whole party; and the Madigaru, in all disputes, form the most active combatants; on which account as their own name is reproachful, they are commonly the Eddagai cast, as if they were the only persons belonging to it.

The casts forming the Ballagai, or right hand side, are eighteen in number.

1. Banijigaru, who are of many trades, as well as of many religions. The two most conspicuous divisions are,
   1. Panchum Banijigaru, who are traders, and wear the linga.
   2. Teliga Banijigaru, who worship Vishnu.
2. Wocligaru, cultivators of the Súdra cast, and of Karnataca extraction.
3. Jotiphana, oilmakers, who use one bullock in the mill.
4. Rungaru, calico printers, and tailors.
5. Ladaru, a kind of Mussulman traders, who are followed by all the artificers of the same religion.
6. Gujerati, merchants of Guzerat.
7. Camatigaru, persons who are really of the Vaisya cast.
8. Jainaru, worshippers of Jain.
9. Curubaru, shepherds, blanket-weavers, and cultivators.
10. Cambaru, potters.
11. Agasaru, washermen.
12. Besta, palankeen-bearers.
13. Padma Shalayvaru, a kind of weavers.
14. Namdaru, barbers.
15. Uparu, persons who dig tanks, and build rough walls.
16. Chitragaru painters.
17. Goallaru, keepers of cows and buffaloes.
18. Whalliaru The people called Parriars at Madras, who form the active part of the right hand side, and are commonly called Ballagai, their own name being disgraceful. The Panchum Banijigaru are the leaders of this division.

It must be observed, that in these lists I have used the Karnataca or Canarese language; and almost all the names are in the plural, as speaking of classes of men. The singular

singular number may in general be obtained by rejecting the final *ru*. I must also observe, that these lists differ, in some respects, from a valuable account of the right and left hand sides, which Colonel Close was so obliging as to communicate. The difference, I suppose, arises partly from his having received the accounts through the medium of the Mussulman language, and partly from his having taken them at Bangalore. Mine I received at Seringapatam, by means of an interpreter from the Karnataca language; and I have found, that in different places, though at no great distance, there are considerable variations in the customs of the same tribes: a circumstance to which I request the reader's attention. My descriptions of sects are only to be considered as strictly applicable to those of the places where they have been taken. I avoid the Mussulman names; as I find that these people had, in general, very imperfect notions concerning their Hindu subjects, and frequently used distinctions to which there was nothing analogous among the aboriginal natives.

The origin of the division of Hindus into the right and left hand sides, is involved in fable. It is said to have taken place at Kunji, or Conjeveram, by order of the goddess Kali, and the rules to be observed by each side were at the same time engraved on a copper plate, which is said to be preserved at the temple of that place. The existence of such a plate, however, is very doubtful, both parties founding on its authority their pretensions, which are diametrically opposite. The different casts, of which each division is composed, are not united by any common tie of religion, occupation, or kindred. It seems, therefore, to be merely a struggle for certain honorary distinctions. The right hand side pretend, that they have the exclusive privilege of using twelve pillars in the pundal, or shed, under which their marriage ceremonies are performed, and that their adversaries, in their processions, have no right to ride on horse-back, nor to carry a flag painted with the figure of Hanumanta. The left hand side pretend, that all these privileges are confirmed to them by the grant of Kali on the copper plate, and that they are of the highest rank, having been placed by that goddess on her left hand, which in India is the place of honour. Frequent disputes arise concerning these important matters, and on such occasions, not only mutual abuse is common, but also the heads of the divisions occasionally stir up the lowest and most ignorant of their followers to have recourse to violence, and encourage them by holding out the houses and shops of their adversaries as proper objects for plunder. A very serious dispute took place at Seringapatam since it fell into the hands of the English. Thirty families of the weavers, belonging to the left hand side, joined themselves to the Teliga Banijigaru, and were encouraged by them to use all the honorary distinctions claimed by the right hand side. This gave great offence to the Panchum Banijigaru, and the Whalliaru were let loose to plunder. nor could they bere pressed without an exertion of military force, by which several people were killed. In order to preserve the peace of the garrison, and to endeavour to bring the two parties to an agreement, it has ever since been thought expedient to prohibit any marriages from being celebrated within the fort.

Pride is the occasion of another violent dispute for precedency between two casts, the Panchum Banijigaru, and the Camatigaru, although they are both of the same side. The former allege, that they are the hereditary chiefs of the division, and the Camatagaru declare that they are of a higher cast, as being Vaisya, while the others are only Súdras. The dispute at present runs very high, and has occasioned some trouble to government.

In every part of India with which I am acquainted, wherever there is a considerable number of any one cast or tribe, it is usual to have a head man, whose office is generally hereditary. His powers are various in different sects and places: but he is commonly

monly intrusted with the authority of punishing all transgressions against the rules of the cast. His power is not arbitrary; as he is always assisted by a council of the most respectable members of his tribe. The punishments that he can inflict are fines and stripes, and above all, excommunication, or loss of cast: which to a Hindu is the most terrible of all punishments. These hereditary chiefs, also, assisted by their council, frequently decide civil causes, or disputes among their tribe; and when the business is too intricate or difficult, it is generally referred to the hereditary chief of the ruling tribe of the side or division to which the parties belong. In this case, he assembles the most respectable men of the division, and settles the dispute; and the advice of these persons is commonly sufficient to make both parties acquiesce in the decision; for every one would shun a man who could be so unreasonable as to refuse compliance. These courts have no legal jurisdiction; but their influence is great, and many of the ablest amildars support their decisions by the authority of government.

The dominions of the Raja of Mysore are now divided into three great districts, or subayenas, called the Patana, Nagara, and Chatrakal subayenas or rayadas, from the three places where the chief offices or cutcheries are situated. The Patana district is by far the largest, and is under the immediate inspection of the Dewan, Purnea, and of his deputy, Bucherow. The cutchery is in Seringapatam, and dependent on it are ninety-one talucs, or sub-divisions, of which six formerly belonged to Nagara. This present district is a much greater extent of territory than ever before was subject to the Mysore family, for although they had conquered Coimbetore, and though some districts formerly belonging to them, and bordering on the Bara Mahal, have been ceded to the Company, yet, beside these six talucs taken from Nagara, they never possessed Sira, Bangaluru, nor Colar, which were conquered from Mussulman families by Hyder. In addition to this, they have acquired the Chatrakal subayena, containing thirteen talucs, and the Nagara, containing nineteen. Each of these districts is under the inspection of a subadar. Each taluc is managed by an amildar, who is an officer of justice, police, and revenue; but his authority is very limited; the power of severe punishment, and of revising all civil causes, being reserved to the Dewan. The amildars have under them a sufficient number of sheristadars, or accomptants, who in the Karnataca language are called parputties, and the villages under them are managed by gaudas, and shanabogas, called by the Mussulmans potails, and curnums. These two offices are properly hereditary. The gauda is the representative of the amildar, and the shanaboga is the village accomptant. The amildars, parputties, and shanabogas, are almost universally Bráhmans. The gaudas are all Súdras.

Near Seringapatam the farms in general extend to two or three ploughs of land. One plough is a poor stock; the possessor of four or five is a great farmer, and six or seven are reckoned prodigious wealth: the total want of a land measure, and the scattered disposition of the plots of which each farm consists, render it very difficult to ascertain the extent of a plough of land, especially as a difference arises from the proportion of watered land and dry field which it contains. We may readily affirm, however, that the extent of a plough of land is very inconsiderable; for the ploughings given to the same field are very numerous, although dispersed over a considerable portion of the year, and I was assured, that a plough wrought by bullocks did not labour more, daily, than one seventh of an acre.

This account of the tenures and extent of farms not being satisfactory, on my return to Seringapatam I assembled the amildar of the Pattana Ashta gram, with the most intelligent of his sheristadars, and several respectable gaudas, to consult them on

on the fubject. They fay, that a farmer having five ploughs, if he lives near the town, muft keep ten fervants, owing to the fcarcity of forage. At fome diftance, five men fervants are fufficient. In harveft and feed time, he muft hire additional labourers, who are chiefly women, and muft have fourteen oxen.

Inftead of dividing the crops, as ufual in moft parts of the country, the farmer here cultivates his watered land as he pleafes, and pays for each candaca of ground ten candacas of paddy, which are equal in value to 1120 feers of rice. The average price of this is about 20 feers for a rupee. For this ground, therefore, he pays to the government 66 rupees, which is at the rate of 1l. 3s. an acre. He muft alfo give an allowance to the gods, and to the panchanga, tallari, and other village officers, in lieu of the fhare which they were formerly wont to receive on a divifion of crops. The rent of dry field is paid in money, according to an old valuation formed on an eftimate of its produce. With five ploughs a man cultivates about 12½ acres of watered land, and 25 acres of dry field. The circar, or government, is bound to keep the canals and tanks in repair.

The ryuts, or farmers, have no property in the ground, but it is not ufual to turn any man away, fo long as he pays the cuftomary rent. Even in the reign of Tippoo, fuch an act would have been looked upon as an aftonifhing grievance. The gaudas are not here hereditary, but are appointed by the amildar, with the confent of the farmers; for the amildar never attempts to put in any perfon contrary to the wifhes of the people. Thefe gaudas receive a fixed pay of 20 fanams, or 13s. 5¼d. a month, and perform the facrifices, which in other places are ufually offered by the hereditary chiefs of villages.

The account of thefe perfons, concerning the quantity of ground that can be laboured by one plough, is probably under-rated. According to an account of the ground that is now actually cultivated by the plough in the Pattana Afhta gram, which was procured from Purnea, and given me by Colonel Clofe, the watered lands amount to 1369 candacas, or 8487 acres, and the dry field to 964 candacas, or 22,172 acres. This divided by 3078, which, according to public documents, is the number of ploughs in the fame diftrict, will give for a farm of five ploughs 13 $\frac{78}{100}$ acres of watered land, and 36 acres of dry field.

The hire of farmers' labourers at Seringapatam, and generally within two miles from the city, when employed throughout the year, is 10 fultany fanams, or 6s. 8¼d. a month. The fervant lives in his own houfe; and it is cuftomary for the mafter on extraordinary occafions, fuch as marriages, to advance the fervant money. This is not deducted from his wages by gradual inftalments, but is confidered as a debt, that muft be repaid before the fervant can leave his place. In cafe of the fervant's death his fons are bound to pay the debt, or to continue to work with their father's mafter, and, if there be no fons, the mafter can give the daughters away in marriage, and receive the prefents that are ufually given on fuch occafions, unlefs thefe fhould exceed the amount of the debt. In harveft, the daily hire of a man is fix feers of paddy. A woman tranfplanting rice gets daily ¼ of a fultana fanam, or about two-pence. The only fervant that does work in the houfe of a farmer is a woman, who comes once a day to fweep the houfe, and for her trouble receives a piece of cloth once a year. The women of the family cook, fetch water, and perform all other family labour. The fervants are both Súdras and Whalliaru, but feven-tenths of the whole are of the former caft.

Six or feven miles from town, the monthly hire of a fervant is 8 fanams, or about 5s. 4d. Farther from the city, the hire is one fanam, and 80 feers (or a little more than

than eleven pecks) of grain; of which one half muſt be ragy, and the remainder of ſuch kind as it may be moſt agreeable to the farmer to ſpare.

At different convenient places in every taluc there are weekly markets, which in good parts of the country may be about two or three miles from each other. To theſe the farmers carry their produce, and ſell it, partly to conſumers by retail, and partly by wholeſale to traders. In the early part of the day they endeavour to ſell their goods by retail, and do not deal with the traders unleſs they be diſtreſſed for money. It is not cuſtomary for traders to advance money on the crops, and to receive the produce when they ripen. At all theſe markets buſineſs is carried on by ſale; no barter is cuſtomary, except among a few poor people, who exchange grain for the produce of the kitchen garden.

On conſidering the ſtate of agriculture near Seringapatam, many capital defects will be perceived. A meliorating ſucceſſion of crops is utterly unknown; ſcarcely any attention is paid to the improvement of the breed of labouring cattle, and ſtill leſs to providing them with ſufficient nouriſhment. The religion of the natives, indeed, is a powerful obſtacle in the way of agriculture The higher ranks of ſociety being excluded from animal food, no attention will, of courſe, be paid to fattening cattle; and without that, what would our agriculture in England be worth? We could have no green crops to reſtore our lands to fertility, and but a ſcanty manure to invigorate our crops of grain. I am afraid, however, that the reader, in peruſing the foregoing accounts, will have formed an opinion of the native agriculture ſtill more favourable than it deſerves. I have been obliged to uſe the Engliſh words ploughings, weedings, and hoeings, to expreſs operations ſomewhat ſimilar, that are performed by the natives; and the frequent repetitions of theſe, mentioned in the accounts taken from the cultivators, might induce the reader to imagine that the ground was well wrought, and kept remarkably clean. Quite the reverſe, however, is the truth. Owing to the extreme imperfection of their implements, and want of ſtrength in their cattle, a field after ſix or eight ploughings, has numerous ſmall buſhes remaining as upright in it as before the labour commenced, while the plough has not penetrated above three inches deep, and has turned over no part of the ſoil. The view of the plough and other implements in the annexed plates, will ſufficiently account for this circumſtance. The plough, it muſt be obſerved, has neither coulter nor mould-board, to divide, and to turn over the ſoil, and the handle gives the ploughman very little power to command its direction. The other inſtruments are equally imperfect, and are more rudely formed than it was poſſible for my draughtſman to repreſent.

The manufactures of Seringapatam and its vicinity were never conſiderable. They were chiefly military ſtores and camp equipage, and of courſe have been greatly reduced by the arſenal having become a mere dependency on that of Madras. Weavers are now aſſembled in conſiderable numbers in Shahar Ganjam, and in a ſhort time will probably become numerous. The trade of the place was almoſt entirely confined to the importation of proviſions, clothing, and luxuries for the court and army; and the returns were almoſt wholly made in caſh.

The natives here are either not well acquainted with the quarries of their country, or elſe pretend great ignorance concerning them. Although the country abounds in a variety of ornamental ſtones, I obſerve only two about Seringapatam, that have received a marble poliſh. The one is the black ſtone uſed in Hyder's monument, the quarry for which I ſhall hereafter have an opportunity of examining. The other is a moſt beautiful green ſtone, of which ſome baſes for pillars were found in the

the palace; but no person can tell from whence they were brought. It has the appearance of quartz stained by copper; but is vitrifiable, *per se*, in a moderate heat, and gives out no copper to the vitriolic acid.

The two finest stones near Seringapatam are found at Kingalu Copalu, and Cavary Cadu, both near the northern branch of the river. The former is a compact granite, consisting of dark red felspar, red and yellowish quartz, and black mica. Some of the yellow particles appear to be felspar. The prevailing colour is owing to the dark red minute particles of felspar, but it also contains large concretions of the same stone, which have a bright red colour.

I had a specimen resembling this brought me (I do not know from what place), in which the red felspar predominated over the quartz, and the mica was in a very small proportion. The grains are small, it is also a very ornamental stone.

The stone from Cavary Cadu may be called either a hornstone porphyry, or a granatine. Its basis is a dark brown hornstone, in which are imbedded grey, yellow, and red felspars, and black shorl. Like the former, it is very compact.

The granite, of which the walls of Mysore and Nuzerbar have been formed, is loose-grained, and consists of glassy quartz, green and black mica, and reddish felspar. The mica is in large quantity, and the felspar in a smaller proportion than usual.

Specimens of a fine-grained granite were also brought me from some quarry in the neighbourhood, consisting of black mica, grey felspar, and yellowish brown quartz, which gives the predominating colour. It is probably, rather a gneiss than a granite, as a stratified appearance may be seen in one of the specimens; but, except in the rock, it is generally difficult to distinguish gneiss from granite.

At Kingalu Copalu is also found a very pretty, fine-grained granitell, consisting of grey felspar and black mica. It is evidently of a slaty texture, and would be a gneiss, if it contained quartz It is of the kind of stone called by Saussure, roche feuilletée, which seems to be a useful distinction.

Near the Durria Adaulut Baug, on the island of Seringapatam, are found nodules of a stone called madi cullu, which is sometimes used for making gun-flints, these, however, are of a bad quality. Better ones, called cheky muky, are said to be found near a village, called Beu Cullu, about twenty miles north and west from Seringapatam. The madi cullu is evidently a hornstone.

All these stones are very hard; yet the natives cut them into pillars, or flags, with tolerable facility. The same persons cut the stones out of the quarry, and afterwards work them up into the various fantastical shapes that are given to them in Hindu buildings. Good workers in stone get from 40 to 50 fanams a month (from about 1l. 6s. 10½d. to 1l. 13s. 7d.) The drudgery is performed by common labourers. The granite may be cut by wedges in any direction, and to any length; but there is always one direction, in which it is found to split easiest, a number of small square holes, about an inch and a half in diameter, and four inches deep, are cut in the line by which the stone is meant to be split. The work is performed by a small steel punch of this shape, which is driven in by a heavy iron mallet. When the rock or stone is very long, or deep, these holes must be almost contiguous, but when the surface to be split is small, they may be at considerable distances. Blunt wedges of steel are then put in the holes, and each is struck upon in its turn until the stone splits, which it does in a straight line to the very bottom of the mass or stratum. The surface is cut smooth with steel chisels, and, except in the very finest works, receives no higher polish. When a marble polish is to be given, it is done by rubbing the stone with cakes made of the adamantine spar, reduced to

 powder,

powder, and united with melted lac. The adamantine ſpar is here called curungada cullu, and is ſaid to be found in lumps, which are immerſed in rocks of a black ſtone, near Nagamangula. It muſt be obſerved, however, that at Nagamangula the people denied their having any ſuch ſtone.

Near Seringapatam the congcar, or limeſtone nodules, called there ſuna cullu, are very common, and are found of four different qualities, which, however, are generally intermixed in the ſame field. Theſe four varieties, therefore, although they produce lime of different degrees of whiteneſs, and are diſtinguiſhable by the workmen, have the ſame origin. They have, no doubt, been depoſited by water; and I have been told, by good authority in Bengal, that a field, after having been perfectly freed of theſe nodules, will in a few years be again filled with them. Whence then is this calcarious matter derived? There are here no rocks of limeſtone, or marble, from which it could have been waſhed. The whole calcarious matter to be found in Myſore is a tufa. The quicklime is prepared by a claſs of people called Uparu, who are in general poor, and muſt receive advances to enable them to hire labourers. A labouring man at this work earns daily ¾ of a fanam, almoſt a ſixpence; and women, who perform much of the labour, get one-third of that ſum. They are allowed to collect the nodules, which are generally found by the ſides of rivulets, and in waſte ground, without paying any thing to the public, but in the late government they were frequently compelled to ſupply the Sultan at a low rate. The lime is always burned with charcoal. The dark coloured quicklime, for building, coſts at Seringapatam, ſix fanams a candaca, or nearly five pence a buſhel; finer lime, for white-waſhing, coſts ten fanams, or a little more than eight pence a buſhel, and the fineſt, that is uſed for chewing with betel, coſts twenty fanams a candaca, or one ſhilling and four pence half-penny a buſhel.

Firewood at Seringapatam is a dear article, and the fuel moſt commonly uſed is cow-dung made up into cakes. This, indeed, is much uſed in every part of India, eſpecially by men of rank, as, from the veneration paid to the cow, it is conſidered as by far the moſt pure ſubſtance that can be employed. Every herd of cattle, when at paſture, is attended by women, and theſe often of high caſt, who with their hands gather up the dung, and carry it home in baſkets. They then form it into cakes, about half an inch thick, and nine inches in diameter, and ſtick them on the walls to dry. So different, indeed, are Hindu notions of cleanlineſs from ours, that the walls of their beſt houſes are frequently bedaubed with theſe cakes; and every morning numerous females, from all parts of the neighbourhood, bring for ſale into Seringapatam baſkets of this fuel.

Many females who carry large baſkets of cow-dung on their heads are well-dreſſed, and elegantly formed girls. The dreſs of the Karnátaca women is indeed very becoming, and I have never ſeen finer forms than even the labouring women of that country frequently poſſeſs. Their necks and arms are in particular remarkably well ſhaped. Their naſtineſs, however, is diſguſting, very few of the inhabitants above the Ghats being free from the itch, and their linen, being almoſt always dyed, is ſeldom waſhed.

Timber, for building and furniture, may be had at Seringapatam of excellent quality; but it is dear, as it is brought from a great diſtance by land carriage. The principal ſupply comes from the neighbourhood of the weſtern Ghats.

The plan which I have concerted with Colonel Cloſe, for my future inveſtigations, is, to proceed to the chief places of the Raja's dominions; and there to make myſelf maſter, ſo far as I ſhall be able, of the ſtate of the country. I am then to draw up a ſet of queries, applicable to the ſtate of affairs, which Purnea will circulate

culate among the amildars, and procure their anſwers for my information. I ſhall follow a ſimilar plan in the dominions immediately ſubject to the Company. The country toward the north-weſt being now in a very unſettled ſtate, owing to the inſurrection of Dundia, I ſhall defer my viſit to that quarter to the laſt, with a view of giving the collectors of Canara time to anſwer ſuch queries as I may propoſe to them, after having viſited that province, which is the laſt part of the Company's territory that I intend to ſurvey.

Chap. III. — *From Seringapatam to Bangalore.*

HAVING finiſhed my buſineſs at Seringapatam, on the 6th of June 1800, I left it early in the morning, and aſſembled my people at a ſmall village, named Gaynangur, which is ſituated among the hills north from the river Cávery. The fields that are at preſent occupied having now been all ploughed, I obſerve that a large proportion of the arable land is left waſte.

At Gaynangur there is much talc, but the laminæ are not large enough to ſerve for glaſs. It occupies the rents and ſmall veins in an extenſive chain of quartz, which is in a ſtate of decompoſition, and of which ſome parts are red, and ſome white. By digging deep, it is probable that larger pieces of the talc might be found. The inhabitants are wonderfully ignorant of the mineral productions of their country, for they did not know the limeſtone nodules, ſo common in this place, when ſhown to them in their own fields. All their lime comes from the city.

7th June. — I went to Mundium. Not above one-third of the arable land appears to be now occupied.

The flight of locuſts that I ſaw when I was here laſt (p. 57), ſettled at a village to eaſtward, and ate up all the young jola.

The rice land here is watered entirely from tanks or reſervoirs; and the cultivation is never commenced till there be a ſufficiency of water in the tank to enſure the crop. When the rains ſet in early, and fill the tank timely, the farmers have yearly two crops; but when the early part of the ſeaſon is dry they take a Hainu crop of wull' ellu, udu, heſſaru, or carlay, and afterwards, when the tank is filled, plough for a crop of Caru rice.

8th June — I went to Madura. Since the 4th inſtant, when we had a heavy ſtorm of wind, rain, and thunder, the weather has been remarkably pleaſant. The ſun is in general clouded, and the temperature of the air like moderate ſummer-weather in England.

The proportion of ground in actual cultivation does not appear to exceed one-tenth part of the country. At Madura there is a very fine reſervoir, which indeed waters more ground than the inhabitants can cultivate; for they are much reduced in number. In Hyder's time they amounted to 250 houſes; and they roſe to 400 in the early part of the Sultan's government. By the expeditions of Lord Cornwallis the houſes ſunk to 250, and Tippoo's late oppreſſions have reduced them to 100. The people, however, ſeem to be much ſatiſfied with the protection they enjoy under the Britiſh forces, and are betaking themſelves with induſtry to the re-eſtabliſhment of their country.

Having procured a Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhman, eſteemed a man of great learning, I examined him concerning the peculiarities of his ſect, but with very little ſatisfaction. However well theſe men may be inſtructed in certain dogmas, and the art of diſputation, they are not qualified to give any ſatisfactory information concerning the

origin of their order, or the means by which it came to prevail over others; for, of the sectaries which differ from themselves, such as those of Budha, Jaina, or Siva, they profess an almost total ignorance, and sovereign contempt.

This man allows, that in the existing Védas no mention is made of any division of the Bráhmans into sects; but he contends, that from the very beginning of the universe all the three sects of Smartal, Ayngar, and Madual, existed; and he says, that they are mentioned in the eighteen Puránas, which, next to the Vedas, are by the Bráhmans esteemed as most holy. Although the Bráhmans have existed from the beginning of time, yet in the ninth century of the era of Sálivábana, or tenth century of Christianity, twenty-one heretical sects had arisen in Bhárata-khanda, and had turned from the true worship almost the whole of its inhabitants. Each of these sects had a bháſha, or book explaining their doctrine, founded partly on dogmas derived from the Védas, and explained in the last six of the eighteen Puránas, and partly on tenets contrary to the books esteemed sacred by the Bráhmans. The most remarkable of these sects were the Buddhists, the Jainas, and the Sarvakas.

About this time arose a celebrated doctor of the Brahmans, named Sankara Achárya, who belonged to the sect of Siva The eighteen Puránas are divided into three distinct doctrines, called Satwika, Rájasa, and Tamasa, the principles of which, from their tendency, are compared to God, to a King, and to the devil, the first and last resembling God and the evil spirit, while the Rájasa is of a princely nature, partly good and partly bad. Sankara Achárya, as a Smartal, acknowledged the two first parts to be the proper guide for the conduct of Bráhmans, and wrote a bhásha, or commentary, called after his own name, in which he explained the doctrine of the first twelve of the eighteen Puránas, so as to reconcile it with the tenets of six of the prevailing sects, of whom the most remarkable were the Savaram, Ganapatyam, Saivam and Vaishnavum. By this method he gained a strong party; and having, among others, brought over the Prince of Sringa-giri, where he lived, he commenced a violent persecution against the heretical doctrines.

In the year of Sálivábana 932 (A. D. 1009), at Sri Permaturu, or Srivaram P'huthur, near Madras, was born Ráma Anuja Achárya of the Sri Vaishnavam sect of Bráhmans, and who, of course, followed the authority of the first six only of the eighteen Puránas. These six are called Vaishnavam, Náradyam, Bágawatam, Garudam, Padmam, and Varáham. The second division of the eighteen Puránas is read by this sect of Bráhmans, although they do not found on it any of their doctrines. They look with horror on the third division. On arriving at the age of discretion, Ráma Anuja became a Sannyási, and wrote a commentary, in which he confuted the works of Sankara Achárya, and demonstrated, that of the twenty-one sects, the only one that ought to be tolerated was that called Vaishnavam. The commentary of Ráma Anuja is now the chief guide of the Sri Vaishnavam Brahmans. They worship Vishnu, and the gods of his family only, and all over the Decan are almost exclusively the officiating priests in the temples of these deities. They allege Brahma to be a son of Vishnu, and Siva the son of Brahmá, and consider them as the creative and destructive powers in the universe; but they abhor the worship of these gods. Vishnu they consider as the same with Para Brahmă, or the supreme being: yet they worship him in nine only of his ten incarnations. Budha, although the tenth incarnation of Vishnu, is never worshipped by them, nor, I believe, by any Bráhman. The reason assigned for this is as follows: one of the Asuras, or demons, named Tripura, possessed a city, the inhabitants of which were very troublesome to the inhabitants of Brahma Lóka, heaven of Brahmá, who attempted in vain to take the place; it being

being destined not to fall, so long as the women who resided in it should preserve their chastity, which hitherto had been inviolate. The angels at length offered up their prayers to Vishnu, who took upon himself the form of a most beautiful young man, and became Budha Avatára. Entering then into the city, he danced naked before the women, and inspired them with loose desires; so that the fortress, being no longer defended by the shield of purity, soon fell a prey to the angels. As the Bráhmans cannot defend this action of the god, they never invoke him by the name or in the form of Budha Avatára.

Ráma Anuja Achárya having had great success both against the Smartal, and the heretical sects, especially the Jainas, formed a hierarchy for his followers. He divided the whole into eighty-four portions, and ordered, that each portion, and their descendants, should be subject to a Guru or Swámalu of his appointment, and to the successors of this Guru. The number of Gurus belonging to this sect are therefore eighty-four, of whom five are Sannyási, and seventy-nine are married hereditary chiefs.

The matams, or places where the five Sannyási Gurus chiefly reside, are Ahobalum, Totadri near Ráméswara, Tripathi, Sri Rangam, and Kunji. When one of these Sannyásis observes the approach of death, he appoints some Vidwansa, or man of learning and piety, to be his successor. If the person chosen give his consent, he must forsake his wife, children, and goods, part of which goes to his children, and part is given in charity; that is to say, to the Bráhmans. The new Sannyási shaves his head, and throws aside the thread by which Brahmans are distinguished. The virtues and powers belonging to his high rank he receives along with an upadésa, which is delivered to him by his predecessor. Upadésa is a mysterious sentence, which the Hindus receive from their Gurus, and constantly mutter when at their devotions. That of the Brahmans is entirely different from what is bestowed on the lower casts; and is again very inferior to that given to the Sannyási Gurus, which, according to them, has most wonderful powers. In case of sudden death, the followers of the Mata meet, and choose from among themselves a Sannyási, who gets an upadesa, from one of the others. These Gurus frequently give an upadesa and some images to a favourite disciple, and appoint him a kind of deputy to manage their affairs at a distance. Thus the Ahobalam Swamalu has sent a deputy to Malcotay, who resides at that great place of Hindu worship, and there watches over the interests of his superior. These deputies observe the rules of Sannyasi, but have no power to appoint a successor. When one of them dies, the followers send back the images to their Guru, and request that he would depute another representative.

Among the Sri Vaishnavam Brahmans the office of an hereditary Guru descends in the male line according to primogeniture, but when one of them has no children he must adopt his nearest male relation, who succeeds him as his son. Kindred by the female line is considered as not forming a tie of blood. These hereditary chiefs, once in two or three years, make a circuit round the places where their followers live. They also send agents to transact their business. An infant may succeed, and during his minority the business is carried on by the nearest male relation, or by some other Vaidika Bráhman, whom the family appoints.

The Sannyásis and hereditary Gurus seem to be totally independent of each other, and to possess nearly the same authority and powers over their followers. When a Guru of any sect comes near a place, the whole inhabitants of a pure descent, whether they be his followers or not, must go out to receive him with the utmost respect. What is meant by the followers of a Guru, are certain families attached to him, to whom he performs

performs certain ceremonies, and over whom, in all matters connected with religion, he possesses a jurisdiction. In general, every man follows the Guru of his father: but this seems to be a voluntary submission; and it is commonly allowed, that a man, whenever he pleases, may change his Guru. The ceremonies bestowed by the Sri Vaishnavam Gurus on their followers are chiefly upadésa and chakrántikam. The upadésa I have already explained. It is delivered orally to the follower, and to write it down, or reveal it, are crimes of such an enormous magnitude as to be quite unknown. The chakrántikam is performed with the spear of the god Vishnu, which is made hot, and applied by the Guru to the shoulder of the disciple, so as to burn the skin. During life this is frequently repeated, the upadésa is only delivered once.

Neither of these ceremonies are ever bestowed on a person of an impure birth; so that the Whalliaru and Madigaru must content themselves with praying to God for his blessing to avert evil, or bestow good. This however not being satisfactory, these poor people frequently attack the Bráhmans for an upadesa. In order to be quit of their importunity, the Bráhmans sometimes tell them the name of any god, the constant muttering of which pleases the man much better than the offering up his requests to the deity in the pure language of the heart. So powerful is the influence of ceremony over that of reason.

In their judicial capacity the Gurus possess great authority. They take cognizance of all omissions of ceremonies, and actions that are contrary to the rules of cast. Small delinquencies they punish by pouring cow-dung and water on the head of the guilty person, by fine and by whipping. For great offences they excommunicate the culprit, which is done by shaving his head. This excludes a man from all society, even from that of his nearest connections; for his very wife would incur a similar punishment by giving him any assistance. The excommunication may be removed by the Guru, in which case he purifies the repentant sinner by a copious draught of cow's urine. Though the deputies have no proper authority to punish delinquents, yet they frequently make people voluntarily submit to their correction. They threaten any person to send a complaint to his Guru of some crime laid to his charge, and an order to proceed to the residence of the Guru to answer the complaint. Most persons, however, choose to submit to whatever the deputy dictates, rather than undertake the trouble of a long journey, at the end of which they might be more severely punished by the Guru, than they would have been at home by the deputy.

When a Guru is accused of any misdemeanor, he is called before a trimatustaru, or assembly of the most eminent Vaidika Bráhmans of all the three sects, who have the power of inflicting six different punishments, all of which are very severe.

9th June.—I went to Chinapatam, or Chenapattana, which was formerly the residence of a Polygar family, called Jagadeva Rayas. They were Teliga Banijigaru, and seem to have risen into power about five centuries ago. They continued till very lately possessed of considerable territories, and were reduced by the Mysore Rajas, no long time before these, in their turn, became subject to the Mussulmans. The direct heir of the family, in the male line, now resides here in great poverty, and, being a petty trader, is called Jiva Rája Chitty.

Glass-ware is one of the manufactures of this place. It is made by two operations. In the first, from the raw materials are formed masses of glass, in the second these masses are wrought up into small bottles, and ornamental rings for the arms of women.

10th June.—I passed this day in examining the forests of this neighbourhood; but shall defer giving an account of the particulars, till I have visited some other parts of the same chain of woody hills, and shall be thus enabled to give at once a view of the whole.

whole. Owing to the badness of the soil in the hills near Chinapatam, few of the trees come to great perfection.

11th June. — I remained at Chinapatam, taking an account of the palm-gardens in the vicinity. A tract of land runs near this from Madura towards Magadi, which is about eighteen miles in length, and varies from one mile to a quarter of a mile in width. The whole of this, except a few barren spots intersecting it, is planted with cocoa-nut and betel-nut palms. All this ground might be cultivated for rice, and has a supply of water from reservoirs, but the plantations are much more valuable.

12th June. — I went to Ráma-giri. A part of the way I had travelled before; but on coming to the Arkawati river, I turned to the north, and passed through a valley naturally beautiful, but which appeared dismal on account of its having been in a great measure deserted. Near its head I found a few small villages surrounded by a little cultivation.

Since the accession of Tippoo, Ráma-giri has been strangely agitated. The town, which was then considerable, he removed from the west side of the river, and placed close under the hill upon which the fort is built. It was then surrounded by a wall, and some other defences of no great importance. The army of Lord Cornwallis summoned the fort, and the garrison, intimidated by the taking of many strong places which they had seen fall, surrendered without any resistance, and for some time our troops kept possession. After the peace Tippoo dismantled the fort, and now the amildar has again removed the town to the west side of the river, and placed it lower down than its original situation. During the incursions of Lord Cornwallis the inhabitants were deprived of the means of subsistence, and a large proportion of them perished of hunger. From this, and other similar accounts of the state of population, from the information of the natives, which I believe is just, and rather partial to the British side, partly from flattery, and partly from their being sensible that they never before were under the protection of a people so humane, just, and powerful. The place is dreadfully infested by tigers, especially the fort, which occupies a huge rocky hill, capable of being made a strong defence, even without any assistance from art. Several Brahmans reside in the town, as the place is reputed holy, but it is kept in a very slovenly state. It is plentifully supplied with water from several large cavities, or chasms in the rock, which receive the rain, and by their coolness prevent its sudden evaporation. Such cavities are called by the natives donays, and in all the rocky hills of this great chain of mountains are very common. In the hottest season they never become dry, but they have no springs to give a supply of fresh water, and of course afford but unwholesome drink.

The granite, of which the rock of Ráma-giri consists, is very beautiful, and is composed of small grains of black mica, or perhaps micarelle, and of white glassy quartz, in which are immersed large masses of red felspar. It seems to agree exactly with Mr. Kirwan's definition of granitic porphyry. It is a very elegant stone, and might be procured in very large masses.

In this hilly tract, there is a race of men called by the other natives Cad' Eruligaru; but who call themselves Cat' Chensu. Here they live in little huts near the villages, and have a small piece of blanket, or cotton cloth, to cover their nakedness. They are reconciled to the other natives, and pay a trifling capitation tax to government. Where the woods are more extensive, they are terrified at the sight of any civilized being, and live absolutely without any clothing, but cover their nakedness with a few leaves. In these forests they dwell in caves, or under bushes, which they make a better shelter from the weather, by adding small branches from other trees. When

 the

the civilized part of this tribe go into the woods to visit their relations, or to trade with them, they must throw off their rags, lest they should be mistaken for a villager, in which case none of the Chensu would approach.

The language of the Chensu is a dialect of the Tamul, with occasionally a few Karnata or Telinga words intermixed, but their accent is so different from that of Madras, that my servants did not at first understand what they said. Their original country, they say, is the Animalya forests below the Ghats, which is confirmed by their dialect. Those who live in the villages have taken the Pancham Banijigaru as their chiefs; they trade chiefly with them, and call them their swámis, or lords; but, although they have learned to invoke the name of Siva, they do not wear the lingam.

Those in the woods have either no religion, or some simple one with which those here are unacquainted. The people of this country attribute to the Chensu the power of bewitching tigers, and my Brahman gravely informed me, that the Chensu women, when they went out to procure food, left their infants in charge of one of these ferocious beasts. The Chensu, of course, deny their possessing any such power; but allege, that the art is known to another rude tribe named Soligaru, who inhabit the southern Ghats which separate this country from Coimbetore.

The Chensu here live upon game, wild roots, herbs, and fruits, and a little grain, which they purchase from the farmers. They are enabled to do this by collecting some drugs, honey, and wax. It is on account of their having the exclusive privilege of collecting these two last articles that they pay a poll-tax, which is annually fifteen fanams, or 10s. 0¾d. for each family.

13th June. — I went to Magadi, which in our maps is called Maghery. This stage was very fatiguing for my cattle, and the road passed through a wild but romantic country, which consists of low hills, intermixed with little cultivated vallies. The soil of these is tolerably good, and, like the Rama-giri valley, they are cultivated with dry grains only. The higher parts are covered with trees, which, owing to the poverty of the soil, are in most places very small, but near Savana-durga, and in a few other parts, the timber and bamboos grow to a good size. The summits of all the ridges of hills are bare rocks of the granitic porphyry, and often rise into high sharp peaks, or immense masses of naked stone. By far the most remarkable of these is occupied by Savana-durga, which the army of Lord Cornwallis took by assault, ever since which time it has been deserted.

15th June. — Having had little success yesterday in sending the woodmen to bring me specimens of timber, I went to day into the woods on the east side of Savana-durga, which name has been corrupted by us into Severndroog. It is an immense bare rock, which has many fortifications on its summit. A lower rock, but yet one of great strength, is fortified, and is situated at the base of the larger, towards the small river which runs in a very deep ravine, and a large space between the ravine and rock is also inclosed by a stone wall, and surrounded by thick forests. This place formerly contained several temples, and some large gardens belonging to Magadi Kempa Gauda; and served as a place of refuge for the inhabitants of all the neighbouring country, who in case of invasion retired hither with their grain and cattle. A few families of Bráhmans remain near the ruinous temples, and the site of the gardens is evident from a number of fruit and flowering trees. Every other part of the enclosure is overgrown with forest trees and bamboos.

Magadi Kempa Gauda, or the red head-man of Magadi, was a wealthy farmer, who, having gathered together a number of followers, built at his native village two large temples, and the fortress of Savana-durga, and became a polygar of great distinction; as

... poſſeſſed alſo Ráma-giri, and a great extent of the neighbouring hilly tract. About five years ago, Tippoo, with his uſual policy of removing every monument of Hindu government, deſtroyed Magadi, and forced the inhabitants to ſettle in a new town, which he erected in the woods, and called Ali-nagar. The people are now deſerting this place, and returning to their old abode in Magadi.

In the hollow ground near the river are ſome of the beſt foreſts in the country, the trees growing to a conſiderable ſize. The cattle of the inhabitants never go into them; nor can any one cut the timber without an order from government. Much of the lower land in this foreſt might be cleared and cultivated.

Throughout theſe hills, which extend northward from Capala-durga, are many cultivated ſpots, in which, during Tippoo's government, were ſettled many baydaru, or hunters, who received twelve pagodas (4l 5s.) a year, and ſerved as irregular troops whenever required. Being accuſtomed to purſue tigers and deer in the woods, they were excellent markſmen with their match-locks, and indefatigable in following their prey; which, in the time of war, was the life and property of every helpleſs creature that came in their way. During the wars of Hyder and his ſon, theſe men were chief inſtruments in the terrible depredations committed in the Lower Carnatic They were alſo frequently employed with ſucceſs againſt the Polygars, whoſe followers were men of a ſimilar deſcription. At preſent, as they receive no pay, they are obliged to apply more cloſely to agriculture; for in that way they always employed their leiſure, and there is a proſpect of their becoming a quiet and induſtrious people, although they ſtill retain their arms, and an anxious deſire for plunder.

16th June. — I remained at Magadi, endeavouring to complete my collection of the various timber trees. I ſent alſo to Ghettipura to inquire after the iron mines: but was informed by the officers of government, that, nobody having wrought them for ſome years, their ſituation was not now known. After a long ſearch, however, they had found a few ſtones, which they ſent, believing that they might be iron-ore. I then ſent for the man who had given me the information, and on the following day,

17th June, — I took him along with me to Ghettipura, where I not only found the ore in ſeveral places, but alſo the pits, from which the people were then actually taking it to ſupply their furnaces I am at ſome loſs to account for this deſire of concealment relative to minerals, which alſo extends to every kind of quarry throughout the country, and which equally pervades the officers of government and the other inhabitants. Men, who have given me apparently correct information relative to their farms, have eagerly denied a knowledge of the foſſile kingdom, which they, no doubt, poſſeſſed, and for which denial I can aſſign no plauſible motive. The late Sultan, indeed, is ſaid to have haraſſed his ſubjects exceedingly, by making them work at quarries, and alſo to have been very ſevere on the ſmelters of iron; and the people may have ſuſpected, that my inquiries might lead to ſimilar oppreſſions; but according to the iron-ſmelters' own account, the Sultan gave them a high price for their iron, and by his great demand afforded them conſtant employment. It is probable, however, that he compelled them to work much harder than they were inclined to do, and that they were defrauded by thoſe who were entruſted with the payment.

Much ſteel was formerly made at Ghettipura, from whence it derives its name, which ſignifies literally hard town. It is a ſmall village ſituated by the compaſs W. S. W. from Savana-durga, and is diſtant from Magadi about ſeven miles. Near it are many cultivated fields intermixed with low rocky hills. The ore is found both in the fields and hills.

The

The iron ore of the fields consists of small irregular masses, separated by thin layers of earthy matter, and is found in beds that are from five to ten feet deep, which have only been wrought in a few places, where they come so near the surface that they have been discovered by the plough. It is probable, that by digging deep they might be found to be of great extent. The small masses are easily beaten into powder, and then the black sand is readily separated, by washing, from the clay and sand that are the other ingredients in their composition. This ore is of two kinds; one efflorescing into red ochre, the other into yellow. Intermixed with both these kinds of ore, which are called female stones, are many lumps of what the natives call male stone. It appears to me to be composed of the same materials with the female stone, but is so hard, that the imperfect manipulations of the natives cannot reduce it to a powder, and of course they cannot separate the earthy matter. It is, therefore, looked upon as useless, fluxes being totally unknown to the miners of Mysore. The female stone appears to me to be the male in a state of decay.

The iron ore of the hills is also male and female, the latter being the only one used; and this is also, in my opinion, the male in a state of dissolution. The male stone in the hills bears a much larger proportion to the female than it does in the fields. This ore also is found on digging a very little depth into the soil, and seems to be the source from whence most of the black sand of the country is washed by the rain. It appears to me to differ from the quartz impregnated with iron, which I mentioned in the account of the Pedda Náyakana durga Ghats, only by containing a larger quantity of metal. The female stone is very easily reduced to a powder; and the iron sand is readily separated, by washing, from the quartzose sand, which is the other ingredient in the ore. It is not so rich in metal as the ore found in the fields. These two ores are called aduru cullu, or stones containing iron sand

On the surface of the hills is found another iron ore called ipanada, which is scattered among the gravel in small lumps, from the size of an egg downwards. They are a pure ore, and are put in the furnace without any preparation, except breaking the larger pieces into bits about the size of a filbert. The quantity of ipanada required for one furnace is exactly the same, by measure, as that of Aduru, but the weight of ipanada is of course less, there being more space occupied by interstices, from the greater size of the pieces The produce of iron from both is the same. The surface of the lumps of ipanada is often covered with a kind of black enamel.

18th June.—I passed this day in the woods near Savana-durga, investigating their productions The woodmen are a poor ignorant race, most of them of the lowest cast, called Whalliaru, but they always pretend to know every plant of which the name is asked. They have also a number of specific appellations, such as bily, white; kempu, red; cari, black, doda, large, chica, small, betta, mountain; wullay, cultivated; cadu, wild, timbo, eatable, and the like; many of which they often apply to the same species, and sometimes the same name to different species, with so little accuracy, that any person, who depends on their accounts will find himself thrown into great confusion.

19th June.—I was obliged to remain at Magadi still another day to complete my collection of forest trees, and to procure specimens of the stones from the best quarries.

The stones that are employed in building the temples at Magadi, are,

1st. The granitic porphyry, or the granite which contains large masses of red

felspar in a small grained mixture of grey quartz and back mica, and which I described at Ráma-giri. Near Savana-durga there is an excellent quarry of this stone.

2d. A granite consisting chiefly of black mica and red felspar. This may be procured of a very large size.

3d. The common grey granite of the country. I met also with the two following stones:

1st. A granite with large grains black and white. This may be procured of great size.

2d. A most ornamental aggregated rock. The basis is green, of what nature I am uncertain, perhaps it may be a hornstone. It contains veins of white quartz, and concretions of red felspar. The whole takes an elegant polish, and may, in Mr. Kirwan's acceptation of the word, be considered as a porphyry. Near the surface the rock is full of rents, but by digging deep, it is said, large masses may be procured. It seems to differ from the fine green stone which was found in the palace at Seringapatam, only by containing felspar.

The trees that compose the forests among these hills are chiefly the following:

Henna gorivi, Ixora arborea, *Roxb. MSS.* — A small tree used for beams and posts in the houses of the poorer natives. People travelling at night use pieces of it for torches, as it burns readily and clearly.

Ghendu gorivi, or haydarany — Serves for the same purposes as the preceeding, and is probably a species of the same genus.

Cari hulivay, Clutia forte stipularis — I believe the natives misapplied this name. They had often mentioned it to me, and had brought a specimen of the timber, but in the woods they sometimes called one tree by this name, and sometimes another. At last they fixed positively on this, which is said to produce good timber.

Heb, or Bily hulivay, Chuncoa huliva, *Buch. MSS.* A large tree, and good timber.

Tor mutti, Chuncoa muttea, *Buch. MSS.* — At Chinapatam this tree is called Cari hulivay. To the northward it is commonly called Muddi, which is a Telinga name. It is a very large tree, and its timber is very useful.

Tari, Myrobalanus taria, *Buch. MSS.* — Is a large tree much used by the natives. Its timber becomes tolerably durable, if, after being cut, it be kept some months under water. The kernel of the fruit is esculent.

Arulay, Myrobalanus arula, *Buch. MSS.* — The timber of this tree, like that of the former, requires to be watered in order to render it durable. The fruit is the common tanning and dying myrobalan of this country.

Amutta, or gowda. — It grows to be a large tree, and its timber is used for planks, beams, and posts.

Jugalagunti, Dyospyros montana, *Roxb.* — The timber of this tree is said to be hard, and durable, but from some prejudice, it is never used by the natives. Its name signifies the scolding wife.

Tupru, Diospyros tupru, *Buch. MSS.* — Used for small beams and posts. The timber is said to be very hard and strong.

Vana rája, or Asha, Bauhinia. — It is called the prince of the forest, on account of the superior excellence of its timber, but it does not grow to a large size.

Hassur gunny, Dalbergia, — Grows to a middling size, and its timber is good; it nearly resembles the following tree, but may be readily distinguished by the bottom of its leaflets being acute, while in the other they are rounded.

Pachery,

Pachery, Dalbergia paniculata, Rox. — Grows to a large size, but its timber is very useless, for the layers of which it is composed readily separate.

Pterocarpus sissoo, Roxb. MSS. — A middling sized tree, of an excellent quality for furniture. By the Mussulmans it is called Sissoo; but it does not seem to be exactly the same with the tree of that name which grows in the north of India.

Whonay, Pterocarpus santalinus, L. F. — A large good timber tree, fit for furniture. Its bark contains a blood-coloured juice.

Hoingay, Robinia mitis, Lin. — It grows to be a large tree, and its timber becomes tolerably durable; if after it has been cut, it be kept some months in water.

Hurugulu, Chloroxylon quod sweitenia chloroxylon, Roxb. — This never grows to be a large tree, but its timber is beautiful. It is said to be the satin wood of the English cabinet-makers.

Chadacalu, Chloroxylon dupada, Buch. MSS. — An elegant tree, producing a resin that is frequently used in the temples, as incense.

Swamy, Sweitenia febrifuga, Roxb. MSS. — A strong, but small timber tree, produces a fine clear gum.

Gowda, Sweitenia trilocularis, Roxb MSS. — A large tree; but its timber is very bad. Another tree, as before mentioned, was by the woodmen called Gowda, but that probably is a mistake.

Jani, Grewia — There are three species called by this name, the Asiatica, the Orientalis, and that which I have named, Jania. The timber of none of them is useful.

Bili tali, Bilitalium farinosum, Buch. MSS. — In the Telinga language this tree is called tellamaliki. It grows to a large size, and its timber was said to be good; but I found it to be white, soft, and very perishable.

Betta tali, or Betta tovary, Bombax gossyppinum. — A large tree. Its timber becomes somewhat durable, if kept in water some time after being cut, but without this precaution it is little worth.

Nai, or Cag nerulu. — This cannot be of the same genus with the following Nerulu, as it has alternate serrated leaves. A large tree, the timber of which is much used.

Rudrashu nerulu, Calyptranthes jambulana willd. — Also much used. This is the tree from whence the Bráhmans derive the name of this earth.

Betta padri, Bignonia chelonoides. — A small tree, But its timber makes strong posts and beams.

Wullay padri, Bignonia spathacea — Timber little used

Navulady, Mail clou, Hort. Mal. V. t. 1. — A large tree, and durable timber, which takes a polish, and is used for furniture, planks, beams, and posts.

Shivuli. — A small, but good timber tree

Topala, Mimosa leucophlea, Roxb. — The bark, when newly cut, has a strong disagreeable smell, like that of the mimosa indica, E. M. It grows to be a large tree, and produces strong timber for posts and beams. The bark is used by the natives in distilling spirit from jagory.

Cagali, Mimosa catechu, Roxb. Pl. Cor. N. 174. — In some places, as near Chinapatam, this grows to be a large crooked tree. The quality of the timber is good. It is not the tree which produces the catechu.

Mugli, Mimosa odvalum, *Buch. MSS.* — A large tree. "Timber black, very strong," and fit for posts and beams; but, like that of the foregoing, I was told does not take a polish. This last report of the natives seems to be ill founded.

Wullay sujula, Mimosa tuggula, *Buch. MSS.* — A large tree, but its timber is said to be not durable. To judge from appearance, however, this seems to be an error.

Betta sujalu, Mimosa odoratissima, *L.* — This is a large tree, which, according to the report of the woodmen, produces excellent durable timber.

Shalay, Ficus. — Used for beams, and pillars of a small size.

Atty, Ficus glomerata, *Rox.* — A large, useful tree. Its wood is remarkably light.

Cull atty, Ficus rupestris, *Buch. MSS.* — In a good soil grows to a large size, but soon divides into branches. It is used for beams, posts, and planks.

Birsi, Ficus. — A large useless tree.

Dévadarum, Erythroxylon sideroxylloides, *E M* — Never grows to a large size; but its wood is odorous, durable, and capable of a polish. It is used by the poor instead of sandal-wood.

Sri gunda, Santalum album. Sandal wood of the English merchants. — All the trees that were fit for sale have been lately cut by a Bráhman, who was sent on purpose from Seringapatam. He procured about three thousand trees, but in less than ten years no more will be fit for cutting. The common size of the tree at the root, when it is cut, is about nine inches in diameter, but it has been known to arrive at a circumference of three cubits. In either case, not above a third of the diameter of the tree is of value, the remainder is white wood totally devoid of smell. The wood is of the best quality in trees that have grown on a steep rocky soil, that which grows in low rich situations produces wood of little value. The trees were cut partly by the servants of the Bráhmans, and partly by woodmen hired on the spot. The branches and white wood were removed in the woods, and the billets were brought hither, and dried in the shade. Although the bottom of the stem, under the ground and immediately above the division into roots, is the most valuable part of the tree, no pains were taken to procure this, and the trees were cut above the surface of the soil. This want of economy is said to have proceeded from the stony nature of the soil, but this I doubt. Every thing relative to the price, market, or customs upon sandal-wood are here unknown, and the person who cut it was not under the authority of the amildar. At two places in this hilly country the tree comes to great perfection; namely, at Jalamangala, between Magadi and Chinapatam, and at Mutau Habigay, near Capala-durga.

Jala, Shorea Jala, *Buch. MSS.* — Here it grows only to a small size; but at Ráma-giri, and many other places, it becomes large. It is said to take a polish, to be durable, and to be used for furniture. In Mysore it is on this tree only that the lac insects breed Formerly there were many trees near Ráma-giri that contained lac, and paid a considerable rent, but during the war carried on by Lord Cornwallis they were destroyed by the armies. Although there are now great numbers of the trees, none of the insects are reared. This is attributed to the want of leases. The amildar was wont to let the trees for no longer than one year, it can therefore be no object for an individual to supply the trees with insects, as he would not be certain of enjoying the fruits of his labour. Some settled bargain for a number of years ought to be entered into with those who are willing to introduce such a valuable article of cultivation.

Dinduga,

Dinduga, Andersonia Panchmoun, *Roxb. MSS.* — A large valuable timber tree, that is used for planks, beams, pillars, and furniture. It abounds in gum, and is nearly allied to the conocarpus of botanists.

Doda Tayca, Tectona robusta. — A few trees of this valuable timber are found in most places of this hilly tract; but in general they do not grow to be of a size sufficient for use. Some good timber may, it is said, be procured at Mutati Habigay, a place near Capala-durga.

Uesina Tayca, Nauclea cordifolia, *Roxb* —Grows to be a large tree; and its timber is said to be equally valuable with that of the tectona, or common teak.

Cadaga, Cadabi, or Cadava, Nauclea purpurea, *Roxb.* — A large tree, the timber of which is much used.

Chaningy, Lagerstromia parviflora, *Roxb* — in favourable situations it also grows to a large size, but its timber is of very little value. It may be improved, however, by soaking it in water for some months after it has been cut.

Hadaga — A small tree, but its timber is used for furniture, door frames, and other purposes which require strong materials.

Mitly, Trophis aspera koenigii. — A small tree, but its timber is much esteemed on account of its being hard, and taking a good polish.

Easy, Premna tomentosa. — Reported to be bad timber; but apparently without foundation. It is put as a frame-work in the middle of mud-walls, in order to give them strength.

Bewu, Melia azadirachta. — A large timber tree, that is much used here, and from which a gum exudes.

Mara halay, Nerium tinctorium, *Roxb MSS.* — The natives are acquainted with its dyeing quality. Its timber is said to be hard and white like ivory, and is used for small furniture, such as beds and chairs.

Tapissa, Ulmus integrifolia, *Roxb.* — Is a small tree, but makes beams, planks, and posts.

Elichi, Rhamnus jujuba, *L.* — Grows crooked, but its timber is hard, and is used for small furniture.

Heb Hessary, Uvaria tomentosa, *Roxb.* — A small tree that is also used for furniture.

Chica Hessary, Uvaria cerasoides, *Roxb* — Useless.

Timbu Bayla, Ægle marmelos, *Roxb* — A large tree, producing strong timber.

Nai Bayla, Limonia crenulata, *Roxb.* — Useless.

Bideru, Bambusa —The Bamboo here is divided into two kinds: one solid, or nearly so, and called by the natives chitu, the other hollow, and called doda. They are not considered as distinct species, the solidity of the former being attributed to its slow growth in dry stony places. Not having had an opportunity of examining the fructification, I cannot determine how far this opinion is well founded. It is the only kind found among these hills, and, although not of great size, is very strong and heavy. For common purposes I do not think it so useful as the hollow kind: but it is admirably adapted for the shafts of spears, and by Tippoo was applied to that use for his cavalry.

Muruculu, Chirongia glabra, *Buch. MSS.* — In many parts, and especially near Chinapatam, this is the most common tree. Its wood is not much valued; but it produces large quantities of a dark-coloured gum. The fruit is esculent.

Hulu Muruculu, Antidesma alexiteria. — Of no use.

Cadu Nimbay, or Cadimbay. — A small tree, that produces very hard timber, fit for bolts, and small beams.

Narwully,

Narwully, Cordia monoica, *Roxb.*—Ropes are made of its bark. The fruit is esculent, but tasteless.

Cambi, Gardenia.

Hay Cambi, Gardenia latifolia, *Roxb.* —These two trees are useless.

Mara harulu, Jatropha curcas.—Its seed is collected for lamp oil. The dried stems answer excellently for match, as they burn slowly, and without flame.

Gheru, Anacardium semecarpus.—The fruit used in medicine, and for marking linen. The timber is useless.

Mudali, Ochna suquarrosa.—A beautiful but useless tree.

Nelli, Phyllanthus emblica.—The timber is bad, yet the poor use it for beams and rafters. The fruit is pickled.

Cacay, Cassia fistula.—Used in religious ceremonies.

Chillu, Strychnos potatorum *Koenigii*.—The timber useless. The use of the fruit, in cleaning water, is known to the natives.

It must be observed, that the account I have given of the qualities of the timber trees is derived from the natives. I have had no opportunity yet of ascertaining their nature by experiments: but I have procured specimens of most of them, and from these specimens their real qualities may be hereafter determined. For this purpose, they have been transmitted to the Honorable Court of Directors, in whose Museum they have been deposited.

20th June.—In the morning I went to Taveri-caray, by a road passing the whole way through woods. I saw only one small village, which was occupied by iron smelters, and surrounded by a little cultivated land. The country round Taveri-caray is well cleared, and seems to have suffered little from the wars.

It is said, that in the great forests round Savana-durga, there is a small animal called the shin-nai, or red-dog, which fastens itself by surprise on the neck of the tiger, and kills him. On this account the tiger is not so common in these large forests, as in the smaller woods. The shin-nai is quite distinct from the wild-dog, which is said to be very common here, to grow to a large size, and to be very destructive to sheep. By this wild dog the natives probably mean the wolf. I have seen native drawings of the shin-nai, which appear to represent an animal not yet described.

21st June.—I went from Taveri-caray to Bangalore. Much of the country is covered with bushes, and consists of a very poor soil. The greater part of the arable lands near Bangalore are cultivated: but at some distance from it many fields are waste, owing to a want of people.

CHAP. IV.—*Bangalore.*

FROM the 22d of June until the second of July I remained at Bangalore, or Bangaluru, a city which was founded by Hyder, and which, during the judicious government of that Prince, became a place of importance. Its trade was then great, and its manufactures numerous. Tippoo began its misfortunes by prohibiting the trade with the dominions of Arcot and Hyderábád, because he detested the powers governing both countries. He then sent large quantities of goods, which he forced the merchants to take at a high rate. These oppressions had greatly injured the place; but it was still populous, and many individuals were rich, when Lord Cornwallis arrived before it, with his army in great distress from want of provisions. This reduced him to the necessity of giving the assault immediately, and the town was of

course plundered. The rich inhabitants had previously removed their most valuable effects into the fort; but these too fell a prey to the invaders, when that citadel also was taken by storm. After the English left the place, Tippoo encouraged the inhabitants to come back, and by promises allured them to collect together the wrecks of their fortunes, from the different places to which these had been conveyed. No sooner had he effected this, than, under pretence of their having been friendly to the English, he surrounded the place with troops, and fleeced the inhabitants, even the women were obliged to part with their most trifling ornaments. He then kept them shut up within a hedge, which surrounded the town at the distance of a coss, till the advance of the army under General Harris made the guard withdraw. The inhabitants, not knowing whom to trust, immediately dispersed, and for some months the place continued deserted. The people, however, are now flocking to it from all quarters, and although there are few rich individuals, trade and manufactures increase apace, and the imports and exports are estimated already to amount to one-fourth of what they were in its most flourishing state. The manufacturers and petty traders are still very distrustful and timid, but the merchants, of whom have been at Madras, and are acquainted with British policy, seem to the utmost confidence in the protection of our government.

There is only one place below the western Ghats, with which at present the people of Bangalore carry on any trade. It is called here codeal, or cowdal, and in our maps is named Mangalore. To that place are from hence sent cotton cloths, both white and coloured, and manufactured in this neighbourhood. The returns are raw silk and silk cloths. The trade to Calicut was formerly very considerable, but at present, owing to the unsettled state of the province of Malabar, it is at a stand. The imports were all kinds of foreign goods brought in by sea. The exports were coloured cotton cloths. Some persons are now about to venture a renewal of this commerce.

The trade with the country ceded to the Nizam, and Marattahs, south from the Krishna river, is carried on chiefly by the merchants of Balahari (Bellary), Advany (Adoni), Aggady, Darwara, Hubuli, Naragunda, Navalagunda, and Gutti. Agents from each of these places reside here, receive goods from their principals, and sell them to the merchants of Bangalore. Sometimes, but rarely, the merchants of Bangalore go for a cargo of goods, but at these places they have no agents. In the countries of the Nizam, and Marattahs, merchants meet with no disturbance, but the duties are rather heavy. The chief import from thence is cotton wool, with some coarse cotton thread, both white and red, coarse white, red, and blue cotton cloths; muslins, dotras, or cotton cloths with silk borders; blankets worth from two to three pagodas each, wheat, asafœtida, terra japonica, carthamus flowers, or cossumba, sefingi root, a red dye used at Salem, dates, and dratcha, a kind of bad raisin. The returns from Bangalore are made chiefly in money; but some coloured cotton and silk cloths are also sent.

Some Gossai merchants from Poonah bring shawls, saffron, and musk from Cashemire, and Persian pearls from Surat. The returns are made in money, and Manar pearls.

From Burrahunpour Patan merchants formerly brought chitties, or chintz, and gold lace, cloth, and thread. The exports were money, and pearls. This trade has always been protected by the Marattahs, but, owing to the oppressions of the Sultan's government, has for some years been at a stand. Some merchants are now preparing investments for its renewal.

 From

From Hyderábád, Narain-petta, Guldometcullu, and other places in the old territories of the Nizam, Patan and Gujerati merchants brought red cotton cloth, flowered with gold and silver, for the dress of the children of the Musulman chiefs, and other rich persons, turbans; and fine manufactures of cotton. The returns are in money and pearls. In the reign of the Sultan, this trade was contraband, and now suffers interruption from the robbers that are numerous in the Nizam's dominions.

The trade between the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot and Bangalore is carried on at Wallaja-petta, chiefly by the merchants of this place, who constantly keep agents there, at times, however, they send cargoes to other places below the Ghats. The imports from the Lower Carnatic are salt, sulphur, tin, lead, zinc, copper, European steel, paints, and glue, indigo, nutmegs, cloves, camphor, benjamin; modi, a hot root used in medicine, Tripathi cardamoms (grana paradisæ?), China-root, raw silk of the kinds called Bily-china, Casturi-china, Rajanagari, Cumercani, (Comercally in Bengal?), Seidabad and Cam, of which the first is by far the best; Bengal, China, Walmda, and Burrahunpour silk cloths, Conjeveram, and Arnee cotton cloths, English woollen cloth, canvas, and blankets, Goni cloth, pack-thread, English and native paper from Lala petta, Wallaja-petta, and Tripaturu; English hardware, glass-ware, and looking glasses, China sugar-candy, Bengal sugar, dates, and almonds. The returns from Bangalore are chiefly betel-nut, sandal-wood, black pepper, true cardamoms, shicai, and tamarinds. Cloths, I suspect, are also sent, but the merchants here deny it. Pearls and red coral were formerly brought up from the low country, but ever since the war this trade has been at a stand. The balance of money is in general due by the low country merchant.

The duties levied by the Nabob on cloths amount to four canter'raia pagodas, or 5s. 8 d. on the bullock-load. This, on coarse goods, amounts to about four per cent. of their value, but on fine goods is a mere trifle. Small articles of various kinds pay only 2¼ pagodas, or about 20 pence, on the bullock-load. No estimate can be formed of the per centage, to which this amounts, as some bullock-loads cost five pagodas, and some 500. On all goods going from this country the duties are 1½ canter'raia pagodas, or one shilling on the bullock-load. Salt pays nothing. The whole of the duties are no great burthen, and the merchants do not complain of any trouble or delay in the collection. They consider the duties as a pledge for the protection of the government of the country through which they pass, and the custom-houses are bound to make good all losses by robbers.

No direct trade has been yet carried on between Bangalore and the Company's jaghire, but some Gujerati merchants, now here, are making the necessary arrangements for opening a trade directly with Madras.

Tanjore merchants bring hither pearls, and take away money.

The merchants of the Bara mahal, and Salem districts, annexed by Lord Cornwallis to the Company's dominions, send cotton cloths, and take back the same articles that are carried to Wallaja-petta. Agents from Kishna-giri and Vaniambady constantly reside here, and merchants occasionally come from Salem and Darmapuram. The merchants here have no agents at those places, but occasionally send goods thither.

In the dominions of the Raja of Mysore a considerable trade is carried on with several places in the Nagara district, namely Bidderuru, Bogunji, Singa-giri, Copa, Kigganymara, Calasa, Munday-cara, and Muturu. From these places are imported

 great

great quantities of betel-nut, black pepper, sandal-wood, and cardamoms, partly by the merchants of Bangalore, and partly by those of the Nagara district. The returns from hence are grain, tobacco, tamarinds, blankets, muslins, turbans, coloured cotton stuffs, and silks, the manufacture of this place; and the paper of the Lower Carnatic. Both parties prefer selling their goods by wholesale, and laying in their returning investment by the same means; but they are seldom able to do so, and are more commonly reduced to the necessity of leaving part of their goods in the hands of an agent, and of purchasing their new investments at the different weekly markets in the country. Three quarters of the returns from Bangalore to Nagara are made in cash.

From Seringapatam the imports to Bangalore are black pepper, sandal-wood, and cardamoms: the return is made in every kind of cloth manufactured here, with all the kinds of goods brought from the Lower Carnatic, to a far greater value than that of the goods imported from Seringapatam.

From Gubi and its neighbourhood, in the centre of the Raja's dominions, are imported pepper, betel-nut, and cocoa-nuts. The merchants of Bangalore make the purchases at the weekly markets, and carry with them chiefly money; but also turmeric, the produce of this place; and oxen from Hosso-cotay, and Colar.

To Chatrakal (Chittledroog) the merchants of Bangalore send the manufactures of the place, and in return receive country blankets. The dealers carry their own goods from one place to the other, and generally return with the produce in cash.

From Doda Balla-pura occasional traders bring fine red cotton cloth manufactured there, and take back the produce in money.

From Namagundla, beyond Nandi-durga, are brought jagory, raw sugar, and sugar-candy, which are also sold for cash.

The places east from Bangalore, such as Colar, and Nursapura, send money, and procure betel-nut and black pepper.

Betel-nut is the principal article of trade at Bangalore, and is of two kinds; the best, called deshavara, comes from the Nagara district, the inferior quality is called wallagram, and comes from Gubi, and all the places south from Sira, and north from Madura. This last is chiefly reserved for country use: but the deshavara is dispersed through the country to the eastward, as far as Madras. It is all what is called *boiled nut*.

In this country black pepper is next to betel-nut, the most common article of commerce. Of this also there are two kinds, the codali, and baygadi, the difference in value is inconsiderable, but the codali is reckoned rather the best. Much of it is sent down to the Baramahal, and to the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot. This was one of the articles in which the Sultan traded.

Sandal-wood is also a considerable article of commerce at Bangalore. The best comes from the Nagara district, and from the country bordering on the western Ghats. An inferior kind comes from Madura, Denkina-cotay, Deva-ráyana-cotay, and other places in the ridge of hills which run north from Capala-durga. Each kind is divided into three sorts: the first is that which is between the root and first branches; the second is that of the large branches; and the third is that of the small branches, so far as these contain red wood. The sandal tree, according to the idea of the natives, is of two kinds; male and female: the former of which is dark, the latter pale-coloured; both are of the same value. The sandal of the old tree is said to be more valuable than that from a young one; but the merchants, in forming an estimate of its value,

go

go entirely by the strength of its shell. During Tippoo's government none of the sandal-wood came to this market: he either did not allow it to be cut, or else stored up in his forts whatever was felled.

Black blankets, or cumlies, are here a considerable article of commerce; and some merchants of the Carubaru cast, trade in nothing else. They are brought chiefly from Gori Bideruru in the Madhu-giri taluc, and also from Sira, Chatrakal, and Balahari. These last are by much the best; next to them are those from Chatrakal. They vary in price from four fanams, or 2s. 9¼d. to 15 pagodas, or 5l. 3s. 6¾d. By far the greater part are under the value of one pagoda, or 6s. 8¼d. They are chiefly retailed here for country use.

The importation of cotton wool to Bangalore is very great, and is carried on entirely by the Pancham Banijigaru. There are two kinds of cotton wool; one called red, and another white, which distinction does not arise from any difference in the plants, but from the quality of the soil in which they are raised. The white is the best; and both are imported clean, and fit for use. It comes mostly from the dominions of the Marattahs, and the Nizam; and is brought hither by the merchants from Naragunda, Navalagunda, and Savonuru in the Duab; from Jalalu, the district in which Gajéndraghur is situated, and from Hubuli, in which stands Darwara, all of which belong to the former: and from Balahari and Advany, which belong to the latter power. All the merchants are natives of these places, and in the Marattah country are very well protected. They sell by wholesale to the traders of Bangalore, who retail it out in the town and neighbourhood. A bullock-load of cotton, coming from the Marattah country to Bangalore, and worth from 14 to 20 Ikeri pagodas, or from 5l. 10s. 3d to 8l. 1s. 8d. pays in all, of transit duties, nearly two canter'raia pagodas, or 13s. 5d. In this neighbourhood it has been in vain attempted to cultivate cotton. For family use a little has been raised, but the produce has been very small.

A kind of drug merchants at Bangalore, called gandhaki, trade to a considerable extent. Some of them are Banijigaru, and others are Ladaru, a kind of Mussulmans. They procure the medicinal plants of the country by means of a set of people called Pacanat Jogalu, who have huts in the woods, and, for leave to collect the drugs, pay a small rent to the gaudas of the villages. They bring the drugs hither in small caravans of ten or twelve oxen, and sell them to the gandhaki, who retail them. None of them are exported. Small traders from the neighbouring towns bring popli and muddi barks, honey, and wax, agalasunti, and hayguntigay, two medicinal roots; myrobalans, and Dinduga gum, all which they procure from the Eriligaru. The whole wax of the country used formerly to be brought hither. but now a great part of it is carried directly to the Lower Carnatic. The quantity annually procured does not exceed a hundred maunds, or about 2,425 pounds. The Dinduga gum might be had to the extent of two or three hundred maunds, or from 4,850 lbs. to 7,275 lbs. a year, if money were advanced for it at the rate of from 8 to 12 fanams a maund, or from 1l 3s. 4d. to 1l. 15s. 1d. the hundred weight. At present a small quantity only is collected for the use of the silk-weavers. The cotton-merchants from the Duab of the Krishna supply the gandhaki with cut, or terra japonica; with asafœtida, mailtuta and maiful, two substances used by the natives in cleaning their teeth, costa, a medicine, loduchica, a dye, sulphur, alum, borax, and opium. From the gandhaki these merchants purchase muddi and popli dyes, lac, and wax. The lac is partly bought from the Woddar, who collect it in the neighbourhood, and partly from traders, that bring it from Madhu-giri, Godagiri, Banirgutta,

gutta, and Denkina-cotay. The spices, the Tagashay seed, and indigo, are procured by the gandhaki from the Lower Carnatic. Fossile alkali, or soda, is partly brought from Krishna-giri in the Bára-mahál; and partly from Chin'-rāya-păttana, Gutalu, and Holy Narasinga-pura. Tonda flowers, for dyeing, are brought from Nagara, and from Denkina-cotay; those produced in the latter place are the best. Most of the Capili-podi dye, or flower produced on the fruit of the Rotleria tinctoria of Dr. Roxburgh, comes from Chin'-raya pattana, but a little is procured from Ráma-[illegible]. The Cossumba, or Carthamus tinctorius, that grows in the country, is not nearly sufficient for its demand; and much of this article is imported by the cotton-merchants from the Duab.

The trade in salt from the Lower Carnatic is very considerable, as none but the poorest people eat that made in the country. It is carried on by two classes of people: the Wodduru, or tank-diggers, and the Coramaru, who, in the intervals between their commercial expeditions, make baskets. The salt is brought up from the Lower Carnatic by people of the same casts, and by those, who reside here, is distributed throughout the country as far as Magadi, and Chinapatam. The people who bring the salt take back, in return, tamarinds, seeds for making oil, and all kinds of grain that happen to be cheaper here than in the low country.

Goods of all kinds are transported by cattle in back-loads. The best cattle are used in the cotton trade, and belong to Pancham Banijigaru, natives of the country where the cotton grows. These people speak the Karnata as their native language, but do not intermarry with the Pancham Banijigaru of Bangalore. The bullocks employed in this trade are very fine animals, and each brings from 12 to 15 maunds of cotton, or from $327\frac{1}{2}$ to $409\frac{3}{8}$ lbs. They travel daily at the rate of three computed cosses, which may be about twelve British miles, and in three hours they perform this journey. Besides straw, they are fed on oil cake, and the seed and leaves of the cotton plant. They cost from 15 to 25 pagodas, or from 5l. 0s. $8\frac{1}{4}$d to 8l 7s. $10\frac{3}{4}$d. In the same manner are fed the oxen which are employed in transporting betel-nut, pepper, and most other kinds of goods, but these cost only four or five pagodas, or from 1l 6s. $10\frac{3}{4}$d to 1l 13s. 7d. They also travel three cosses a day, but their average load is only eight maunds, or $206\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. Many Banijigaru follow the profession of carriers, and keep oxen for the purpose. The rate of hire is always fixed on the average load of eight maunds, and never according to time, but always by distance. The carriage of a bullock-load of pepper, betel-nut, or other articles that stow well, and may be equally divided, costs 15 fanams from Bangalore to Walla-japetta, distant about 125 British miles, on articles that cannot be so well divided the price is about 18 fanams. The first gives 1 [illegible] penny a mile for the hundred weight, the second gives 1 [illegible] penny. The carriers are not answerable for any accident that may happen to the goods, the merchant therefore must send with them some trusty person, who is generally a younger branch of the family. The bullock employed in carriage is always shod with slight iron shoes.

Buffaloes of the northern breed are sometimes employed, especially by cloth-merchants, their great size enabling them with convenience to support a bulky article. They are very fine animals, and their common load is 15 maunds, or about 410 lbs. with which they travel at the rate of 12 or 15 miles a day, but they require higher feeding than the bullock does.

The people who transport salt and grain generally use asses, or a very poor kind of bullock. The ass carries from 40 to 50 seers measure, or from $1\frac{39}{100}$ bushel to $1\frac{74}{100}$ bushel. They can travel about six miles a day, and are all males purchased from the

the washermen who breed them. Two men take charge of twelve loaded asses. These creatures get nothing to eat but what they can pick up by the sides of the road. Their cost is from 1½ to two pagodas, or from 10s. 0¼d. to 13s 5¼d.

The bullocks employed by these people are treated much in the same manner as the asses; but each carries from 60 to 80 seers of grain, or from 2 [illegible] bushels to 2 [illegible] bushels. Merchants, who deal in betel-nut, pepper, &c. have sometimes had recourse to this poor kind of conveyance; but it is very rarely done, the slowness with which these cattle travel rendering the dealer liable to suffer great loss from fluctuations in the markets.

This is the information collected from all the most respectable merchants of the place. According to the custom-house accompts the imports are salt, sugar-candy; cocoa-nuts, betel-nut, pepper, cut, or terra japonica, ginger, capili, patunga root, and muddi dyes; wax, lac, steel, false gilded paper, indigo, sandal-wood, salt-petre, sulphur; yellow arsenic, cinnabar, brass and copper, wrought and unwrought; lead, zinc, paper, dates, casturi, a kind of turmeric, benjamin, sompa, one of the carminative seeds, asafoetida, camphor, cardamoms, cloves, nutmegs; mace, gopichandana, a clay used by the Bráhmans for making their marks, rudrakshi, a fruit used by the Bráhmans for their beads, almonds, opium, golai, a kind of opium; sanacallu, the stone used for powdering sandal, bhulpum, or pot-stone, allum, five medicinal salts, from Madras, bang, oil of sesamum, ghee, honey, oil of the melia azadarichta, cocoa-nut oil, Carnatic tobacco, Madras cloths, cotton, silk, and woollen, raw silk, red and white cotton thread, carpets, Thibet cow tails, cossumba flowers, Burrahunpour cloths, Balahari cloths, Cashemire goods brought by Gossais, who travel with horses and camels, the goods are, musk, saffron, carpets, and shawls, mutabi, or gold cloth of Hydra-ábád, cumlies, or country blankets from Chatrakal and Balahari, English blankets, or hutsu cumlies, paints, goats, and sheep from Pennu-conda, hard-ware, palmira, and date jagories, molasses, myrobalans, wheat from Balaharr and Pennu-conda, besides the produce of the neighbouring country.

The trade of the country not having been yet opened a year since the inhabitants had deserted the place, no proper estimate can be formed of the quantity of exports and imports, but it is on the increase every month, and is now about one fourth of the quantity that was exported and imported in the most flourishing time of Hyder's government. The son of the person who had then charge of the custom-house, states the following particulars of the trade at that period. In one year there were imported 1500 bullock loads of cotton wool, 50 bullock loads of cotton thread, 230 bullock-loads of raw silk, 7000 bullock-loads of salt, foreign goods from Madras 300 bullock-loads. At the same time were exported of betel-nut 4000 bullock-loads, and of pepper 400 bullock-loads.

Although, in common reckoning, the day begins at sun-rise, yet this is by no means the case in the Chandramanam almanac. Some days last only a few hours, and others continue for almost double the natural length, so that no one, without consulting the panchanga, or almanac-keeper, knows when he is to perform the ceremonies of religion. What increases the difficulty is, that some days are doubled, and some days altogether omitted, in order to bring some feasts, celebrated on certain days of the month, to happen at a proper time of the moon, and also in order to cut off six superfluous days, which twelve months of thirty days would give more than a year of twelve lunations. Every thirtieth month one intercalary moon is added, in order to remove the difference between the lunar and solar years. As the former is

the

the only one in use, and is varying continually, none of the farmers, without consulting the panchánga, know the season for performing the operations of agriculture.

These panchángas are poor ignorant Bráhmans, who get almanacs from some one skilled in astronomy. This person marks the days, which correspond with the times in the solar year, that usually produce changes in the weather, and states them to be under the influence of such and such conjunctions of stars, male, female, and neuter; and every one knows the tendency of these conjunctions to produce certain changes in the weather. The poor panchángas are as much in the dark as their neighbours, and actually believe that the year consists of 360 days, six of which are lost, nobody can tell how. As for the skill in astrology by which the learned are supposed to be able to foretel the seasons, I have never met with even a Vaidika Bráhman, that doubted its existence. It is, however, looked upon as a common science, as not having any thing miraculous in it, nor being communicated to its professors by divine favour.

The office of panchánga in every part of this country is hereditary, and is always held by a Bráhman, who acts as puróhita, or family priest, to all the persons of pure descent in the town or village. In Bengal, Bráhmans who have lost cast act as puróhitas for the low or impure casts, but both here, and in the Lower Carnatic, such an office would be considered as too degrading for even the most reprobate of the sacred order. The office of purohita consists in reading at certain ceremonies, such as marriages, births, funerals, the building of a new house, or the like, what are called mantrams, and sástrams. Mantrams are certain fixed forms of prayer, or invocations of the deity, and the high dignity of the Bráhmans arises from the power which certain mantrams, pronounced by them, are believed to possess. For instance, by a proper mantram, the deity may be removed from any inspired image into a pot of holy water, and the image having been ornamented by profane hands, the deity may be again transferred back from the pot of water Sástrams are portions of the writings esteemed sacred; and of which certain parts are appointed to be read on particular occasions, such as I have above mentioned.

I assembled at different times the chief persons of some of the most conspicuous casts at Bangalore, and procured from them the following account of their customs.

The Banijigas, or Banijigaru, are in this country a very numerous class, and are of three kinds, the Pancham, the Jaina, and the Telinga Banijigaru.

The Pancham Banijigaru are by the Mussulmans called Lingait, as being the chief persons of the sect, who wear, round their necks, a silver box containing an image of Siva in shape of the Linga, under which form only he is ever worshipped. From this circumstance they are also called Sivabhactaru, and Lingabuntaru, but in this country there are many other lower casts, who wear the same badge of religion. The Pancham Banijigaru are also the heads of the right hand side. They admit of no distinction of cast among themselves, except that arising from a dedication to the service of God; but they do not admit of any proselytes from other Hindu races; nor do they intermarry with any of the lower casts that wear the Linga. The Bráhmans allege, that they are Súdras; but this, in general, they earnestly deny. The manner in which the Bráhmans reason with them is this: you are, say they, neither Bráhman, Kshátri, nor Vaisya. If therefore you are not Súdras, you must belong to one of the low, or impure casts. Many of the Lingait, rather than endure such a terrible degradation, are induced to acknowledge themselves of the Súdra cast. It must however be observed, that Vánija, from which their name is probably derived,

5 is

is said to be a Sanscrit word, signifying any person of the Vaisya cast who follows trade.

The Pancham Banijigaru are divided into a number of tribes, which seem to derive their names from certain places where they were formerly settled. Two persons of different tribes never intermarry, but all persons of the cast can eat together, and the whole are under the jurisdiction of the head-man *(pedda chitty)*, of whatever tribe he may be. This office is, as usual, hereditary; and the person who enjoys it is exempted by government from house-rent, and from one half of the customs on his goods. He finds merchants coming from a distance in lodging and warehouses, settles disputes among his clan, and punishes them for misdemeanors. In general, he is supported by the officers of government, who punish such of his followers as do not give him the customary obedience. His judicial authority, however, is not arbitrary. All his proceedings are open, and he cannot act contrary to the advice of his council, which consists of all the old and respectable men of the cast.

Besides this division into tribes, which arises from the names of places, there seem to be other distinctions among the Linga Banijigas, some are called Aray, that is, Marattahs, and some Teliga, that is, Telingas, and neither of these ever intermarry with each other, or with those who are of the Karnata nation. Some persons allege that Pancham, the title commonly given to the whole, is only the name of a division; and that there are also Linga Banijigas called Budugulu, Lulgunderu, and Turcanaru.

The Pancham Banijigaru are chiefly traders. They may, however, follow any profession, except such as belong to the most disgraced casts, and this exception seems rather to arise from a wish to keep themselves respectable, than from any positive law. Like all other worshippers of Siva, they bury the dead, and never offer sacrifices. They do not purchase their wives, of whom they may marry as many as they please. The women are not confined, but cannot marry a second husband, and after the signs of puberty appear, a girl is no longer marriageable Adultery is very rare; that is to say, among the women, for among the people of this country the term is never applied to the infidelity of married men The Pancham Banijigas never eat animal food, nor take any intoxicating substance. They cannot eat, except when the sun shines, of course, in cloudy days they are under the necessity of fasting.

Like most other Hindu casts, the Pancham Banijigas consist of a portion that follow worldly affairs, and another that dedicate themselves entirely to what they call the service of the gods, that is to say, idleness, meditation, prayer, abstinence, and the mortification of the passions. Among this cast, these consecrated persons are called Jangamas, Einaru, or Wodearu. Any Pancham Banijiga, who is qualified by his education and manners, may become a Jangama; but the descendants of a Jangama never betake themselves to honest industry. They always subsist upon charity, and most of them wander about with a great number of small bells tied to their legs and arms, in order to give the inhabitants of the villages notice of their presence; so that they may come out to invite the holy men to their houses, or to bestow charity. Many others live about the matas, or colleges of the Gurus of the cast, and act as their servants.

The Gurus or Swamalus of the Pancham Banijigaru are Sannyásis; that is, men who have forsaken all, and they possess an absolute authority in all religious matters, among which is included the chastity of the women. Of these Gurus, or Sannyásis, there are four that are called thrones, and whose matams are called baly-hully; huginy, near Nagara; sri-shela, near Nundyal; and canelly, near Bangaluru. These thrones seem to be independent of each other; and their occupants for the time

being are supposed to be actual incarnations of Siva. When a Guru leaves this world, and is reunited to Siva in heaven, he is in general succeeded by a person of his own nomination. The Guru generally educates four or five children of his own family, with a view of choosing the fittest of them for his successor. These pupils are taken into the matams at five or six years of age, and until they attain their thirteenth year, are called Mari, after which they are not by name distinguished from the common Jangamas; but if they choose to marry, they must relinquish all hopes of becoming a Guru. The pupil is made a Guru (sage), or an incarnation of God, by receiving from his master a particular upadésa; and in case of a Guru's dying without having disclosed this awful secret, the other Gurus assemble, appoint the most promising pupil to succeed, and at the same time deliver to him the upadésa of his rank. The Guru, when he pleases, may marry; but he is thereby degraded from being a portion of the divinity, and from his power, and no one has yet been found so desirous of marriage, as to relinquish these pre-eminencies.

There are many inferior matams which are occupied by Sannyásis, called Mahántina. These originally received an upadésa from some of the four chief Gurus, and were sent to distant parts to manage the concerns of their superiors, but, though they all acknowledge the superiority of the four Gurus, yet they educate pupils in the same manner; and from among these appoint their successor, by teaching him their upadésa. These pupils, till they arrive at the age of puberty, are called Putta Dévaru. The Mahántina having sent deputies to different places, even these have now assumed a separate jurisdiction, and educate their own successors.

The Mahántina attend at marriages and funerals, and punish all persons of the cast, for every kind of offence against religion, by ordering every good man to avoid communication with the delinquent. This excommunication is not removed, till, by the intercession of friends, and the most humiliating requests of the offender, he obtains pardon by paying a fine under the name of charity. On this occasion, the Mahántina bestow some consecrated water and victuals, which wipe away the offence. The Gurus occasionally visit the different Mahántina throughout the country, but it is the Guru only of the matam from whence the Mahántina originally came, that possesses any jurisdiction over the inferior.

The Pancham Banijigaru worship only Siva, his wife, and his sons but they allege that Brahma and Vishnu are the same with Siva. They suppose, that their sect has existed from the beginning of the world; but that at the time of Bejala Raja, who reigned about seven hundred and twenty years ago at Kalyana Pattana, the Kings and most of the people were Jainas. At this time Baswana, the supposed son of a Brahman, became prime minister of the Rája, and restored the worship of Siva. Many of the Jainas were converted, and their descendants now form the Jaina Banijigaru, who, although they have the same religion with the Pancham, are never admitted to the priesthood, nor to intermarry with the original sect. Bejala Rája having been put to death by Jagadiva and Bomanna, two servants of Baswana, that minister reigned in his stead, and then promulgated the law which this sect now follow; and this, with an account of all the actions of Baswana, are contained in a book called Baswana Purana; which was written by a Brahman called Bhimakavi, at the desire of Baswana The sect are in possession of another book of great authority. It consists of six Sástrams written by a Jangama named Nijaguna, who, in the conversation which he had with an image of Siva at a temple on a hill near Ellanduru, received the necessary instruction. After he had finished the book, this Jangama did not die; but the image, opening, received him into its substance.

It

It continues ever ſince to be held in great eſtimation. Theſe books are open to the vulgar; but it is ſaid, that the Jangamas have ſome books which are kept ſecret.

The Teliga Banijigaru derive their name from having originally come from the Telinga country, which, in the dialect of Karnata, is called Teliga. They all retain the Telinga language, and allege that all Banijigas are deſcended from a perſon called Prithivi Mala-chitty. By his firſt wife, who was of the Viſhnu ſect, he had the anceſtors of their caſt; and by his ſecond wife, who worſhipped Iſwara, or Siva, he had the anceſtors of the Lingabantaru. They are evidently an inferior people, and more ignorant than the other Banijigas, owing probably to their being under the Bráhmans, who exclude their followers from a ſhare of their learning. In the Teliga language they are called Balija; whence, probably, is derived the name Buljewar, which is beſtowed by the Muſſulmans on all Banijigas.

The true Telinga Banijigas are merchants and traders of all kinds, farmers, and farmers' ſervants, and porters for the tranſportation of goods or baggage, but never artiſts, nor mechanics. They are divided into a number of tribes, all of which can eat together, but one tribe never marries with another. The chiefs of the Lingabantas have a civil juriſdiction over the Teliga Banijigaru, but in order to ſettle matters relating to their own caſt, they chooſe the man whom they judge to be moſt capable; and in the abſence of their Gurus, this man calls an aſſembly of the elders, and ſettles the affair.

Their Gurus are all hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans, and never puniſh any delinquent without the advice of a council of elders. In their viſits, theſe Gurus live in the temples, and aſſemble the people in order to collect their contributions, and to beſtow upadéſa and chakrántikam on ſuch as chooſe to receive them. The panchanga acts as their purólita, attending at births, marriages, and funerals, and on each occaſion receives charity.

Among the Teliga Banijigaru the cuſtom of Dáſéri prevails. A Dáſéri is a man dedicated to the ſervice of the Tripathi Viſhnu, that is to ſay, who ſubſiſts by begging in the name of that idol. When a ſick man is in great danger, he frequently vows, if he recovers, to take Dáſéri, or to make one of his ſons aſſume that profeſſion, and ever afterwards the eldeſt ſon of the family muſt follow that buſineſs, but the younger ſons follow ſome induſtrious employment. The Daſeri may marry, and may be a rich man, as the younger branches of his family live in his houſe, and cultivate the ground, or carry on trade: but he himſelf wanders about, and collects grain and ſmall money from thoſe who are charitable. They get by rote a prayer in Telinga poetry, which they conſtantly bawl out in the ſtreets, and endeavour farther to attract notice by blowing on a conch. It ſeems to be only the Súdras of the Viſhnu ſect that follow this idle life, and few of them are able either to read or write.

The Telinga Banijigaru are acknowledged to be true Súdras, and they allow this to be the caſe. A few of them learn to read and write accompts, but they never attempt any higher kind of learning. They eat ſheep, goats, hogs, fowls, and fiſh, and may uſe bang, but they ought not to drink ſpirituous liquors. They bury the dead, and the women formerly uſed to bury themſelves alive with their deceaſed huſbands, but this cuſtom has fallen into diſuſe. They pray to Viſhnu, and all the gods of his family, and alſo to Dharma Rája, an inferior god of a beneficent nature, but with the Bráhmans he is not an object of worſhip. In caſe of danger, they offer bloody ſacrifices to ſeveral deſtructive ſpirits; ſuch as Marima, Putalima, Mutialima, and Gungoma, which is a lump of mud made into a ſort of temporary image. The Bráhmans of this country abhor this kind of worſhip, and call all theſe gods of the vulgar evil ſpirits,

Saktis.

Saktis, or miniſters of Siva. They never offer ſacrifices at the temples of theſe deities, and much leſs ever act as their pújáris. Influenced, however, by ſuperſtition, although they condemn the practice, they in ſickneſs occaſionally ſend a ſmall offering of fruit or money to theſe deities; but, being aſhamed to do it publickly, the preſent is generally conveyed by ſome child, who may be ſuppoſed to have made the offering by miſtake. The ſmall temples of theſe deities are very numerous, and the pújáris are in general of the impure caſts. I am inclined indeed to believe, that they are the original gods of the country; and that theſe impure caſts are the remains of the rude tribes that occupied the country before the origin of the Bráhmans, or other ſects, that introduced forms of worſhip more complicated, and more favourable to the prieſthood.

Many of the people who burn lime are a kind of low Teliga Banijigaru, as they can eat in the houſes of that claſs; but their native language is the Karnataka, or Canareſe, and the two tribes do not intermarry. They are divided into ſeveral families, and no man marries out of his own; but they can all eat together. They have hereditary chiefs, who ſettle diſputes relating to caſt; but in civil affairs they are ſubject to the chiefs of the Pancham Banijigaru. They do not wear the linga, yet they conſider as their Guru the Nidamavudy Swámalu, who is a Mahántina Einaru, and lives in the Bala-pura diſtrict. They never eat with the ſect of Siva; and uſe animal food, and bang; but are not allowed to drink ſpirituous liquors. They bury the dead. They are allowed a plurality of wives, who are not confined, and are ſo induſtrious that they are looked upon as a ſupport to their huſbands. They are never divorced, except for adultery, and if their infidelity has not been with a man of a very low caſt, the parties are frequently reconciled by the Swámalu, who makes them eat together ſome conſecrated victuals, which, with ſome holy water, puts an end to all differences. None of them can either read or write. They never become Dáſéri. The god of their caſt is Vencaty Rámana, or the Tripathi Viſhnu. but they pray alſo to Dhárma Rája, and offer ſacrifices to Marima, and other deſtructive ſpirits.

Another inferior kind of Teliga Banijigas are the Goni makers. They will willingly eat in the houſes of that caſt; but theſe will not return the compliment. They will alſo eat the meat prepared by a Pancham Banijiga. They have their own hereditary chiefs, who are as ignorant as their followers, none of them being able either to read or write. Some of them are farmers, and ſome are ſmall traders, which does not effect any difference in caſt. They do not wear the Linga, and Guru is one of the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaiſhnavam Brahmans, whoſe family title is Tata Achárya. The preſent Guru, named Ráma Achárlu, lives here. Thoſe who are natives of this country bury their dead, and the Goni makers of the Lower Carnatic burn theirs; but this does not prevent the two from intermarrying. They are allowed a plurality of wives. Without danger of loſing caſt they can eat hogs, fowls, mutton, and fiſh, and can drink ſpirituous liquors.

The Devangas are a ſet of weavers, conſiſting of two nations, Karnata, and Telinga.

The Karnata or Canara Dévángas in this country all wear the linga, but are a diſtinct caſt from the Pancham Banijigas, with whom they neither eat nor intermarry. The ſame is the caſe between them and the Teliga Dévangas. Their Guru is Cari Baſwa-uppa, who from the place of his reſidence, is commonly called the Nidamavudy Swámalu. The Dévángas pretend that he is totally independent of the Gurus of the Linga Banijigaru; but I have reaſon to think that this is a vain piece of pride, and that he is one of the Mahantina before mentioned. The Guru ſends Jangamas to all the villages where Dévangas reſide, and receives contributions under the name of charity.

charity. Owing to a dispute about the burning of the body of the Raja's mother, this priest incurred the heavy displeasure of Tippoo, and was under the necessity of flying to the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot, and still remains there at Trinomaly. The learning is chiefly confined to the Swámalu and his pupils. Most of the Jangamas are acknowledged, even by their followers, to be very ignorant. The sect have a book called Dévánga Purána, which every one may read. It was written by Dévánga Muni, the common ancestor of the race. The Jangamas read the Baswana Purána, and possess many books that the Dévángas are not permitted to see. Out of these they repeat portions to the laity at the annual ceremony performed in memory of their deceased parents, at births, and at funerals. These portions are committed to memory by the Jangamas, it not being lawful for the laity even to look at the books; but as these are written in the vulgar language, and of course are understood by every one, the Dévángas are laughed at by their neighbours for considering them as of any value. The pancházga attends at marriages, and reads a mantram in Sanskrit; which, being unintelligible, is very highly valued. The knowledge of the laity is confined to the keeping of accompts and writing letters. The Gurus and Jangamas possess the same authority over the Dévangas, as they do over the Pancham Banijigas.

The proper god of the cast is Iswara or Siva, and his wife and family, especially his servant the Baswa, and his son Ganésa, who has particular authority over the loom, and, when his worship is neglected, is apt to make it go wrong.

The hereditary chiefs of the Canara Dévángas are called Ijyamána. With the assistance of a council of the elders, these chiefs take cognizance of all offences against the ceremonies of cast. They reprimand for small offences, for those of a higher nature, excommunicate; and, in cases of great importance, send the accused person to the Swamalu for his decision. The chiefs and councils endeavour to settle all civil disputes between members of the cast, first by admonition; then by excommunication of those who are unreasonable, and finally by applying to the officers of government, who generally enforce the decrees of the Ijyamánas.

The whole of the Canara Devángas can intermarry. They are allowed a plurality of wives, which they purchase from their parents, paying from 4 to 16 pagodas (1l. 6s. 2½d.—5l. 7s 5¾d) for each, according to their circumstances. The wives are not shut up, nor are they ever divorced except for adultery. They eat no animal food, nor use any intoxicating substance, except as a medicine. They bury the dead, and believe that after death good men are united to God; bad men suffer transmigration. The Nidamavudy Swámalu is looked upon as the same with Iswara, and even a common Jangama is considered as a portion of the deity

The Teliga Dévangas retain their native Telinga language, but are divided into two sects, of whom one worships Vishnu, and the other Iswara, but both sects intermarry, the wife always adopting the religion of the husband.

The Teliga Dévángas of the sect of Siva do not wear the linga, although they consider Cari Baswa-uppa as their Guru. The priest admonishes them to wash their heads, and to pray regularly to Iswara, and, as usual, requires from them contributions. He has a small due on every marriage. The panchánga reads mantrams at births, marriages, and funerals, at the amavásya, or last day of the lunar month, and at the tithi, or day on which their parents died; on both of which days a fast, in commemoration of their deceased parents, is observed by the greater part of the Hindu race. On these occasions the Jangamas attend, but merely to receive charity. Concerning a future life, they have similar opinions with those who wear the linga. They offer bloody sacrifices to the Saktis. They bury the dead; and the custom

custom of the widow burying herself alive with her husband's body was once prevalent among them, but has now become obsolete. Girls, after the age of puberty, continue to be marriageable. A man is allowed to take many wives, but is not permitted to shut them up, nor to divorce them for any cause except adultery. The men confine their learning to the being able to read and write accompts. They eat fowls, fish, hogs, sheep, and goats, but account it unlawful to drink spirituous liquors.

The Teliga Déwángas of the Vishnu sect are followers of the Sri Vaishnavam Bráhmans, and are acknowledged by them to be Súdras.

The hereditary chiefs, or Ijyamanas, of all the Déwángas are the same; each man in the place submitting to the authority of the chief of the sect that is most numerous.

The Shaynagas, or Shaynagaru, form a very numerous and wealthy class of weavers. They are divided into two nations, Telinga, and Canara, but of the former, there are none in this neighbourhood.

Although by far the greater part of the Canara Shaynagas are settled below the Ghats, in countries where the Tamul language is spoken, and though all these who are settled now in this neighbourhood came up from the Lower Carnatic about eighty or a hundred years ago, yet the whole cast retain the language of Karnata as their native tongue. This confirms the truth of a tradition prevalent among them, of their having all originally gone down from this country, but they can assign no date, nor any reason for such an emigration. They are divided into two classes, one dedicated to religion, and called Einaru, Jangamas, or Wodearu, the other follow lay professions. All the weavers can intermarry, but they are never honoured by an intermarriage with the Einaru, nor are they ever admitted into that sacred order. They wear the lingam, and consider their priests as portions of the deity. They bury the dead. They can eat in the house of a Pancham Banijiga, but the two casts never intermarry.

The hereditary chiefs of the Canara Shaynagas are called Ijyamána, and, with a council of elders, possess the sole cognizance of transgressions against the rules of cast, as well as of civil disputes; for the power of the Jangamas is confined to admonition. They do not shut up their women, and are not allowed to take a second wife, unless the first dies, or has no children. When a man marries his first wife, he must give her father 101 fanams, or 3l. 7s. 10d., for a second he must give 131 fanams, or 4l. 7s 11½d. No divorce can take place, except for adultery on the side of the woman, the wife in India having no remedy for her husband's infidelity except her tongue, and in case of her being too free in the use of that weapon, the men very frequently repress it by beating.

The weavers learn to read and write accompts, and letters on business, but in this country these are reckoned very mean accomplishments. A plain composition in prose, and consisting merely of common sense, is looked upon as a kind of reading beneath the dignity of a man of learning, who ought always to compose in poetry; and the more obscure he renders his meaning by allegories the better. The books containing the doctrines of the sect are confined entirely to the Einaru, whose duty it is to explain them to the laymen. The chief book in use among them is called the Márkandiya Purána, and they do not receive as canonical the Baswana Purána.

Among the Einaru of the Shaynagas are several high priests called Putta Dévarus or Swámalus. These are all Sannyasis, and seem to be independent of each other.

 Those

Those which are known to the people here, are, Sankara Dévaru, who lives at Changamau near Trinomaly; Bhusāgara Swāmi, at Narasingha pura, near Arnee; Gangādhara Swāmi, at Kunji; Sénavera Dévaru, at Chinamangala near Trinomaly; and Guruſiddha Dévaru, at Trinomaly: all which places are in the Lower Carnatic. These Putta Dévaru have their matams at the places above mentioned, but travel occaſionally through the country occupied by the weavers, collecting the contributions of the charitable, beſtowing advice on the adults, and the linga on the children, who receive it with ſome particular ceremonies. Each of the Putta Dévarus educates a boy, who is of the ſacred claſs by birth, who is intended to be the ſucceſſor of his maſter, and who is called Mari. The Putta Dévaru, if he chooſes, may deliver over his office to the Mari, and take a wife, in which caſe he is degraded to the rank of a common Einaru. This is frequently done, as my informants were obliged to confeſs, though they did ſo with great reluctance, for they were unwilling to diſgrace their ſwāmalus before their neighbours, who conſider celibacy as a much more honourable ſtate than marriage. The married Einaru have their houſes near the different matams. Some of them live with the Sannyāſis, and are their menial ſervants, but the greater part of them, that are able to undergo the fatigue, wander about to collect charity for their ſupport. In the Lower Carnatic they are ſaid to ſell glaſs rings, and other trinkets.

The people of this caſt, with whom I converſed, were either ſo ignorant, or ſo unwilling to ſpeak on the ſubject of their religion, that I cannot depend much on what they ſaid The Jengamas of the Pancham Bannijigaru allege, that the Swāmalus of the Shaynagas are of their ſect and the Mahāntina, no doubt, attend at the funerals and other public ceremonies of the Shaynagas, but thoſe allege that this is merely for the purpoſe of begging, and that they perform no part of the ceremony. The Panchānga reads mantrams at marriages and births, and receives the uſual fees.

The Coramas, or Coramaru, are a ſet of people conſidered by the Brāhmans as of an impure or mixed breed. They make baſkets, and trade in grain and ſalt to a conſiderable extent, but none of them can read or write. They live, in general, in ſmall camps of moveable huts, which are ſometimes ſtationary near large towns, but they are often in a ſtate of daily motion, while the people are following their mercantile concerns. The coramas conſiſt of four families, Maydragutta, Cavadiru, Maynapatru, and Satipatru. Theſe are analogous to the Gōtrams of the Brāhmans, for a man and woman of the ſame family never intermarry, being conſidered as too nearly allied by kindred. The men are allowed a plurality of wives, and purchaſe them from their parents. The agreement is made for a certain number of fanams, which are to be paid by inſtalments, as they can be procured by the young woman's induſtry; for the women of this caſt are very diligent in ſpinning, and carrying on petty traffic. When the bargain has been made, the bridegroom provides four ſheep, and ſome country rum, and gives a feaſt to the caſt, concluding the ceremony by wrapping a piece of new cloth round his bride Should a man's wife prove unfaithful, he generally contents himſelf with giving her a beating, as ſhe is too valuable to be parted with on ſlight grounds, but, if he chooſes, ſhe may be divorced. In this caſe, he muſt aſſemble the caſt to a feaſt, where he publicly declares his reſolution, and the woman is then at liberty to marry any perſon that ſhe chooſes, who is willing to take her.

The coramas do not follow nor employ the Brāhmans; nor have they any prieſts, or ſacred order. When in diſtreſs, they chiefly invoke Vencaty Rāmana, the Tripathi Viſhnu, and vow ſmall offerings of money to his temple, ſhould they eſcape.

eſcape. They frequently go into the woods, and ſacrifice fowls, pigs, goats, and ſheep, to Muni, who is a male deity, and is ſaid by the Bráhmans to be a ſervant of Iſwara: but of this circumſtance the coramas profeſs ignorance. They, as uſual, eat the ſacrifices. They have no images, nor do they worſhip any. Once in two or three years the coramas of a village make a collection among themſelves, and purchaſe a braſs pot, in which they put five branches of the melia azadarichta, and a cocoa-nut. This is covered with flowers, and ſprinkled with ſandal-wood water. It is kept in a ſmall temporary ſhed for three days, during which time the people feaſt and drink, ſacrificing lambs and fowls to Marima, the daughter of Siva. At the end of the three days they throw the pot into the water.

The Panchálas, or Panchálaru, a name corrupted by the Muſſulmans into Panchal, are a caſt that follow five different trades, goldſmiths, carpenters, blackſmiths, maſons, and copperſmiths. Theſe occupations do not occaſion any difference of caſt; the ſon of a man of any one of the trades may, if he pleaſes, follow any other, and all of them can eat together and intermarry. Each trade, it is true, has a head-man; but the whole are ſubject to one hereditary chief, who is here a goldſmith. He is the leader of the left hand ſide; and at preſent the diſpute between him and the chief of the Banijigas runs ſo high, that government have been obliged to part the town into two diviſions. In the one of theſe the right hand ſide is not allowed to perform any ceremonies, nor to go in proceſſion; and the other diviſion is kept equally ſacred from the intruſions of their adverſaries. The head-man of the goldſmiths has a ſimilar juriſdiction with other chiefs of caſts; and, with the aſſiſtance of his council, can levy fines, which are given to the goddeſs Kálí, that is to ſay, to her prieſt.

The Panchálaru are divided into two ſects; one worſhipping Siva, the other adoring Viſhnu; but this does not produce any ſchiſm; the two parties eating together, and intermarrying; and when this happens, the wife adopts the religion of her huſband. Kálí is conſidered as the proper deity of the caſt; but receives no bloody ſacrifices from her votaries. Both ſects are prohibited from animal food, from ſpirituous liquors, from divorce (except in caſe of adultery), and from marrying a girl that has arrived at the age of puberty. The Bráhmans read mantrams at the births, marriages, and funerals of both ſects, and no diſtinction is made by either, whether the Bráhman be a worſhipper of Siva, or of Viſhnu.

The moſt numerous and richeſt of the Panchálas belong to the ſect of Siva, and wear the linga; but they have nothing in common with the Pancham Banijigas, and in fact are their moſt bitter enemies. This ſect bury the dead.

The Panchálas who worſhip Viſhnu are called Bagota, and have among them a family dedicated to religion. The eldeſt ſon of this family always ſucceeds to the dignity of Guru on the death of his father; the other male branches of the family are ſupported by the contributions of the ſect, and paſs their time in devotion and ſtudy. The women of the family intermarry with the working men of the caſt. The Guru is named Viper Vencaty Achárya; Vipur being his name, and Vencaty Achárya his title. He lives at Wadiga-palla, which is twelve coſſes from Bangalore, and in the Doda Bala-pura diſtrict. He travels about among his followers, receiving their contributions and beſtowing Upadéſa, and Chakrántikam, or Mudradárana as it is called in the Sanſkrit language.

The Madigas or Madigaru, are looked upon as a very low caſt. They dreſs hides, make ſhoes, and ſome of them cultivate the ground, acting as ſervants to the farmers. They are divided into ſmall tribes of ten or twelve houſes, and intermarry with the daughters of theſe houſes only, in order to be certain

of the purity of their race; of which they seem to be as fond, as those casts that are esteemed infinitely superior in rank. Some of the richer among them take two or more wives; but this is not common as a girl's father requires from 30 to 80 fanams (1l. 0s. 1¼d.—2l. 13s. 8¾d.) They never divorce their wives for any crime, except adultery. They eat carrion, and all manner of animal food, and avowedly drink spirituous liquors. Their religious worship seems to be exactly the same with that of the Coramaru; but they have a priestly tribe, who never intermarry with the laity, who live entirely on their contributions, and are called Jambu. There is a matam of Jambu at Cuddápa; and the office of high priest there is hereditary. This person takes frequent rounds through the country, collecting money, and admonishing his followers. I have never seen any of the Jambu, and, if they have any learning among them, they keep it entirely to themselves, as none of the laity can either read or write.

The Madigaru, who by the English of Madras are called Siclars, have no hereditary chiefs; but, in case of any fault being committed by a person of the cast, the elders assemble, and punish him according to custom.

The Rungaru are a tribe admitted to be of the Súdra cast. They are tailors, and printers of calico cloths. They have hereditary chiefs, with the usual jurisdiction, and follow the rules of their cast. Their Guru is an hereditary chief of the Sri Vaishnavam, who resides at Seringapatam. He punishes obstinate offenders, and bestows upadésa; and in return takes their contributions. He does not favour this cast by giving them chakrántikam.

The Jotyphanada, or Jotynagarada Ganagaru, are a kind of oil-makers, who deal largely in that commodity, and have two oxen in their mills. They pretend to be of the Bheri, or Nagarada sect of the Vaisya cast, but this is not admitted by either the Bheri or Bráhmans. They are a real Karnataca tribe. Two families here wear the linga, and are not admitted either to eat or intermarry with the others, who are all followers of one of the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaishnavam Bráhmans, who lives here, and is called Nullary Chakravarti. He bestows on them upadésa, and sometimes chakrántikam, but that rarely. When they marry, he gives them a string or thread, to be worn over the shoulder. This should be given to the real Vaisya only; but a relaxation is made in their favour, as they pay for the badge; and the preservation of the privileges of the lower casts is looked upon as a matter of very little importance. The Guru comes sometimes in person, and at others sends his agents, to levy the dues which are paid at marriages, and to receive the casual charity that is given according to the ability and disposition of his followers.

These oil-makers offer sacrifices to the Saktis, or destructive powers; making vows to do so, when they are in sickness or distress. Some of them take Dáséri; and their descendants ever afterwards follow the same manner of living, and refuse to intermarry with the industrious part of the cast, whom they consider as their inferiors. Some of the oil-makers burn, and some bury the dead. There have been instances, in the memory of man, of some of their widows having burned themselves along with the bodies of their husbands, but it is a very rare occurrence. Their wives can be divorced for adultery only, and are not shut up, although the men are allowed a plurality of women. They eat no animal food, nor is it lawful for them to drink spirituous liquors. They possess no learning, farther than being able to read and write accompts; and a few poems in the Andray, or poetical language of Telingana, which the Dáséri commit to memory.

The people who, in the language of Karnata, are called Chitrakaru, are commonly better known by the Mussulman appellation Jinigar, or Jiligar. They make chests, trunks, scrutoires, beds, and palankeens, paint houses, draw pictures of the gods and of women, gild, act as tailors, make gold thread, and sword scabbards, turn wood, and bind books. They never cultivate the ground, nor act as merchants. They pretend to be of the Kshátriya cast; and their Guru, in consequence, indulges them with a thread like that of the Bráhmans, but their pretensions to high rank are entirely disavowed by all other casts. They have among them some rudiments of learning. In the Brahmanda Purána, which is the book that they consider as appropriated to their cast, it is related, they say, that their ancestors, on account of some injury done to the Bráhmans, were condemned to follow their present mechanical occupations. They are divided into two sects; one worshipping Siva, and the other Vishnu: but this division produces no difference of cast, as they can all eat and marry together, the wife, as usual, adopting the religion of her husband. The worshippers of Siva do not wear the linga, but are followers of the Smartal Bráhmans. A Vaidika Bráhman residing here bestows the thread and upadésa, and attends at births, marriages, and funerals, which are performed on the pile, and are sometimes accompanied by the sacrifice of a wife. Those who worship Vishnu are followers of the Sri Vaishnavam Bráhmans. Neither division of these people eat animal food, nor drink spirituous liquors. They are allowed plurality of women, but do not confine them. Like all the other tribes of this country, however, they do not willingly admit any person of a different race into the inner apartments of their houses; especially if he be of a cast that they consider as inferior to their own; persons of their own tribe, and those whom they consider as of higher rank, can go into every part of their house, except the kitchen. The circumstances which seem chiefly to add dignity to a cast are, its being restricted from the pleasures of the world, especially those of the table; the following no useful employment; and the being dedicated to what they call piety and learning. Almost every man endeavours, as much as possible, to assume at least the external appearance of these qualifications; and in the people of this country a hypocritical cant is a remarkable feature. Even young men of active professions, when talking on business, will frequently turn up their eyes to heaven, and make pious ejaculations, attended with heavy sighs.

The Shalay are a cast of weavers, divided into two distinct tribes, that never intermarry, and have separate hereditary chiefs. They are of Telinga origin, and in their families retain that language: according to tradition, they have been in this country for six generations.

The Samay Shalay wear the Linga, and of course are worshippers of Iswara, and the gods of his family. They reject the worship of the Saktis, or destructive powers. Their Gurus are the Einaru of the Pancham Banijigas, with which cast the Samay Shalay can eat, but they cannot intermarry. When their Guru visits the town, each Shalay of this sect must present him with two fanams (1s. 4d.); and when a Samay Shalay waits on the Guru at the matam, he must make an offering of ten fanams, (6s. 8½d.) The Guru does not give upadésa; but, in place of it, bestows the linga. In case of the Guru's absence, this may be done by any Einaru. The Einaru attends at births, marriages, funerals, and on the occasion of building a new house. The Panchánga attends at marriages to read the mantrams, or service proper for the ceremony, and receives the usual fees. On these occasions, the Einaru washes the bridegroom's feet, and gives him some consecrated victuals. They bury the dead, and

and the widow is sometimes buried alive at the same time, but not in the same grave with the deceased husband. Widows cannot marry a second time, as is the case throughout India with females of any cast above those that are reckoned impure. The men are allowed a plurality of wives; but, except for adultery, can neither confine nor divorce them. They cannot legally eat animal food, nor drink spirituous liquors. The laymen are permitted to read several Puránas; such as the Baswa Purána, which gives an account of the laws of their religion: and the Shalayswara Purána, which is extracted from a book called the Bráhmanda Purána, and contains the rules of their particular sect, as the original work contains the rules of every sect whatever.

The worshippers of Vishnu, among this class of weavers, are called Padma Shalay, and give the following account of their origin. The whole Shalay formerly wore the linga; but a house having been possessed by a devil, and this sect having been called upon to cast him out, all their prayers were of no avail. At length ten persons, having thrown aside the linga, and offered up their supplications to Vishnu, they succeeded in expelling the enemy, and ever afterwards followed the worship of this god, in which they have been imitated by many of their brethren. The descendants of these men, who are called Sadana Ashorlu, or the celebrated heroes, never work; and having dedicated themselves to the service of god, live upon the charity of the industrious part of the cast, with whom they disdain to intermarry.

The Guru of the Padma Shalay is Tata Achárya, one of the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaishnavam Bráhmans. He lives at Doda Bala-pura, and bestows upadésa and chakrántikam. He has here a deputy, a Vaidika Bráhman, who attends at births, marriages, and burials. Widows are never buried alive. The Padma Shalay are allowed a plurality of wives, but cannot confine their women, nor divorce them, except for adultery. They cannot legally eat animal food, nor drink spirituous liquors, but are permitted to use ganja, or hemp, which the English in India usually call bang. Some among them are able to read poetry, and have a book called Márkandiya Purána, which is also followed by several sects that wear the linga, and is said to have been written by a Rishi named Markanda.

The Comatigas say, that they are the only true Vaisya, which is the third in rank of the pure casts, and they pretend, that now they are next in rank to the Bráhmans, as the second pure cast has become extinct. In both these pretensions they are supported by all the Bráhmans who are not desirous of flattering some Rája that pretends to be a Kshatri. They are found thinly scattered in every part of India, and are not prevented from eating in common, or from intermarriage, by any difference of nation or sect. A Comatiga coming from Kási or Benares, on being examined, and found to be acquainted with certain customs peculiar to the cast, and which are kept secret, is received here into all families, and may marry any of their women. They deal in cloth, and all kinds of merchandize, especially money and jewels, but are not allowed to sell spirituous liquors, nor any intoxicating substance; nor do they ever cultivate the ground, or follow any mechanical profession. They have hereditary chiefs, called Pedda Chitties, and the chief of each town or district is totally independent of the others. When a town is very large, the chief, for the parts that are remote from his house, appoints inferior officers, who settle trivial disputes. These chiefs possess the usual jurisdiction, and enjoy more than common immunities, for they pay nothing to government They can in no case act without the assistance of all the elders in the place. The Comatigas are not allowed to take animal food, nor any thing that will intoxicate. Polygamy is allowed to the men, and the women

are

are not divorced for any cause, except adultery. In this country they are not confined; but in the northern parts of Hindostan the Comatigas follow the example of their neighbours, and shut up their wives. Many of this cast read books composed in poetry; that which is considered as peculiarly belonging to it, is called Vaisya Purána, and is imagined to have been composed by the goddess Kanyaká Paraméswari, which is one of the names of the wife of Iswara. They all burn the dead, and sometimes the widow accompanies on the pile her departed husband. The women are no longer marriageable after the signs of puberty have appeared; and widows are condemned to perpetual celibacy. Some families of this cast worship Vishnu, and their Guru is Bhadra Achárya, one of the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaishnavam Bráhmans, who resides at Sri Rangam near Trichinopoly. Younger branches of the family reside at different places, and act as deputies for the chief. The one who acts in this neighbourhood resides at Doda-Bala-pura, and is called Chicana Botalu The other families of this cast worship Siva, and have for their guru a Sannyási Bráhman of the Smartal sect, who lives at Sivaganga, and acknowledges the Sringa-giri Swamalu as his superior.

The Ruddi are one of the tribes of Súdra cast, which being much employed in agriculture, are called Woculigaru in the language of Karnata, and Cunabi in that of the Decany Mussulmans. Besides cultivating the land, both as farmers and as their servants, they act also as porters, and sometimes carry on a small trade in grain. Like all the other Súdras employed in agriculture, they have formed a part of the native foot militia, that seems to have been established throughout India, and in which probably every man of this description was enrolled The considering the Kshatriya as the military cast seems an error. At present, the Ruddi frequently serve as Candashara, or the armed men, that without discipline collected the revenue, and composed the most considerable body in the armies of all native princes. They appear to form a numerous race of men; many of them live below the Ghats, and some are of Telinga, while others are of Karnata extraction. They can all eat together, but they never intermarry, except with particular families, the purity of whose descent they consider as well known. They acknowledge an inferiority to another class of Súdras who cultivate the land, and are called Sadru; for they will eat in the house of a Sadru, but he will not return the compliment by eating in theirs, which, among the Hindus, is a sure criterion of rank. They have Ijyamánas or hereditary chiefs, possessing the usual jurisdiction and immunities. Some of them can read and write accompts, but none proceed farther in learning. They eat hogs, sheep, goats, venison, and fowls,, and can take bang (or the leaves of the *Cannabis sativa*), but lose cast by drinking spirituous liquors. The men are allowed polygamy; but do not shut up their women, who are very industrious, and perform much of the country labour. They are divided into two sects by a difference of religion; one party worshipping Vishnu, and the other Siva; but this does not prevent intermarriages. Those who worship Vishnu are followers of the Sri Vaishnavan Bráhmans; but do not receive either upadésa or chakrántikam, contenting themselves with a little holy-water, which they obtain in return for their charity. Those who worship Siva are followers of a kind of Jangamas, but do not wear the linga. The people with whom I conversed seemed to consider these as the same with the Jangamas of the Pancham Banijigas; but this cast informed me, that they were distinct, and that the Gurus of the Ruddi were the same with those of the Curabaru, whose chief resides at Cangundy in the Bâra-mahâl. In their visits, the Gurus of both kinds receive from one to ten fanams (from 8d. to 6s. 8½d.) from each Ruddi, according to his circum-

stances. The Panchánga attends at births, marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies; and on each occasion receives a fanam. At the new and full moons, he also gets some trifling present of grain. Besides the worship of the great gods, they offer sacrifices to the destructive powers; among whom a female spirit, named Chaudéswarí, has in this neighbourhood many temples. The Pújári, in at least one of them, is an oil-maker of the cast formerly described, and his office is hereditary. The Ruddi is one of the lower casts employed in agriculture, and allowed to be of pure descent; but many of its members are rich, and are the Gaudás, or hereditary chiefs of villages.

The Bheri are a kind of merchants, who call themselves also Nagaratra, corrupted by the Mussulmans into Nagarit. They pretend to be of the Vaisya cast, but this is denied both by the Bràhmans, and by the Comatigas. They deal in drugs, grain, cloth, and money, and travel about in caravans. Some of them are farmers, but they never cultivate the ground with their own hands, nor do they ever follow any mechanical profession. They are divided by religion into two sects, that do not eat together, nor intermarry; and each has its own hereditary chief, who acts independently as to matters of ceremony, but in matters of a civil nature, the chief of the sect that is most numerous in the place assumes the sole authority. These chiefs are called Ijyamána, and possess the usual jurisdiction, but are not indulged with any immunities from taxes. When a man wants to marry, he goes to his hereditary chief, as is indeed usual with all the higher casts, presents him with betel, and discloses his intention. The chief sends for the father of the girl, and endeavours to bring the matter to a favourable conclusion. As for the girl, she is not at all consulted, and is indeed too young to have formed any attachments, as she must be married before any signs of puberty appear; for afterwards she is considered as being deflowered, and incapable of marriage. Owing to the custom of polygamy, however, very few of the women in this country live in a state of celibacy, except young widows of the higher casts, who never can marry again, and who are very numerous, for matches between old men and mere children are common. The comfort of having children, however, is in general all the pleasure that married women of rank in India enjoy. Where polygamy prevails, love is little known, or if it does possess a man, he is generally captivated by some artful dancing girl, and not by any of his wives, all of whom were married before they could either excite or feel that passion.

The Nagaratra, who worship Vishnu, are here the most numerous sect. They burn their dead, and the rules of cast require the widow to burn herself with her husband's body, but this custom has fallen into disuse. They do not intermarry with such of their sect as, being originally of the Lower Carnatic, speak the Tamul language as their native tongue. Their Guru is Trimula-tata Acharlu, an hereditary chief of the Sri Vaishnavam Brahmans, but, as forming part of left hand side, they are in, all matters belonging to that division, under the authority of Dharma Siva Acharlu, a Smartal Sannyási, and who, they say, bestows upadésa and chakrántikam on them, in the same manner as their own Guru. My interpreter, however, suspects that in this there is some mistake, as the latter ceremony is performed with the point of Vishnu's spear, which a Smartal Bráhman, so far as he knows, never uses. Their own Guru comes once a year, receives contributions, bestows upadesa and chakránukam, and, as usual, exercises spiritual jurisdiction. The Panchanga acts as their Puróhita, and it is of no consequence, whether or not he be of the same sect with them. Some of this cast are able to read poetry, and peruse a book called Vaisya Purana, which they consider as belonging to their cast.

The

The Pallíwánlu are the only persons in the Colar province (of which this is a part) who cultivate kitchen gardens. They also cultivate the ground, both as farmers, and as their servants. They are all of Tamul extraction; and, although they have been in this country for many generations, still speak the Tamul language in their own houses, and intermarry with the Palli of Arcot and Vellore. They are properly called Vana Pallí, and must be distinguished from the Mina Pallí, who are fishermen. This is one of the most numerous of the tribes of the Tamul nation, but is considered as rather low. They have hereditary chiefs called Gaunda, who possess the usual jurisdiction. None of them can read. They are allowed to eat animal food, and to drink spirituous liquors. Their women continue to be marriageable after the age of puberty, and are very laborious. They cannot be divorced for any cause, except adultery; but the men are permitted to have a plurality of wives. They bury their dead.

The Pallíwánlu have no Guru, but the Panchánga acts as their Puróhita at births and marriages, at the Amávásya, and at the annual commemoration of their deceased parents. They wear the mark of Vishnu's sect, and sometimes pray to Vencaty Rámana, but the proper god of their cast is Dharma Rája. His images exactly resemble those of Godama, who is frequently called by that name, but by the people here their god is said to be the eldest brother of the five sons of Pándu, who lived at the commencement of this Yugam. He is a beneficent deity, like Godama, abhorring blood; and is worshipped by offerings of fruit, flowers, and the like. The Pallíwánlu have temples of this god attended by Pújáris of their own cast. Like all the other inhabitants of this country, they are much addicted to the worship of the Saktis, or destructive powers, and endeavour to avert their wrath by bloody sacrifices. These are performed by cutting off the animal's head before the door of the temple, and invoking the deity to partake of the sacrifice. There is no altar, nor is the blood sprinkled on the image; and the body serves the votaries for a feast. The Pallíwánlu have temples dedicated to a female spirit of this kind named Mutialima, and served by Pújáris of their own cast. These priests can neither read nor write, but their office is hereditary. Their families can intermarry with those of the laity, who cultivate the priest's garden, and give him annually a suit of clothes. The Pallíwánlu also offer sacrifices to Márimá, whose Pújáris here are Curubáru; and to Putálimá, whose Pújáris are Lingáit. They sometimes take the vow of Dáléri.

Chap. V. — *From Bangalore to Doda Bala-pura.*

HAVING finished my inquiries at Bangalore, on July 3d, 1800, I went to Agara, a fortified village two cosses distant, which is inhabited by farmers, and where a great many mangoes are raised for the Bangalore market. The intermediate country is good, but does not contain a number of inhabitants nearly sufficient to cultivate the whole.

The Gauda, called corruptly Gaur, and in the Mussulman language the Potail, is the chief Ryut, or farmer, in the village, and receives the whole dues of government. The rent of each field of dry land is fixed by an old valuation, which it is supposed was made in the time of Krishna Ráyalu; and for any field more cannot be legally demanded, but the equal division of the crops is always wished for by the farmers. This, they allege, arises from the flourishing state in which the country was when the valuation was made, compared with its present poverty; but considering the great diminution of the value of gold and silver since that period, I am more inclined

to believe, that the preference given to a division of crops arises from the facility which that plan offers for defrauding the government.

The office of Gauda was originally hereditary; but now these persons are appointed by the Amildar, and continue in place so long as they keep up the collections to their supposed value, or until some other man undertakes, by bringing a greater number of farmers, to make the revenue more productive. The Gauda settles all disputes in the same manner as the hereditary chiefs of casts do. His council always consists of four elders. In case of any delinquency in the village, the Gauda and his council instruct the Shanaboga, or accomptant, to write out a statement of the case, and to transmit it to the Amildar for his information and decision. He frequently advances money for the other farmers, to enable them to pay their rents, and has the whole of their crops as his security. The whole remuneration for his trouble, so far as is avowed, is the share which he receives in the division of the wet crops.

The Shanaboga, called Shanbogue by corruption, and Curnum by the Mussulmans, is the accomptant of the village. He is always a Bráhman, and his office is hereditary. He is under the orders of the chief of the village, who is almost always a Súdra; but the allowances of the accomptant are greater, as he must give up the whole of his time to business. He keeps all the accompts, and writes all the letters as dictated to him by the chief of the village. These two officers ought to be a mutual check on the conduct of each other.

The servants under the chief and accomptant of the village are the Toti, Talliari, Nirgunty, Tarúgara, and Alitigara.

The office of the Toti and Talliari is the same; but the first is of the Whalliaru cast, and the second is either a Madiga or a Bayda. These persons hold their places by hereditary right, and are the watchmen of the village. They are sent on all messages, and as guides for persons travelling on public business. They watch the crops in the day-time, and assist the farmers to do so at night. Their most peculiar duty, however, is to ascertain the boundaries of each field, and of each farmer's possession.

The Nirgunty is generally a Whallia, but sometimes a Súdra holds the office, which is hereditary. His duty is, to divide the water of the tank or canal, and to convey the proper share to each man's field. He, of course, has the charge of the sluices, and of the small canals and drains for watering the fields. He also assists in watching the crops.

The Tarugara, or Aduca, collects the farmers, and prevents them from following any other occupation than that of cultivating the land. The lower classes of people in India are like children, and, except in the more considerable places, where they meet with uncommon encouragement to industry from Europeans, are generally in such a state of apathy, that, without the orders of government, they will hardly do any thing. The duty of the Aduca is to bustle among the farmers, and to call them out to work. He may therefore be called the beadle of the village.

4th July. — I went three cosses to Sirja-pura, one of the manufacturing towns dependent on Bangalore. The weavers of Sirja-pura are of the casts called Devangas, Shalay, and Togotaru. The cloths were formerly made of a very fine quality, but at present the only demand is for coarse goods. The merchants here act merely as brokers, and the weavers frequently carry their own goods for sale to Bangalore. Purchases are made here by traders from Seringapatam, Sira, Chatrakal, Codeal, Savanuru, Gubi, Bangaluru, Colar, Malavagul, Cangundy, Hosso-cotay, Bala-pura, Tumcuru,

Tumcúru, Mágadi, and Krishna-giri. The merchants of this place bring their cotton from Bangaluru, Hosso-cotay, and Colar.

Owing to a want of hands, much of the country through which I passed to-day is waste; but by the way I saw many fortified villages. The country is remarkably bare. The crops of dry grains ought now to cover the ground; owing, however, to the want of rain, they have not yet begun to spring.

5th July. — I went four cosses to Walur, and by the way passed through a manufacturing town named Lacor. It is not quite so large as Walur, but is a well built mud fort, strengthened by a fine hedge.

I found the Bráhman who had been attentive on my former visit, and who had called himself Amildar, or chief of a district. This I now learned was a falsehood. He was only a parputty, or chief of a subdivision; and his civility seems to have arisen from a desire of being considered as a great man, and of receiving attentions to which he was by no means entitled. Having been now detected, he did every thing, so far as he could venture, to cross my wishes. This assumption of titles to which they have no right, is a very common piece of vanity among the natives of India, though it often leads to very severe mortifications: all the amildars here wish to be called subadars, or chiefs of principalities, and from all their dependents receive this title, but in the Raja's dominions two persons only have a just claim to this appellation.

Every where in Karnata the palanquin-bearers are of Telinga descent, and in their own families speak the language of their original country. In the language of Karnata they are called Teliga Bestas, but in their own dialect they are called Bui. Having assembled those who live here, they gave me the following account of their cast. Their proper occupations, beside that of carrying the palanquin, are fishing, and the distillation of rum. Wealthy men among them become farmers, but none of the cast hire themselves out as farm-servants They are acknowledged to be of the Súdra cast, but rather of a low rank. Their hereditary chiefs are called Pedda Bui, which among the Europeans of Madras is bestowed on the head-man of every gentleman's set. They are allowed a plurality of wives, who are not confined. Though they all can eat together, they never intermarry, but with certain families, which are well known to each other, so as to avoid all danger of an impure race. They are allowed to eat sheep, goats, and fish, but ought to lose cast by drinking spirituous liquors. I well know, however, that this law is very much neglected. They bury the dead, and are all worshippers of Vishnu. They make offerings of fruit and flowers to the Saktis, but never offer bloody sacrifices to these destructive powers. Their Gurus are hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaishnavam Bráhmans, who receive their contributions, and bestow on them holy water, and consecrated victuals, but do not give them upadésa nor chakrántikam. At births, marriages, and funerals, the panchánga, or astrologer, attends as puróhita, or priest. Some of them are taught to read and write accompts, but they never acquire any farther learning.

The potmakers and dyers form one cast, and are all properly called Cumbharu; but those who dye are, on account of their trade, called Nilgaru. The two trades are followed indifferently by persons of the same family, but the cast is divided into two nations, the Telliga and Karnata, that do not intermarry. Those here are of the former nation, and give the following account of themselves.

They retain the Telinga language, being a tribe of that nation. They can eat in the house of a Karnataca potter, but he will not return the compliment; as they are allowed

allowed to eat animal food, which he abhors. Even among those of the Telinga nation, all good men abstain entirely from this indulgence. It is not lawful for them to drink spirituous liquors. They are allowed polygamy; but do not confine their women, nor divorce them for any cause except adultery. Girls continue to be marriageable after the age of puberty, and are very laborious in making pots. Widows cannot marry again, but it is never expected that they should burn themselves with the dead bodies of their husbands.

They follow no other trades than those of potters and dyers. The hereditary chiefs of this cast are called Gotugaru, or renters, and live at the kasba, or chief town of the district. They possess the usual jurisdiction, and are exempted from all duties, on condition of collecting the rent that is paid to government by the pot-maker of every village. This office is hereditary, and we have seen that, on condition of furnishing the cultivators with pots, he receives considerable dues on all the produce of the land. In many parts of India, the pot-maker is bound to supply all travellers with pots for dressing their victuals; but here this is done to such travellers only as are going on public business, and in consideration of this the potter pays nothing for his clay. They use a wheel, but are very unskilful in their art, for they are entirely ignorant of any glazing or enamel.

The potters of the Telinga nation say, that they are of the Sálivâhanam cast, as that mighty King was the son of one of their women. The Bráhmans allege, that she was impregnated by one of the sacred order. These potters wear a thread like the Bráhmans, and allege, that they are possessed of mantrams, or forms of prayer, which they can read, and which are endowed with considerable power. This is altogether denied by the Bráhmans, who laugh at the prayers of the potters, as being low trash in the vulgar language The potters certainly understand the Andray, or poetical language of their nation, and are possessed of a translation of the Bhágavata Purána in their language.

A few of these potters worship Siva, and are followers of the Smartal Bráhmans, but by far the greater part are of Vishnu's side, and follow the hereditary chiefs of the A'ayngar. On their followers of this tribe these Gurus bestow upadésa, chakrántikam, and holy water The renter settles all disputes, and punishes delinquents, the power of the Guru being confined to the bestowing of spiritual gifts, and the receiving of contributions, both as dues on marriages, and as annual tribute, besides what he gets as charity at casual visits The panchánga, or astrologer, acts as their purohita, or family priest, and reads mantrams, or set forms of prayer, in the Sanskrit language, at births, marriages, funerals, new moons, and at the annual commemoration of their father's death, which is only called Tithi when the parties are Bráhmans. Some of the potters understand the Sanskrit, so far at least as to be able to repeat the prayer after the astrologer, which is supposed to add considerably to its efficacy At these ceremonies there attend for charity all the Bráhmans of the neighbourhood, who are vaidikas, and who think that they can get any thing worth their while. These worshippers of Vishnu among the potters never take the vow of Dalen, but when they are sick they sometimes make a vow to live by begging, for a certain number of days after they recover. This is looked upon as very agreeable to the gods, and a sure way of obtaining their favour. They offer bloody sacrifices to the Saktis, or destructive spirit, but never act as priests in their temples. They never pray to Dharma Raja.

6th July.—I went three cosses to the place which in our maps is named Vackaleer; but which the natives, to my ear, pronounce Waculeray. The half of the way next

Walur passes through a very barren country, on which, even at this season, there is scarcely a leaf of grass to be seen. It is thinly covered with bushes and stunted trees. Beyond this there is some cultivation, and towards some rocky hills, at the foot of which Waculeray stands, the soil becomes good, and is well cultivated and wooded. Waculeray contains about a hundred houses, and is fortified by a wall and citadel, both of mud. It has no hedge. The reason assigned by the farmers for living thus together, and for shutting themselves and their cattle within the walls of a fort, is, the frequency of robbers, who live in the hills and woods, and who in the night plunder every thing that is not well secured.

The farmers in this town are seventeen houses; and there are twenty-two houses of Bráhmans, who live better, and are better lodged than the Súdras, although, except two or three officers of government, they all subsist upon charity.

7th July.—I went three cosses to Colar. The first part of the road passed through a narrow valley, confined between two ridges of low, rocky, naked hills. The valley in many places has formerly been cultivated, but now the whole is waste, and covered with bushes, among which the oleander (*Nerium odorum*) is common. Farther on, the hills to the right disappearing, the country in that direction is level to a great extent, seems to be very fertile, and has probably once been almost all cultivated. It contains many reservoirs, but from the want of trees looks very naked. The spots which at present are cultivated do not seem to be more than a tenth part of the country.

8th—11th July.—I passed these days at Colar, examining the state of agriculture in its neighbourhood. This is the most level country that I have seen above the Ghats, but it contains many bare rocky hills, which are situated at considerable distances, with level ground between them. Rice forms a very large proportion of the crop, and equals in quantity the ragy. The country is very poorly watered, and often suffers from a want of rain; for an old revenue officer of the place remembers four famines that arose from this cause.

Colar has a large mud fort, which is now repairing. The town contains seven hundred houses, many of which are inhabited by weavers. It was the birth-place of Hyder Aly, whose father lived and died in the town. A handsome mausoleum was erected for him by his son, and near it a mosque, and a college of Moullahs, or Mussulman priests, with a proper establishment of musicians, were endowed to pray for the repose of his soul. The whole is kept up at the expense of the Company.

On the hill north from the town was formerly a durga, or hill-fort, in which for some time resided Cossim Khán, the General of Aurungzebe, who, towards the end of the 17th century, made the first regular establishment of Mussulman authority to the south of the Krishna river. Colar was the capital of one of the seven pergunnahs, or districts, into which that General divided his conquests, which had been formerly invaded by the Mussulman King of Vijaya-pura (Bejapoor), and afterwards had become subject to the Marattahs. The other pergunnahs were, Sira, Budihalu, Baswapattana, Penu-conda, Hosso-cotay, and Burra Bala-pura. These formed what the Mussulmans called the subah of Sira, or the Carnatic Bejapoory Balaghaut, which are recent distinctions not at all known to the natives, and of which the memory is likely soon to be entirely obliterated.

The hill-fort above Colar has not been rebuilt since it was destroyed in an invasion of the Marattahs, who in the course of the 18th century made many attempts to recover

 this

this country. On the top of the hill are four ſmall villages, which have their fields, gardens, and tanks, raiſed high above the level of the country, in the ſame manner as it is above the parts near the ſea. Their little territories are ſurrounded by high rocks, and ſeparated by woody ridges, like a perfect epitome of Karnata Proper, or Balaghat, as it has been called by the Muſſulmans. The ſoil is fertile, and the water in many places being near the ſurface renders it fit for gardens. Although hill-forts are generally reckoned unhealthy, this ſeems to be by no means the caſe on this mountain. The inhabitants rather look upon the air as more healthy than common, and laſt year their cattle ſuffered much leſs than thoſe of their neighbours. The hill ſeems to attract more moiſture than the level country, and to be more favoured with rain; for a certain field on it annually produces a crop of rice, without any artificial watering, which in this arid climate is looked upon as a kind of miracle. There is a ſpring of water, which flows from the ſide of the hill in a ſmall ſtream; and, ſuch a thing being here very uncommon, the Brahmans have conducted it along a gutter formed in the rock, and where it falls from thence, have, under a building, placed ſome ſtones, which the obliging imagination of the natives conceives to reſemble a cow's mouth. The place, as being holy, is much frequented, and a ruinous temple at ſome diſtance attracts to its annual feaſt about ten thouſand pilgrims.

Even in ſuch a remote place, to which every acceſs is ſteep and difficult, I found, that the inhabitants were not protected by their extreme poverty, but each village was provided with fortifications. The people ſaid, that whenever any neighbouring Polygar was troubleſome, the Baydaru, or hunters, were accuſtomed in the night time, under pretence of being the Polygar's men, to go and plunder their neighbours. This they always did by ſurpriſe, as their love for plunder is at leaſt equalled by their cowardice. Whenever theſe ruffians are prowling about, one or two men keep watch in a tower, on the firſt alarm, all the inhabitants fly to their arms, and returning to the tower, from thence fire upon the robbers, who in general atttempt to carry away the cattle.

The trade and manufactures of Colar had been entirely ruined by Tippoo, as it was in the immediate neighbourhood of his enemy's dominions, with whom he would allow of no communication. Both are now rapidly on the increaſe, and exceed even what they were in the reign of Hyder. No army came this way in the laſt war, but they ſuffered a little in the invaſion by General Smith, and conſiderably by that of Lord Cornwallis. The merchants ſuffered much by Tippoo's forcing goods on them at a high rate, and ſtill more by his capriciouſly forcing them to change the places of their abode. He frequently founded new bazars, or market towns, and compelled merchants to remove thither; although the place might be quite out of the way by which their trade was uſually conducted. From the officers of the Nabob of Arcot, merchants meet with no annoyance. Some of them, being conſtant traders take from the cuſtom-houſes what they call cowl, or protection, and on that account pay only one-half of the duties that are exacted from occaſional viſitors. A merchant who has this kind of protection, for every 800 maunds of betel-nut, worth about 550l. pays to the Nabob's cuſtom-houſes, on the way between this and Wallaja-petta, 33 ſtar pagodas, or a little more than 12l.

In the country villages much coarſe cloth is made by the Whalliaru weavers. Thoſe in the town are Dévangas and Shaynigaru, who make the white cotton cloth with ſilk borders called putaynſhina. They make alſo the muſlins called ſada ſhulla, and dutary, and white turbans.

Merchants

Merchants from Balahari, Advany, Naragunda, Navalagunda, Maynashigy, Jaliali, and Anigiri, places near the Krishna river, bring cotton wool, cotton thread, dark blue cotton cloth, terra jáponica, asafœtida, dates, almonds, and mailtuta, which is used as a dentifrice. The merchants of Balahari take back in cash three fourths of the returns, and the remainder in castor-oil, popli dye, and jagory. The other merchants take back the whole in cash. The merchants of Hyder-Nagar bring betel-nut, black-pepper, and sandal-wood. They take back cash, and a little white muslin. Here the merchants of Seringapatam purchase cloth with cash. The merchants of Gubi bring betel-nut, and black-pepper; and take back cloth, and some money From Sira the same articles are brought, the returns are entirely in cloth. From Bala-pura are brought sugar, and some cloth fitted for the dress of women From the Lower Carnatic the merchants bring salt, and the goods that are imported by sea from Europe, China, Malacca, &c. with a considerable balance of money due for the betel-nut, black-pepper, garlick, tamarinds, shicai (fruit of the mimosa saponaria), and grain, that are sent from hence. The silk is all brought from Bangalore, and no cotton grows in the country.

In this place are settled a kind of shoe-makers called muchaveru, they are Rajputs, and in their families retain the Hindustány language, as having originally come from the country which the Mussulmans call Agimere. Like all the persons of an unmixed breed from that country, they pretend to be of the Kshatriya cast, but this high rank is denied by the Bráhmans to even the highest of the Rajputs, those whose profession is agriculture and arms, and who, the Bráhmans say, are merely the highest class of the Sùdras, like the Nairs of Malabar, or Káyastas of Bengal. These shoe-makers are not allowed to eat nor to intermarry with the Chitrakaru, nor with the weavers, who come from the same country, and much less with the Rajputs properly so called, who are by cast the cultivators and defenders of the soil. They came into this country with Cossim Khán, the General of Aurungzebe, and settled chiefly here and at Sira. They follow no other profession than that of making shoes. The proper Gurus of this cast are the Vairágis, who read to them, and receive their charity The panchánga, or astrologer, attends their marriages, and gives them a kind of upadésa. None of them can read They are worshippers of Vishnu, and do not pray nor offer sacrifices to the Saktis, nor to Dharma Raja, but contribute their share of the expence at the sacrifices, and festivals, which the village as a public body performs in honour of these gods. They are allowed to eat mutton and fish, but not to drink spirituous liquors. They are allowed to marry several wives, and confine them after the custom of their own country. They have chiefs, who determine matters relating to cast, but their office is not hereditary. they are elected in an assembly of the people

The Telega Uparu are a tribe of Telinga origin, as their name expresses; and retain in their families the language of their original country. They can give no account of the time when they came to Colar. Their proper occupation is the building of mud walls, especially those of forts, but some of them are farmers, and some farmers' servants, or Batigaru, they act also as porters. They have hereditary chiefs called Ijyamána, who possess the usual jurisdiction. None of them can read or write. They are allowed to eat venison, mutton, fowls, swine, and fish, but cannot avowedly drink spirituous liquors. They are allowed a plurality of wives, who are very laborious, and each costs five pagodas (1l. 16s. 7½d.), which are presented to her parents. The girls continue to be marriageable after the age of puberty, but a widow cannot take a second husband. They bury the dead. They never take the vow of Daseri, or of dedicating themselves to the service of the gods. The god of their cast is Vishnu;

 but

but they pray to Dharma Rája, and offer sacrifices to the Saktis. They have no knowledge of a future life, and pray only for temporal blessings. Their Gurus are the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaishnavam Bráhmans, who on the richer part of the cast bestows upadésa and chakrántikam. The panchanga, or astrologer, attends only at marriages.

A Smartal Bráhman, reckoned a man of learning, but who seems to be very unwilling to open such stores as he possesses, denies all knowledge of the worshippers of Jain, Buddha, or the Linga, farther than that he has heard them mentioned. The doctrines of all other sects, but his own, he considers as contemptible, and not worthy of notice.

He believes in a supreme god called Náráyana, or Para Brahmă, from whence proceeded Siva, Vishnu, and Brahmā, which still, however, are all the same god. His sect pray to Siva and Vishnu, with many of their wives, children, and attendants, among whom are the Saktis, or destructive powers. Siva, however, is the principal object of their worship, for they consider him as the most powerful mediator with Náráyana, who is rather too much elevated to attend to their personal requests. They abhor bloody sacrifices, but do not reprehend their followers of the Súdra cast for using that manner of worship. They say, that it is the custom of the Súdras, and that what these low people do is of little or no consequence. When a good Bráhman dies, his spirit is united to God, but a bad one is first punished in a purgatory, and then by passing through various other lives, as an animal, or as a person of some of the low casts, till at last he becomes a Bráhman, and has another opportunity by his good works of gaining heaven.

Sringa-giri, south from Hyder Nagar, is by this person considered as the chief throne of the Brahmans. Then God assumed the form of a Bráhman named Sankara Achárya, and, having become a Sannyási, established his mata or college, at the place at which there has ever since been a succession of Sannyásis, who are the Gurus of the order, and are called Swamalus. In different places of India these have established agents, or deputies, who are also Sannyásis, and assume the title of Swamalu. Originally these agents were all sent from the college at Sringa-giri, but now, although they acknowledge the superiority of the representative of Sankara Achárya, they all educate young men in their own matas, or colleges, and from among them appoint their successors. In the chief college at Sringa-giri there are many disciples, who are all of Vaidika families, who never marry, and who are carefully educated in such learning as the Bráhmans possess. They are called Brahma Cháris, and from among them the Guru, when he is about to die, selects the one that appears to him most deserving, and reveals to him the upádesa peculiar to his rank, by which the favourite becomes his successor. The inferior Swamalus (properly Swámyálu) educate in a similar manner their successors. Should the Sringa-giri Swamalu die without appointing a successor, the deputies or agents assemble, and select from among the Brahma Cháris the most deserving person, and, revealing to him to him the upadésa, constitute him their chief. Till he is on the point of death, a Swamalu is very unwilling to deliver the upadesa to a successor, as, immediately on getting possession of it, his power becomes equal to his own; and if he should recover, the new Swamalu might remove to another college, and act independent of his authority.

Besides the vedas, and eighteen puránas supposed to have been written by Vyása, which are common to all Bráhmans, the Smartal sect follow, as peculiar to themselves, four sastrams, or books, called Mimása, Tarka, Vyákaranam, and Védánta, which are said to contain a system of logic, metaphysics, and grammar, that is necessary to explain

explain the doctrine of the Védas; and the Sankara Bhashá, a commentary which explains the doctrine of the Sutras.

The Gurus of the Smartal sect seem to act chiefly in an episcopal capacity; that is, as superintendants of the manners of their followers. They would not appear to perform any ceremony for the sect, which, as being followers of Siva, does not admit of chakrántikam; and among the Smartal, it is the puróhita who gives upadésa. When a Smartal commits any fault, if the Guru or his deputy be near, he assembles ten learned men of the sect, and with their advice punishes the delinquent. If, however, the fault be of such a nature as to deserve excommunication, which is the highest punishment, the Guru must for the purpose assemble a trimatasteru, or council, composed of the most learned men of the three sects, Smartal, A'ayngar, and Madual. These councils may be held, and may punish delinquents, without the presence of either Guru, or deputy. The faults that occasion a loss of cast, and for which no pardon can be given, are, I. Sexual intercourse within the prohibited degree of consanguinity. II. Sexual intercourse with any prohibited cast. III. Eating forbidden food, or drinking intoxicating liquors. IV. Stealing. V. Slaying of any animal of the cow kind, or of the human species, but a Bráhman is permitted to kill his enemy in battle. VI Eating in company with persons of another cast, or of food dressed by their impure hands. VII. Eating on board a ship food that has been dressed there. VIII. Omitting to perform the ceremonies due to their deceased parents. For smaller offences, the Guru or his deputies punish in various ways, by commanding pilgrimages, or fasts, by fines, by holding burning straw to the body of the delinquent, which is sometimes done with such severity as to occasion death, by shaving the head, so as to occasion a temporary separation from the cast, and by giving large draughts of cow's urine, which is supposed to have the power of washing away sin. Ordeals are also in use, and a most barbarous one is applied to those who, having had sexual intercourse with a person of another cast, allege that it was by mistake. If the criminal be a woman, melted lead is poured into her private parts, if it be a man, a red hot iron is thrust up. Should they be innocent, it is supposed that they will not be injured. A male Bráhman, however, even if married, may with impunity have connection with a dancing-girl, all of whom in this country are dedicated to the service of some temple.

The low casts, that are followers of the Smartal Bráhmans, seem to engage very little of the Guru's attention. They occasionally give them holy water, and the ashes of cow-dung to make the mark of Siva on their foreheads, and receive their contributions; but they leave the punishment of all their transgressions against the rules of cast to their own hereditary chiefs, at whose desire, however, they reprimand and impose fines on obstinate offenders. They seem to have no wish to constrain other casts to any particular dogmas, or mode of worship: the only thing, they think, in which a Súdra ought to be instructed to believe, is, that the Bráhmans are infinitely his superiors, and that the only means of gaining the favour of the gods is by giving them charity. With regard to all sects that refuse to acknowledge these grand doctrines, and even among themselves concerning points of faith, no men can be more intolerant, nor violent.

If the fines imposed by a Guru appear to his council to be immoderate, they have the power to reduce the amount. If any one offers charity, that, considering the man's circumstances, the Guru thinks too small, he has no power to extort more; but he may reprimand the person for his want of the great virtue of charity.

This man ſays, that the Bráhmans are ſeparated into two great diviſions; one of which occupies the countries toward the ſouth, and the other the countries toward the north. He holds in great contempt thoſe from Káſi or Benares, as being men from the north; and would not even admit them to the honour of eating in his houſe. Theſe Bráhmans, he ſays, eat fiſh, offer bloody ſacrifices, and commit other ſimilar abominations. The northern Bráhmans are, however, at leaſt as proud as thoſe from the ſouth, and allege ſeveral reaſons for holding them in contempt, among which the moſt urgent is, that the women of the ſouthern Bráhmans are allowed to appear in public.

None of the ſouthern Bráhmans can, without loſing caſt, taſte animal food, or drink ſpirituous liquors, and they look upon the ſmoking of tobacco as diſgraceful. All thoſe who have been married are burned after their death, and their wives ought to accompany them on the pile; but this cuſtom has fallen very much into diſuſe, and inſtances of it are extremely rare; whereas in Bengal it ſtill continues to be common. A woman can on no account take a ſecond huſband, and, unleſs ſhe is married before the ſigns of puberty appear, ſhe is ever afterwards conſidered as impure. They are not at all confined, and can be divorced for no other cauſe than adultery. When a Bráhman divorces his wife, he performs the ſame ceremonies for her, as if ſhe had died

Although all the ſouthern Bráhmans can eat together, yet they are divided into nations, that never intermarry, and, although they have long been living intermixed, they generally retain in their families the language of the country from whence they originally came

Each nation has its Vaidika, who ſubſiſt by charity, and dedicate their lives to ſtudy and devotion, its Lokika, who follow worldly purſuits, and its Numbi, or prieſts who officiate in temples, and debaſe themſelves by receiving monthly wages, and by performing menial duties to the idols The Lokika and Vaidika may intermarry, but in accepting of his daughter for a wife, a poor Vaidika does honour to the greateſt officer of government, and ſtill more in giving him a daughter in marriage The Lokika are never admitted to become Sannyaſis; this, however, is not conſidered as ariſing from any invincible rule of caſt, but only from their want of the proper qualifications

Each nation again is divided into the ſects of Smartal, A'ayngar, or Sri Vaiſhnavam, and Madual, but in one nation one ſect is more prevalent than in another A difference of ſect does not properly conſtitute a difference of caſt, as the ſon of a Smartal may become a worſhipper of Viſhnu, and, on the contrary, an A'ayngar may become a follower of the Sringa-giri college, but ſuch changes are not common. The Smartal and Madual eat together, and intermarry, although the one worſhips Siva and the other Viſhnu; and on ſuch occaſions the woman always adopts the religion of her huſband, which ſeems to be a proof of a great degradation of the ſex, who are not conſidered as worthy to form an opinion of their own on a point of this importance. The Sri Vaiſhnavam or A'ayngar will not marry, nor eat with a Madual, although they both worſhip Viſhnu, and ſtill leſs will they have any communication with a Smartal; which ariſes, however, not from any difference in caſt, but from a hatred to the doctrines entertained by theſe ſects.

The Bráhmans of every nation are divided into certain families, called gótrams, and a man and woman of the ſame family never marry together. The connection of gótram is entirely in the male line; and the Bráhmans who ſpeak Engliſh tranſlate it by our word couſin, and ſometimes by brother, or, what is analogous to it, by the

the Mussulman word bhai. The son of their mother's sister they consider as a more distant relation than any person of the same gótram.

12th July.—In the morning I went four cosses to Calura, said to be the residence of an amildar; but in the list of talucs, or districts, which I procured from the revenue officer at Seringapatam, I see no such place mentioned. In all probability, therefore, it is only a subdivision called a hobly, and its chief, in order to augment his importance, calls himself to me an amildar. He has retained his station for thirty years, and has acquired a name by digging a colam, or tank. It is about half a mile from the town, is surrounded by a fine Mango grove, and the road from it to the town has on each side a raised walk, with an avenue of mango and tamarind trees reaching the whole way.

For more than one half the way from Colar the country is at present entirely depopulated. Formerly there has been much cultivation; and the broken fragments of the hedges by which the dry fields were inclosed remain, o show its once flourishing state. The remainder of the country is in a better condition, but at least one half of what has been formerly cultivated is now waste. I here passed two large villages well fortified with mud walls, and surrounded by strong hedges. The country contains many detached, naked, rocky hills, and many places seem to be fit for palm gardens, of which, however, I saw none. The mist frequently rests on the tops of the hills, while the country below is clear.

The Woddas, or Woddaru, are a tribe of Telinga origin, and in their families retain that language, although they are scattered all over the countries where the Tamul and Karnátaca tongues are prevalent. They dig canals, wells, and tanks; build dams and reservoirs, make roads; and trade in salt, and grain. Some of them are farmers, but they never hire themselves out as Batigaru, or servants employed in agriculture. Some of them build mud-houses; but this is not a proper occupation for persons of their cast. The old and infirm live in huts near villages, and dig and repair tanks, or wells, or perform other such labour, while the vigorous youth of both sexes travel about in caravans with oxen and asses, in pursuit of trade. In these caravans they carry with them all their infants, and their huts, which latter consist of a few sticks and mats. They follow armies to supply them with grain, and in the time of peace take to the Lower Carnatic grain, jagory, and tamarinds, and bring up salt. In Hyder's government they were very numerous, but, having been forced by Tippoo to work at his forts without adequate pay, a great number of them retired to other countries. As they are a very useful set of people, they are now encouraged, and are fast returning. There are no distinctions among them that prevent intermarriages, or eating in common. They eat fowls, sheep, goats, swine, rats, and fish; but reject carrion. They are allowed to take all manner of things that intoxicate, and are in fact much addicted to spirituous liquors. They marry as many wives as they can get, and the women seem to be more numerous than the men, as no person is without one wife, and the generality have two; several go so far as eight. A man is in general more restricted from taking many wives by the expence of the ceremony, than by any difficulty in supporting the family, as the women are so industrious, that the more wives he can get, the more he lives at his ease. A lazy woman is immediately divorced by her husband, but, if she can find a man willing to take her, she is at liberty to marry again. The girls continue marriageable from seven years of age, until their death; and a widow is not prevented from taking another husband. Formerly, when the cast was richer, a man gave a hundred

fanams

fanams (3l. 7s. 1d.) to the parents of the girl whom he wanted to marry; but this is now reduced to two fanams (1s. 4d.) to the father, a piece of cloth to the mother, and a hundred cocoa-nuts as emblematical of the original price. The marriages are made in an assembly of the tribe, and the ceremony consists in the bridegroom and bride walking thrice round a stake, which is erected for the purpose. Next morning they give another feast, and present the company with betel. The panchánga, or astrologer, does not attend, nor are there any prayers (mantrams) read on the occasion. In case of adultery, the custom of the cast is to put the woman to death; but this severity is not always used. In case of a man's treating his wife very harshly, she may retire to her mother's house, and live there, but, without his consenting to divorce her, she cannot marry again. The custom of the cast is to bury the dead, and, although the women are very harshly used by their husbands while drunk, and although widows are not prevented from marrying again, yet it is said, that perhaps one widow in a hundred throws herself into a pit filled with fire, and burns herself near the grave of her husband. The Brahmans do not officiate at funerals, but on those occasions money is distributed among them and other mendicants.

The Guru of the cast is Tata Achárya, one of the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaishnavam Bráhmans who lives at Penu-conda. They go either to him, or to some of his relations, who live in different parts of the country, and receive chakrantikam, and advice to wear the marks of the god Vishnu, and, according to their abilities, give in return, from one to three fanams. They are allowed to attend at the festivals of the great gods, although their claim to be of a Sudra, or pure descent, is rather doubtful. Many of them can read and write accompts; but they attempt no higher kind of learning. Although the Woddaru pray to Vishnu, and offer sacrifices to Marima, Gungoma, Virapacshima, Durgama, Putalima, and Mutialima, yet the proper object of worship belonging to the cast is a goddess called Yellama, one of the destroying spirits. The image is carried constantly with their baggage, and in her honour there is an annual feast, which lasts three days. On this occasion they build a shed, under which they place the image, and one of the tribe officiates as priest, or pújari. For these three days offerings of brandy, palm-wine, rice, and flowers are made to the idol, and bloody sacrifices are performed before the shed. The Woddas abstain from eating the bodies of the animals sacrificed to their own deity, but eat those which they sacrifice to the other Saktis. This cast frequently vow Daseri, or dedicate themselves to the service of God, which does not prevent from trading those who are rich or industrious; those who are idle live entirely by begging. The duty of a Daséri requires that he should daily wash his head, and take care, when he eats in company with the profane, that their victuals do not intermix with his. On Saturday night, after having washed his head, and prayed for some hours, he must cook his victuals in a clean pot. He learns by rote a set form of prayer in the poetical language, or Andray; and while he repeats it, he rings a bell, and at intervals blows on a conch. The hereditary chiefs of this cast possess the usual jurisdiction. The fines imposed by them never exceed three fanams (two shillings,) and three cocoa-nuts; and are always expended on drink.

The Whallias, or Whalliaru, by the Mussulmans called also Dhedh, and Ballagai-jat, as forming the most active combatants on the right hand side, are nearly the same with the Parriar of the people who speak the Tamul language, and with the Maliwanlu of those who use the Telinga dialect. Like the Bráhmans, the Whallias of all nations can eat together; but two persons of different countries never intermarry. Although this cast be looked upon as the very lowest of all others, they are desirous of

keeping up the purity of the breed; and never marry but with the daughters of families, with whoſe deſcent, from long vicinity, they are well acquainted. Like the Súdra, they are divided into ſeveral ranks that do not intermarry. The higheſt are here called Moraſu Whalliaru, and are cultivators of the ground, weavers, and ſmelters of iron ore. Inferior to theſe are Maligara Whalliaru, or muſicians; Naindaru Whalliaru, or barbers; and Aſaga Whalliaru, or waſhermen. Theſe again are quite diſtinct from the muſicians, barbers, and waſhermen of the pure tribes, who, though lower than the cultivators, are all of Súdra caſt. All the different ranks of Whalliaru, though they do not intermarry, eat together, and join in their public ceremonies. The Whalliaru are not permitted to build their huts within the walls of towns or villages; but, if there be any hedge, they generally inhabit between it and the ditch. In very large places their huts form ſtreets, and into theſe a Bráhman will not deign to put his foot; nor in a place ſo impure will a Súdra build his houſe; in like manner as a Bráhman is very unwilling to occupy a houſe in a ſtreet which the Súdra inhabit. A Bráhman, if he be touched by a Whallia, muſt waſh his head, and get a new thread; and a Súdra, who has been ſimilarly defiled, is obliged to waſh his head. A Bráhman of this country will not give any thing out of his hand to perſons of lower birth, of whom he is not afraid; but throws it down on the ground for them to take up. He will receive any thing from the hand of a perſon of a pure deſcent; but when a Whallia delivers any thing to the Bráhman, he muſt lay it on the ground, and retire to a proper diſtance, before the Bráhman will deign to approach. Europeans, from their eating beef, are looked upon by the natives here as a kind of Whalliaru; and nothing but the fear of correction prevents them from being treated with the ſame inſolence.

The proper buſineſs of the diviſion of Whalliaru, called Moraſu, is the cultivation of the ground, in which both men and women are very induſtrious; but they do not appear to have ever formed a part of the native militia, like the Súdra cultivators, nor to have been entruſted with arms, until they began to enter into the Company's ſervice. From among them ſeveral families hold, by hereditary right, the low village offices of Toti and Nirgunty, or of watchmen and conductors of water. Some few of the cultivators are farmers; but by far the greater part are yearly ſervants or Batigaru. Some of them weave coarſe cloth, and ſome ſmelt iron ore. They have chiefs called Gotugaru, who, with a council as uſual, ſettle all diſputes and matters of caſt.

The Guru of the Whallias is called Kempa Nullari Einaru, and lives at Tripathi. He is married, and wears the mark of Viſhnu. They do not know of what caſt he is; but he does not intermarry with the Whalliaru, and my interpreter ſays that the Gurus of this low tribe are all of the people called here Satánana. The Guru occaſionally comes round, lives in the huts of his followers, and receives their contributions. He puts the mark of Viſhnu on their foreheads, and exhorts them to pray to that god, and to thoſe of his family. They have no prieſt that attends at births, marriages, burials, nor at the ceremonies performed in honour of their deceaſed parents; nor do they ever receive upadéſa or chakrántikam. They pray to Dharma Rája, and offer ſacrifices to Márimá, Caragadumma, and Gungoma. The pújári, or prieſt, who officiates in the temple of this laſt deſtructive ſpirit, is a Whallia; and hers are the only temples into which any of this tribe are ever admitted. They eat the ſacrifices offered even to this deity, peculiar to their caſt. Their Guru never joins in any of theſe ſacrifices; none of them can read or write. They are allowed to drink ſpirituous liquors, and to eat beef, pork, mutton, fowls, and fiſh; nor have they

they any objection to eat an animal that has died a natural death. Their marriage ceremony consists in a feast, at which the bridegroom ties the bridal ornaments round the neck of his mistress. Except for adultery, a man cannot divorce his wife; and if she has children, he cannot during her life take another; but if a man, in a reasonable time after marriage, have no children by his first wife, he may take a second. Widows are not permitted to marry again; but it is not expected that they should burn themselves, nor preserve celibacy with great exactitude. Many of this cast take the vow of Daseri.

The Togotas, or Togotaru, are a class of weavers of Telinga origin, and in their families retain that language, They follow no other trade than weaving, and have hereditary chiefs called Jiyamána, who possess the usual authority. Many of them can read and write accompts; but none attempt any higher kind of learning. Idle, stupid fellows, that cannot get a living by their industry, take the vow of Daséri, and go about praying with a bell and conch. They have no tradition concerning the time when they came into this country. They all eat together, but intermarry only with such families, as by long acquaintance know the purity of each other's descent. They cannot lawfully drink spirituous liquors, but can eat fish, fowls, and mutton. It must be observed, that, throughout the southern parts of India, fowls are a common article of diet with the lower casts; whereas in Bengal, their use is confined entirely to Mussulmans. In Bengal again ducks and geese are commonly used by the Hindus; but in the southern parts of India these birds are not at all domesticated, except by Europeans. It is not usual for the weavers of this cast to take more than one wife, unless the first prove barren; but there is no law to prevent them from taking as many as they please. Parents that are poor take money for their daughters, when they give them in marriage; those that are in easy circumstances do not. Widows cannot marry again, but are not expected to kill themselves. A woman can only be divorced for adultery. The Gurus of these weavers are hereditary chiefs of the Aáyngar, who, in return for the contributions of their followers, bestow upadésa and chakrántikam; of course they are worshippers of Vishnu. The panchánga, or village astrologer, whether he be a follower of that God, or of Siva, attends at births, marriages, funerals, at the ceremonies performed in honour of their deceased parents, and at the building of a new house; and on each occasion gets a fee of one fanam, or eight-pence. On other occasions, when a weaver wants to pray, like other Súdra, he calls in a Satánana, who reads something in an unknown language, and gives the votary some holy water, which he consecrates by pouring it on the head of a small image that he carries about for that purpose. A similar ceremony when performed by a Bráhman, from the charity that accompanies it, is called dhana, and is supposed to be much more efficacious in procuring the favour of the gods.

13th July.—In the morning I went three cosses from Calura to Silagutta. The rains having become heavy, the people are now busy sowing their ragy. The showers are frequent, and the winds from the westward are strong. A great part of the country is overgrown with stunted bushes, even where the soil appears to be tolerably good, and has never been in a state of cultivation. Perhaps one half is rated in Krishna Ráyalu's accompts, and of that two thirds may be in actual cultivation; for the country is in a better state than that through which I passed yesterday. It does not contain so many small rocky hills; but I have in front, Nandi-durga; on my right, Rymabad, or Rymangur; on my left Chintamony; and on

on my real, Ambaji-durga. By the way I passed three large villages, all strongly fortified with mud-walls and hedges.

Silagutta is a town containing about five hundred houses, several of which are occupied by weavers. It formerly belonged to a family of Polygars, named Narayana, who possessed Devund-hully (corrupted into Deonelly), Nandi-durga, and the two Bala-puras. The country around is the prettiest of any that I have seen above the Ghats. It has two fine tanks, like small lakes; and their banks are covered with gardens. At a distance it is surrounded by hills occupied by durgas, or hill-forts, of which five are in sight.

I assembled here some intelligent panchángas, or astrologers, and farmers, and procured from them the following account of the prevailing seasons; which may be considered as applicable to the north-eastern and middle parts of the dominions of the Mysore Raja.

The almanacs divide the year into three equal portions, called candaia; and each of these again is divided into two ritugalu, or seasons, of which each contains two months. The names of these seasons having been taken from the climate of a country not entirely similar to this, are not always applicable to the seasons of this place. They are, I. Vasanta Ritu, or spring season, which contains Chaitra and Vaisaka, or this year from the 26th of March to the 23d of May. In this the trees flower, the weather is hot and clear, with very gentle winds from the westward There are occasional showers of rain, or hail, but they are not accompanied by squalls of wind. II. Gríshma Ritu, or the scorching season, includes Iyaishtha and Ashada, or in this year from the 24th of May to the 21st of July. The air is rendered cool by clouds, and strong westerly winds. The rains are heavier than in Vasanta, but are not at their height. Thunder is common, but not very severe. III. Varshá Ritu, or the rainy season, comprehends Srávana and Bhadrapada, or from the 22d July to the 18th of September. At this season the rains ought to be very heavy, and the air to be cool, with frequent and violent thunder and lightning. The winds are westerly, and from the middle of Asháda to the middle of Srávana, or about our month of July, are very violent; afterwards they abate. IV Aswaja and Kartika from Sarat Ritu, which this year extends from the 19th of September to the 16th of November. At this season there are long falls of rain; but it is not very heavy, and there are considerable intervals of fair weather. The winds are light, and come from the northward. During the rain, to the feelings of the natives, the air is very cold; in the intervals it is temperate. The thunder is moderate. V. Hémanta Ritu, or the season of dew, comprehends Márgasirsha and Paushya, or from the 16th of November to the 14th of January. At this season there is no rain, but there are heavy dews; and thick fogs obscure the sun, and render the air very cold. The winds are moderate, and come from the northward. VI. Sayshu Ritu, or the season of moonshine, comprehends Mága and Phálguna, or from about the middle of January to the middle of March. There are sometimes slight showers, but the weather is in general dry and clear, with very little dew. The winds are light, and come from the eastward. The warm season commences; but the heat, according to the sensation of the natives, continues moderate. This is the season of the principal rice harvest. The air is most unhealthy, and occasions most fevers, during the first and last seasons, or in the hot and dry weather. By the natives this country is esteemed very healthy; they acknowledge, however, that the air of the durgas is very bad.

The

The Moraſu are an original tribe of Karnata, who are admitted by all parties to be Súdra, and who, as being cultivators of the land, are called Woculigaru, which by the Muſſulmans has been ſhortened into Wocul. In the two Bala-pura diſtricts they are very numerous, and formed a part of the native foot militia, called in this language Candaſhara. They are cultivators of the ground, both as maſters and ſervants, and occaſionally hire themſelves as porters. They form three tribes; Moraſu, properly ſo called, Moraſu Moſcu, and Teligu Moraſu, which laſt would appear from the name to be a tribe of the Telingana nation. Theſe tribes eat together, but do not intermarry; and even in each tribe perſons confine their marriages to a few families, whoſe deſcent is known to be pure. My informants are of the Moraſu, properly ſo called, and muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the impure tribe called Moraſu Whallias, who are not Súdra.

The men of this tribe, but not the women, can eat with thoſe of another tribe of cultivators called Sadru. A principal object of worſhip with this caſt is an image called Kála-Bhairava, which ſignifies the black dog. The temple is at Sitibutta, near Calanore, about three coſſes eaſt from hence. The place being very dark, and the votaries being admitted no farther than the door, they are not ſure of the form of the image; but believe, that it repreſents a man on horſeback. The god is ſuppoſed to be one of the deſtroying powers, and his wrath is appeaſed by bloody ſacrifices. The throats of goats and ſheep are cut before the door of the temple as ſacrifices, and the fleſh is boiled for a feaſt to the votaries. In this the prieſt, or pujari, never partakes. He is a Satánana, and worſhips the god by offerings of flowers and fruit. He, as uſual, conſecrates water by pouring it over the head of the image, and afterwards ſells it to the votaries. At this temple a very ſingular offering is made. When a woman is from 15 to 20 years of age, and has borne ſome children, terrified leſt the angry deity ſhould deprive her of her infants, ſhe goes to the temple, and, as an offering to appeaſe his wrath, cuts off one or two of her fingers of the right hand. To the deſtructive female ſpirits called Gungoma, Yellama, Marima, and Putalima, the Moraſu offer ſacrifices. They do not pray to either Viſhnu, or Siva. None of them here have ever ſeen a Guru belonging to their caſt; but they have heard, that about the time of their birth (about 50 years ago), a Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhman came to the place, and was called their Guru. The panchanga acts as their puróhita at marriages, and at the ceremonies performed, both annually, and at the new moons, in commemoration of their deceaſed parents. The Bráhmans, when they ſubjugated the different rude tribes in the ſouth of India, ſeem to have made very little difficulty about religious opinions and cuſtoms. Every tribe ſeems to have reta[illegible] their own, and the Bráhmans were contented with an acknowledgment of the[illegible]thority, and with contributions given for the performance of certain ceremonies, much connected with aſtrology and magic, by pretenſions to which their power was probably extended. They themſelves have perhaps been influenced by the ſuperſtitions of their converts, whoſe gods, being malignant ſpirits, they adopted as ſervants of Iſwara, the power of deſtruction. The Brahmans, when in ſickneſs and diſtreſs, invoke with fear and trembling the power of Bhairava, and of the female Saktis; who were formerly, perhaps, conſidered by the natives as the malignant ſpirits of the woods, mountains, and rivers, and worſhipped by ſacrifices, like the gods of the rude tribes which now inhabit the hilly region eaſt from Bengal, and whoſe poverty has hitherto prevented the incurſions of the ſacred orders of their more learned weſtern neighbours.

None of the Moraſu can read or write; and they never take the vow of Daſéri. They believe in tranſmigration as a ſtate of reward and puniſhment, and of courſe believe

believe in the immortality of the soul; which, so far as I can learn, is not in this country an universal belief among the lower casts, nor among the rude tribes who inhabit the hills. They have hereditary chiefs, called Gauda. The present possessor of that rank here is a boy. He is brought into the assembly, and sits there, while the heads of families settle all disputes, and punish all transgressions against the rules of cast. It is lawful for a Morasu to eat every kind of animal food, except beef and carrion. They are prohibited from drinking spirituous liquors. The men are allowed polygamy, but, except for adultery, cannot divorce their wives. The women spin, work in the fields, and are very industrious. Widows cannot marry again, but are not expected to bury themselves alive with their dead husbands' bodies.

I have formerly mentioned, that the tribe called Bheri, or Nagaratra, is divided into two sects; of which one worships Vishnu, and the other Siva. The doctrines of the former have been already explained. Those who worship Siva are subdivided again into two parties; of which the one wears the linga, and the other does not. These last I have now assembled: they say, that they are of the Vaisya, or third pure cast; but this is denied by the Comaties and Bráhmans. They despise the oil-makers, who call themselves Nagaratra, as being greatly their inferiors. They neither eat, intermarry, nor have common hereditary chiefs with the Vishnu Nagaratra. They are a tribe of Karnata descent; and are dealers in bullion, cloth, cotton, drugs, and grain. Some of them act as porters; but they never formed any part of the militia, nor cultivated the ground, nor followed any handicraft trade. They cannot lawfully eat any kind of animal food, nor drink spirituous liquors. They have a knowledge of accompts, but attempt no higher kind of learning. They are allowed many wives, but do not shut them up; nor can they divorce them for any cause except adultery. In order to preserve the purity of the cast, they intermarry with such families only, as their forefathers have been accustomed to do. They burn the dead; but the widows are not expected to burn themselves. They do not wear the linga; but pray to Siva, alleging Vishnu to be the same. They never offer bloody sacrifices to Marima, nor to any other of the Saktis. They never take the vow of Daséri; but, when in sickness or danger, make mental vows to Vencaty Rámana, the idol at Tripathi, or to the Siva at Nunjinagodu; and promise, in case of being saved, to feed a certain number of Bráhmans, or to send a sum of money to these temples.

The proper Guru of this cast is a Smartal Bráhman, called Dharma Siva Achárya; who resides at Kunji, and whose office is hereditary: but in affairs relating to the left-hand side they are subject to Munaiswara Swámi, who is the Guru of that division of this tribe which wears the linga. Dharma Siva Achárya bestows holy water on his followers, and receives their contributions under the name of charity. A certain sum is paid for each public ceremony, and another is given for holy water. Once in four or five years this personage comes, and receives the sums that have been collected for him at the different villages. On these occasions he punishes any of his followers who may have been guilty of a transgression of the rules of cast, and there is no slighter punishment than excommunication; but he cannot inflict this without the consent of the heads of the cast assembled in council.

The panchánga, or village astrologer, acts as puróhita at marriages, funerals, births, on the building of a new house, and at the ceremonies performed monthly and annually in honour of deceased parents. On these occasions the puróhita reads prayers in the Sanskrit language. The Nagaratra endeavours to repeat after him; but it being an unknown tongue he seldom is able to proceed farther than a few of the first words, and then must hearken quietly to the remainder, as the Bráhman does not choose to pronounce

nounce it leisurely, or at least distinctly. He is indeed seldom able to read fluently; and all intervals are filled up by a repetition of the last word, accompanied by a most sonorous nasal twang, which is continued until he is able to make out the following word. This kind of unintelligible cant is, however, preferred greatly to all prayers that are pronounced in the vulgar tongue; which, indeed, are considered as of little or no efficacy, especially if they are extemporary.

There is here a tribe of Teliga Banijigas, who follow no other profession than that of gardeners. They allow themselves to be inferior to those who are merchants, or farmers; but pretend to be superior to the weavers of sackcloth. In their families they retain the Telinga language, and follow the usual ceremonies of the Súdra, who have the Sri Vaishnavam Bráhmans as their Gurus. By these teachers they are kept in a most beastly state of ignorance, nor could they give me a rational answer to any question that I proposed relative to their customs. They are, however, very active and skilful in their business. The people, who here are commonly called Satánana, call themselves Vaishnavam, as being the very chief of the worshippers of Vishnu, an honour to which no other cast seems to think them entitled. The Bráhmans allege that they are Súdra; but this title is rejected with scorn by the Vaishnavam, although they have received the Bráhmans as their Gurus. The Vaishnavam seem to be the same tribe with those called Boistum in Bengal, but it must be confessed, that many of the rules of the two casts are very different; yet perhaps not more so than the rules observed by the Bráhmans of the two countries. The Bráhmans evidently entertain a jealousy of the Vaishnavam, and endeavour to render them as ridiculous as possible; for their profession approaches too near to that of the sacred order. I am inclined to suspect, that they are the remains of a very extensive priesthood, who formerly held the same station with respect to the Whalliaru, that the Bráhmans do now to the Súdra, and who with their followers formed the heretical sect called Vaishnavam. This would be cleared up, perhaps, by a conversation with a sect called the Válmika Satánana, who are said to be the proper Gurus of the Parriar below the Ghats. but I have not had an opportunity of investigating this matter.

The Satánana are divided into two sects besides the Válmika. Both contend for a priority of rank; and they neither intermarry, nor eat in common. If we were to judge by the circumstances that give rank to Bráhmans, the Tricoveluru Satánana ought to be the highest; but the other class call themselves Pratama, or first. They are also called Coil Satánana, as being a kind of officiating priests in the temples.

The Tricoveluru Satánana, in order to procure worldly enjoyment, act as schoolmasters to instruct the youth in the reading and writing, both of Sanskrit and of the vulgar languages; and also in music, both vocal and instrumental. Some also, who are rich, become farmers. The proper manner, however, in which they ought to subsist, is by begging; and by this rejection of worldly enjoyment, like the Bráhmans, they expect in a future state to obtain a high reward. They intermarry, and eat among one another, without any distinction of family, learning, or profession; and have no objection to a man of any nation, provided he can show that he is a Satánana. The Bráhmans allege, that on such occasions they are not very scrupulous in their inquiries. They have hereditary chiefs, who with the assistance of a council settle disputes, and punish delinquents. They are not allowed to take animal food, nor spirituous liquors. Here they bury, below the Ghats they burn, the dead. They are allowed two wives, who can only be divorced for adultery. Their native language is the Telinga; yet the book peculiar to the cast is in the poetical language of the Tamul nation. This they call the Védam; but the Bráhmans call it Trivéda Prabandam. They allege, that they read the eighteen Puránas;

Puránas; but this the Bráhmans deny. They worship Vishnu by set forms of prayer; but address Siva only mentally, or by extemporary petitions, when they consider themselves in danger from his destructive power. They never worship in any manner Dharma Rája, Marima, Putalinga, or any other of the Saktis. None of them take the vow of Dáséri, but some assume a life of celibacy, and live entirely by begging. In this case, they never cut their hair, and are called Ekangi. They cannot assume this order without some ceremonies having been performed by their Gurus, who are both the Sannyásis and the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaishnavam Bráhmans. These confer upadésa and chakrántikam without reward, and at the same time give the Satánana a dinner; which, as being a kind of charity, is rather an acknowledgment of the Bráhman's inferiority; the person who receives the charity being, in this country, considered as of a higher rank than the donor. By charity here must always be understood something given to a person asking for it in the name of God, as having dedicated himself to a religious life. Alms given to the necessitous poor and infirm, are received with great thankfulness, such persons being very numerous above the Ghats.

In the Tamul language, the Satánana are called Satany. Those who serve in temples, and who are thence called Coil, on account of their assumed superiority, take the name of Pratama. They say, that their proper office is that of Pujari in the temples of Vishnu, and of the gods of his family. The Pujá consists in chaunting some prayers, and pouring some water over the head of the image, and thus making what they call holy water; which is distributed among the people to drink, and to pour on their heads when they pray. As the image is always well rubbed with oil, the water impregnated with this forms no pleasant beverage, but that renders the drinking of it more meritorious. The prayers used by the Pratama Satany, on such occasions, are in the Tamul language, and although the holy water consecrated by them is good enough for the Súdra, it is of no use to a Bráhman, who in his ceremonies can employ such only as has been consecrated by a Brahman Pujári. The Satany adorns the image with flowers, cloths, and jewels, and anoints it with oil. They and the Bráhmans who are in the service of the temple are the only persons that may touch the image; they therefore perform all the menial offices about the shrine, and place the images on their chariots, or beasts of carriage, when they are going in procession. The Súdra are only permitted to drag the ropes by which the carriage is drawn. A few of this kind of Vaishnavam are farmers, and some are employed to cultivate flower-gardens, especially those which are reserved for the use of temples. Many of them obtain permission from their Guru, and by receiving a new upadesa become Ekángi, assume a red or yellow dress, and, leading a life of celibacy, support themselves by begging. They never take the vow of Dáseri. Their native language is the Telinga, but their cast book is the Triveda Prabandam, and they can also read slókams or verses in Sanskrit. They neither eat animal food nor drink spirituous liquors. They burn the dead, and their widows ought to burn themselves; but this custom has become entirely obsolete. Widows, and girls, above the age of ten, are not marriageable. The men are allowed many wives, but do not shut them up, nor divorce them for any cause except adultery. Like those of the Bráhmans, the women of the Satánana never spin, nor follow any productive industry; but they bring water for domestic purposes, and cook the family provisions. The Pratama Vaishnavam are all equal, and can all intermarry and eat in common. The hereditary chief of all those in this neighbourhood resides at Mansunipulla, and, with a council as usual, possesses a jurisdiction both civil and criminal. Their Guru is Puttara Achárya, one of the hereditary chiefs of the Aayngar Bráhmans. He bestows on them upadesa and chakrántikam; and on these occasions

expects

expects charity. They pray only to Vishnu and to the gods of his family, and abhor the worship of Siva, or of his followers the Saktis.

15th July.—I went three cosses to the place which in our maps is called Chinna Balabaram; the nature of which name no one here understands. By the Mussulmans it is called Chuta Balapour, and the native appellation is Chica Bala-pura. The country the whole way has been arable; but at present a great part of it is uninhabited, and one of the finest rice-grounds that I have ever seen above the Ghats is quite waste. About forty years ago Chica Bala-pura belonged to Náráyana Swámi, a Polygar, who possessed also Doda Bala-pura, Devund-hully, and Silagutta, a country producing a yearly revenue of 100,000 pagodas, or 33,579l. 0s. 4d. He resided chiefly at Chica Bala-pura, and Nandi-durga was his principal strong hold; from the strength of which he had been able to resist the power of the Mussulmans of Sira. This place then contained a thousand houses of merchants or traders; and, although not a fortress of much strength, it was a mart of great importance. Hyder, after reducing the neighbouring countries, laid siege to it, and the Rája, unable to resist, agreed to pay 100,000 pagodas, but after some delay the Mussulman was persuaded to go away with only 60,000. These the Raja levied by a contribution from the merchants of this town, which was not given without great reluctance, and is considered as the commencement of their misfortunes Soon after, the Rájá of Gutti coming to the assistance of his friend Náráyana Swámi, that Polygar became refractory, and again drew upon himself the anger of Hyder, who took all his forts, and expelled him from the country. The place continued to enjoy considerable prosperity under Hyder, although, in consequence of the contribution exacted by the Rajá, many of the mercantile houses had withdrawn, for in India, as elsewhere, merchants cannot endure to be taxed. They were soon after entirely dispersed by the tyranny of Tippoo; but he added much to the ornament and strength of the fort. On the arrival of Lord Cornwallis the Rajá was reinstated, and, after the retreat of the British army, like the other Polygars who had been restored to their countries, he refused submission to Tippoo. Ishmael Khán, the father of one of the Sultan's wives, was sent with an army to reduce them. In besieging one of the forts he met with considerable loss; and it was only from its ammunition having been exhausted, that the place surrendered. It is said, that the garrison, consisting of seven hundred men, obtained terms of capitulation which were not observed, the chief officers were hanged, and every soldier had either a hand or a leg cut off with the large knife used by the Madigaru, who in this country are the dressers of leather, the only favour shewn to the garrison was the choice of the limb that was to be amputated. A similar punishment was at the same time inflicted on 700 of the neighbouring farmers, who had occasionally stolen into the place, and assisted in its defence. As they had no means of stopping the hemorrhage, except by applying rags dipped in boiled oil; and as many were too poor, and the greater part, on such an occasion, too friendless to procure assistance, a small proporton only of these wretches survived. Some of them are here now, and subsist by begging; and the messenger of Purnea, who attends me, was present at the execution, as one of Tippoo's soldiers. This barbarous punishment had, however, the desired effect; and every Polygar instantly quitted the country. In the last war, the heir of the family returned, and for five months occupied the place. The people here seem to be attached to him; but those of Silagutta consider him as a ruffian, like most other Polygars. The Mysore government offered him terms, which he despised. Rather than accept of any thing less than what his family

family formerly possessed, he preferred retiring to the countries ceded to the Nizam, where there is a kind of licence for all manner of disorder.

The town is now beginning to revive, and I am told, that both it and the country round are more populous, and better cultivated, than they were under Tippoo's government, the vicinity of the Nizam's dominions affording excellent means of obtaining a supply of inhabitants. The trade is entirely confined to the purchase and sale of articles produced in the neighbourhood, except that they get some cotton-wool from the Nizam's country, and send thither some sugar and jagory. The manufacture of sugar, of a fine quality is in great perfection, but on a very confined scale, and is kept a profound secret by a family of Brahmans. Weavers of white cotton cloth are beginning to assemble, and fifteen houses of them are now at work. The place contains 400 houses, of which no less than 100 are occupied by Bráhmans. Formerly they had a great extent of charity lands, but, these having been all resumed, they are very poor. Most of them are Vaidika, and therefore few choose to follow any useful profession. Thirty of the houses are of such high rank, that they live entirely upon charity.

16th July.—I remained at Chica Bálá pura, where I find that a large proportion of the inhabitants speak, as their native dialect, the Telinga language, yet the Náráyana family were of Karnata extraction At this place the regulations of Krishna Ráyalu were never received, owing perhaps to its having been in possession of the Náráyana family before it became subject to the yoke of the Anagundi Kings, who were of Telinga descent.

The Brahman, who is here reckoned the most learned of the Sri Vaishnavam sect, says, that Ráma Anuja Achárya made 700 Sannyásis, each of which had a mata, or college, and 74 hereditary chiefs. The Sannyasis are now reduced to five that are called thrones (Singhasanas), but the whole of the hereditary chiefs remain. About 500 years ago a schism arose in the sect concerning the interpretation of certain of their books Some of the Sannyasi and some of the hereditary chiefs followed one interpretation, and some another, and each was followed by the whole of the disciples belonging to his college, or house. Hence the Sri Vaishnavam are divided into Tangalay and Wadagalay, who will neither eat together, nor intermarry. The Sri Vaishnavams of the country south from the Krishna river will not intermarry with either Smartal or Madual, but those from Golconda are not so scrupulous, and many who originally came from that country are now settled in these parts. The differences between the two sects of Aayngar consist in some ceremonies for instance, at prayers, the Wadagalay ring a bell, which the Tangalay hold in abhorrence. Besides, the Wadagalay think, that in order to obtain future bliss, it is very necessary to be regular in their devotions, and liberal in their charity to pious Bráhmans. Their opponents attach less importance to those duties This man denies that his sect ever bestow proper upadésa on their Súdra followers, or ever read proper mantrams to them. These ceremonies are reserved for the three higher casts only, and of these the second is entirely extinct. Those who are pretenders to this rank are by the Bráhmans treated merely as Súdra. On solemn occasions the panchángas, or village astrologers, read some prayers to the Súdras, but they are not taken from the Védas, and are considered as of very little efficacy. These Bráhmans do not consider themselves as at all bound to instruct the Súdras, nor to prevent them from offering bloody sacrifices to evil spirits.

According to my informer, the Aayngar always existed, but before the time of Ráma Anuja, from the want of charity, they had fallen into a low state, for at that

time

time the worſhippers of Linga, Jain, and Buddha, three of the twenty one heretical ſects, were very numerous. The hereditary chiefs do not ſend fixed deputies to reſide among their diſtant followers, but they occaſionally ſend agents to make circuits, beſtow chakrántikam, and receive charity. My informer inſiſts poſitively, that the Sannyáſis never beſtow their upadéſa on any perſon, but their intended ſucceſſor; leſt the Bráhman ſo dignified ſhould eſtabliſh a ſeparate throne. Sometimes the intended ſucceſſor gets the upadéſa early, and is ſent to travel till his predeceſſor dies. The agents employed by the Sannyáſis, to prevent them from aſpiring to the dignity of their maſters, are always married men.

The Numbi are an inferior order of Brahmans, whose duty is to act as pujáris in the temples. They are all Vaidika, and never follow any worldly occupation; but are deſpiſed on account of their receiving fixed wages for performing their duty. The other Brahmans originally, perhaps, all lived by begging, which is the proper occupation of the caſt, and the moſt dignified manner of living, as being moſt agreeable to God, and in conſequence acquired an hereditary ſuperiority over the Numbis, which is kept up even by the Lokika, who have betaken themſelves to worldly buſineſs, and who for wages will ſerve even men. Whatever may be the cauſe, no Lokika, much leſs any Vaidika, will eat or intermarry with a Numbi, but theſe receive the ſame upadéſa with the others, and are permitted to read the ſame books. They all marry, and their offices are hereditary. They are divided into two ſects, that do not intermarry. Thoſe of the one act in the temples of Viſhnu, and follow as Gurus the heads of the Aayngar ſect. The others are pujáris in the temples of Iſwara, and follow as Gurus the Smartal Sannyaſis. The Madual have no Numbis; and their Gurus are the only perſons of the ſect who perform the office of pujári in any temple.

The Aayngar ſay, that Para Brahma, Náráyana, or Viſhnu, is the ſupreme god. He is repreſented by images having one head, and under that form is worſhipped in all temples. He aſſumed four great forms, or avatárs, Anirudha, Pratumána, Vaſudéva, and Sankarſhana: the forms of theſe avatárs may be ſeen in temples, but they are only worſhipped by the angels. The ſupreme deity then aſſumed eleven incarnations, or inferior avatárs. Ten of theſe are common objects of worſhip with men, the eleventh, or Budha, is held in abhorrence. Bráhmá, the ſon of the ſupreme deity, was born with five heads, but loſt one of them in an intrigue which he had with the wife of his ſon Iſwara. He is repreſented in temples with four heads; but his images are placed there merely as ornaments, and never occupy the ſacred place where the object of worſhip ſtands. Iſwara, the ſon of Brahmá, has five heads, and is held in abhorrence by the Aayngar, as being the huſband of Parvati, who has taken the form of many deſtructive ſpirits, ſuch as Marima, Putalima and the like. Fear of immediate deſtruction ſometimes tempts the Aayngar to pray to the deſtroying powers, but in general they pretend, that they are entirely occupied by thoughts of happineſs in the next world, which can only be procured by the favour of the avatárs of Viſhnu, or of their wives, all of whom are incarnations of Máyá. The ſervants of the avatars, ſuch as Hanumanta, are not proper objects of worſhip, but ſome Numbis, in order to procure bread, officiate as prieſts in their temples, for the populace believe, that theſe beings have the power of beſtowing temporal bleſſings.

The moſt learned Smartal here ſay, that Para Brahma is the ſupreme god, and Máyá, or Sakti Prakriti, is his wife. They deny the four forms of God worſhipped in heaven, but ſay, that from Máyá proceeded three great avatárs, of a good, of a kingly, and of a deſtructive nature; and named Viſhnu, Brahmá, and Iſwara, or

 Siva.

Siva. Vishnu has assumed a great number of inferior avatárs, or incarnations, of which however ten are more distinguished than the others. The three avatárs, called Vishnu, Brahmá, and Iswara, are however to be considered as all the same with Para Brahma; and Parvati, the wife of Siva, is the same with Máyá. All the Saktis are a kind of avatárs of Parvati; but Bráhmans ought not to worship her under these forms. To obtain wisdom, the Smartal worship Siva, and his wife Parvati; Geneswara, their son, to prevent him from obstructing their views; and Vishnu to obtain heaven. They do not allow that there is any image of Para Brahma or Náráyana; and say, that the image so called by the Aayngar, is one of the forms of Vishnu. This sect evidently believe in a kind of Trinity, there being three forms which are essentially the same, and yet different; but their doctrine is very distinct from that taught by Christians; as they have in their supreme god-head a male and female power, from whence proceed three persons of the male sex, accompanied also by three female persons, and the female is always called the Sakti, or power of the deity.

The Smartal say that it was God who assumed the form of Sankara Achárya, and that he lived long before the time of Ráma Anuja. At that time all Bráhmans were Smartal; but the Kings and people were mostly followers of Buddha, or of the other heretical sects.

All these Bráhmas, when asked for dates, or authority, say, that they must consult their books, which may be readily done; but when I send my interpreter, who is also a Brahman, to copy the dates, the Brahmans here pretend that their books are lost.

The Pacanat Jogies belong to a tribe of Telinga origin, that is scattered all over the peninsula; and in their own language they are called Jangalu. The proper business of their cast is the collecting, preparing, selling, and exhibiting of the plants used in medicine. As a guide in the practice of physic, they read the Vaidya Sastram, which is written in the Telinga language; and they also study the Abara, which is the most approved dictionary, or school-book, in that dialect. They are very poor, and go about the street, each crying out the names of certain diseases, for which he pretends to have a powerful specific. Their virtuous men, after death, are supposed to become a kind of gods, and frequently to inspire the living; which makes them speak incoherently, and enables them to foretel the event of diseases. Medicine in this country, has indeed fallen into the hands of charlatans equally impudent and ignorant. Such of the Jangalu as are too lazy and unskilled to practise physic, live entirely by begging. In whatever country they have settled, they can all, without distinction, intermarry; which by their neighbours is looked upon as a great indecency, and as subversive of the purity of cast. They keep as many wives as they can; and never divorce them, adultery being either unknown, or not noticed. They do not marry their girls till after the age of puberty. A widow cannot take a second husband; but she is not expected to bury herself with the body of her husband. They can lawfully eat sheep, goats, hogs, fowls, and fish; and intoxicate themselves with spirituous liquors, opium, and hemp. They have moveable huts, which they pitch on the outside of towns, and wander about the country, selling and collecting their drugs. Asses are their beasts of burthen. They have no hereditary chiefs, but follow the advice of old men, who have, however, no power of excommunication. They consider Iswara and Vishnu as the same god, and, when in distress, pray mentally to these deities. They offer sacrifices to Gangoma, Yellama, Gorippa, &c.; and in distress make vows of money to Dharma Raja. Their Guru is the Sri Shela Bichawutta, who sits on the Surya

Singhásana, or throne of the sun. He is a married man of hereditary rank, and wears the linga, of which the Jangalu are not considered worthy. When one of them goes to the Guru, he makes a profound reverence, and, according to his slender means, presents a small sum. The Guru, in return, gives them some consecrated ashes of cow-dung, with which they make the mark of Siva on their foreheads; and he takes their beads in his hand, by which the prayers repeated on them become more efficacious. At their marriages the panchanga reads prayers (mantrams). At the Amavasya, or new moon, they fast; but they observe no ceremony in honour of their parents.

The Asagaru, Asagas, or washermen, in this country are of two kinds, Súdra, and Whalliaru. The former are of two nations, Telinga and Karnata. These last are by far the most numerous; and, although they will not intermarry with the Telinga washermen, yet they will eat in common. They have no hereditary chiefs; but the collector of the district, who is appointed by the government, and receives a salary, carries all complaints to the cutwal of the Kasba, or police officer of the chief town of the district, who settles them according to custom. The washermen of every village, whose office is hereditary, washes all the farmers clothes, and, according to the number of persons in each family, receives a regulated proportion of the crop. Out of this he must pay to government a certain sum, which in general is collected by the head washerman of the Kasba. They follow no profession but that of washing; and in all public processions, are bound, without reward, to carry a torch before the images, and the chief officer of government. Both men and women wash. Their proper beasts of burthen are asses, each house keeping for breeding and labour two or three she asses. The female colts are reserved to keep up the breed; and the males are sold to the different petty traders that use this kind of cattle. The washermen confine their marriages to a few families that they know to be of pure descent. They marry a number of wives if they can afford it; but that is seldom the case. The girls, even after the age of puberty, continue to be marriageable; but cannot take a second husband They can be divorced for no other cause than adultery. None of them can read: in fact, although admitted to be Súdras, they are a cast most deplorably ignorant. They never take the vow of Daseri. They are allowed to drink spirituous liquors, and to eat fish, fowls, and hogs; but will not touch carrion. They worship a god called Bhúma Dévaru, who is represented by a shapeless stone. At Bangalore, and some other large towns, they have temples dedicated to this god, and served by a pújari of their own cast. To Bhúma Dévaru they offer fruit, and solicit him not to burn or destroy their cloth. They sacrifice animals to Ubbay; which, so far as I can understand, means steam. They conceive that it is God who makes their water boil, and occasionally burns their cloth; and also that the steam, issuing from the water, is the more immediate residence of the divinity, whom therefore they call Ubbay; but they believe Ubbay and Bhúma to be the same. This seems to be the proper worship of the cast; but they address themselves to any other object of superstition that comes in their way, praying to Vishnu and the other great gods, and sacrificing to Putalima and the Saktis. These prayers and sacrifices seem intended merely to procure temporal prosperity. I could not perceive that they had the smallest knowledge or belief of a state of future existence. Their Gurus are of the Satánana cast; but where they live, or what they do, is to their followers totally unknown. They come round occasionally, bestowing holy water, and getting food and money as charity. The panchánga attends at marriages, and tells them the times of the new moon; at which period almost all Hindus observe a fast in memory of their

their deceased parents. They say, that as they wash the clothes of the astrologer, or panchánga, he occasionally comes, and tells them some lies, for that he is never at the trouble of predicting the truth, except to those who are rich.

The Wully Tigulas, like the Vana Pallis, are a cast of Tamul or Tigula origin; and their only employment is the cultivation of kitchen gardens. They have lost their original language; but when there is a scarcity of girls here, they go down to the Lower Carnatic, and get wives from the parent stock. The men are allowed a plurality of wives, and never divorce them, but content themselves with giving their females a good drubbing when they prove unfaithful The girls continue to be marriageable after the age of puberty, and are very industrious in gathering the produce of the garden, and in carrying it to market. They do not spin. This cast has hereditary chiefs called Gaunda, which is the Tamul name for the head man of a village. None of them can read. With the Vana Pallis they eat, but cannot intermarry. They are allowed to eat animal food, but not to drink spirituous liquors. They bury the dead, and have some faint notions of a future state, but rather as a thing of which they have heard, than as a thing of which they are firmly convinced, or in which they are much interested. They take the vow of Daseri, which literally means service, the person, who takes the vow, thereby dedicating himself to the service of God. They are admitted into all temples, so that they are not considered of an impure descent, but they have no Guru. At the annual commemoration of their deceased parents, the panchánga reads prayers (mantrams), which they do not understand, but at births, marriages, or funerals, no such ceremony is required. They do not observe the amávasyas. The cast god is Vencata Ramana, or the Vishnu of Tripathi. When they go into a temple of this idol, they give the priest some small money, and get in return holy water and consecrated flowers. They offer sacrifices to the Saktis, and in fact worship every thing they meet, which is called a deity.

17th July.—In the morning I went three cosses to Bhidi-caray, a small fortified village situated on the side of Nandi-durga, which is opposite from Chica Bala-pura. I passed through among the hills by the side of Chin'-raya-conda, from whence, it is said, springs the Pennar, or, the Utara Pinákaní, as it is called in the Sanskrit. This river runs toward the north, and the Palar, which springs from Nandi, runs to the south. These hills may therefore be looked upon as the highest part of the country in the center of the land, south from the Krishna. The sources of the Kávéri and Tungabhadra, towards the western side, are probably higher.

Among the hills of Nandi-durga is much fertile land, now covered with bamboos, and useless trees, but which, with a little encouragement, might be brought into cultivation: this, however, would be improper, until there be a number of people, and a quantity of stock, sufficient to occupy all the lands that have formerly been cultivated, but are now waste. Such, at least, is the opinion of the amildar, who is a sensible man.

I took an opportunity, in company with this amildar, of examining into the management of the lac insect, and for this purpose we collected all the people who follow that employment I have always found, that the more of any class of people were assembled, the more likely I was to get just information: not that all of them spoke; some one or two men generally answered my questions; but they did it without fear of reflexions from those who might otherwise have been absent; as every one, if he chose, had an opportunity of speaking. The Hindus of all descriptions, so far as I have observed, are indeed very desirous of having every kind of business discussed in public assemblies.

The

The people who manage the lac insect, in the hills near Nandi-durga, are of the cast called Woddaru; and for the exclusive use of the trees they pay a rent to government. The tree on which the insect feeds is the jala, which is nearly related to the saul of Bengal, or the shorea of Gærtner, and perhaps the vatica chinesis of Linnæus. All the trees that I saw here were small, not exceeding eight or ten feet in height; and their growth was kept down by the insect and its managers, for this size answers best. The tree, left to itself, grows to a large size, and is good timber. For feeding the insect, it thrives very well in a dry barren soil, and is not planted, but allowed to spring up spontaneously as nature directs. It is often choked by other trees, and destroyed by bamboos, which, by rubbing one against another, in this arid region, frequently take fire, and lay waste the neighbouring woods. By removing all other trees from the places were the jala naturally grows, and perhaps by planting a few trees on some other hills, and protecting them from being choked as they gradually propagate themselves, the lac insect might be raised to any extent on lands now totally useless, and never capable of being rendered arable. In Kartika, or from about the middle of October to the middle of November, the lac is ripe. At that time it surrounds almost every branch of the tree, and destroys almost every leaf. The branches intended for sale are then cut off, spread out on mats, and dried in the shade. A tree or two, that are fullest of the insect, are preserved to propagate the breed, and of those a small branch is tied to every tree, in the month Chaitra, or from about the middle of March to the middle of April, at which time the trees again shoot out young branches and leaves. The lac dried on the sticks is sold to the merchants of Balahari, Gutti, Bangalore, &c., and according to the quantity raised, and to the demand, varies in price, from 5 to 20 fanams a maund. This is what is called stick-lac. In my account of Bangalore, I have given the process for dyeing with this substance, which after the dye has been extracted, is formed into seed and shell-lac.

I found the country beyond the hills more desolate than that near Chica Bala-pura. One-third of what has formerly been cultivated is not occupied, many of the villages are entirely deserted, and have continued so ever since the invasion of Lord Cornwallis. The people say, that they were then afflicted with five great evils., a scarcity of rain, followed by that of corn, and three invading, and one defending army, all of which plundered the country, and prevented grain from being carried from places where it might have been procured, but, in destruction, the armies of the Marattahs, and of the Sultan, were eminently active, and the greater part of the people perished from want of food. In this last war they met with no disturbance from the armies, but three-fourths of their cattle perished by disease. This was not owing to a want of forage, of which there was plenty, but is by the natives attributed to an infection, which was propagated from the cattle of the armies besieging Seringapatam. Between Colar and Chica Bala pura the disease has this year again made its appearance, but it has not yet come to this side of the hills.

The whole land near Bhidi-caray has formerly been cultivated, and the champaign country seems to extend far to the westward, where, at the distance of thirty-two miles, Siva-ganga rears its conical head. The ragy is now coming up, and makes a wretched appearance, for in every field there is more grass than corn. Notwithstanding the many ploughings, the fields are full of grass-roots, which are indeed of great length, very tenacious of life, sprout at every joint, and are of course difficult to remove, but a good harrow would effect much. The farmers of this country are abundantly industrious, but their want of skill is conspicuous in every operation.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI. — *From Doda Bala-pura to Sira.*

THE 18th July I went two cosses to Burra, Pedda, Doda, or Great Bala-pura, as it is called in the Mussulman, Telinga, Karnata, and English languages. All the country through which I passed has formerly been under cultivation; but now it is almost entirely unoccupied.

On the dissolution of the Vijaya-nagara kingdom, Náráyana Swámi, the polygar of Bala-pura, assumed independency; and in the fort, remains of his castle, surrounded as usual by temples, may still be traced. On the invasion by the Mogul army under Cossim Khán, the polygar was obliged to give up this open part of his country, and to retire to Chica Bala-pura, situated nearer his strong holds. Doda Bala-pura formed then one of the seven districts of the Sira government; but it was soon wrested from the Mussulmans by the Marattahs. On their decline again, after the battle of Pannipat, it was seized by the Nizam, who gave it as a jaghir, or feu, to Abbass Khuli Khán, a native of the place. He enlarged the fort to its present size, made very good gardens after the Mussulman fashion, and built a palace with all conveniencies suitable to his rank. On the growth of Hyder's power, however, he was under the necessity of giving up the place without resistance; but not choosing to enter into that adventurer's service, whom he considered as his inferior in rank, he returned with his children into the Lower Carnatic, and entered into the service of the Nabob of Arcot. One of his wives and her grandson refused to follow him; and these live now in the fort upon a small pension that was granted them by Hyder, and which has been continued by the Company. The fort, considering that it is built entirely of mud, is very large, and very strong. All within, as usual, is a sad heap of rubbish and confusion. The Assur Khana of Abbass Khuli Khán is, however, a handsome building. In this kind of temple the Mussulmans of the Decan, infected by the superstition of their neighbours, worship Allah under the form of a human hand, painted on a board between two figures that represent the sun and moon.

One side of the fort is surrounded by gardens; and the other three sides by the town of Bala-pura, which contains 2000 houses, and is fortified by a mud wall and hedge. In this town was born Meer Saduc, the detestable minister of the late Sultan. He adorned his native place by a garden, which, together with that of the Abbass Khuli Khan, is kept up by the Raja.

19th and 20th July. — I remained at Doda Bala-pura, making some enquiries.

The Gollaru, or, as they are called in their own language, the Gollawanlu, are a tribe of Telingana descent, and must be distinguished from the Cadu, or Carndy Goalaru, who keep cattle; with whom they never eat in common, nor intermarry. They are one of the tribes of Súdra, whose duty it is to cultivate the ground, and to act as the village militia. This cast has, besides, a particular duty, the transporting of money, both belonging to the public, and to individuals. It is said, that they may be safely intrusted with any sum; for, each man carrying a certain value, they travel in bodies numerous in proportion to the sum put under their charge, and they consider themselves bound in honour to die in defence of their trust; of course, they defend themselves vigorously, and are all armed; so that robbers never venture to attack them. The have hereditary chiefs called Gotugaru, who with the usual council settle all disputes, and punish all transgressions against the rules of cast. The most flagrant is the embezzlement of money in-

trusted

trusted to their care. On this crime being proved against any of the cast, the Gotugaru applies to the amildar, or civil magistrate, and, having obtained his leave, immediately causes the delinquent to be shot. Smaller offences are atoned for by the guilty person giving an entertainment. In cases of adultery, the chief collects four elders, who admonish the woman to a more decent conduct. If she be repentant, the husband takes her back, but if she be impudent, he divorces her. After the age of puberty the girls continue to be marriageable, and a man may marry as many of them as he can maintain, or procure, for the former is not difficult, the women being very industrious, both in the field and in spinning. They are divided into several families, Mutsalu, Bemday, Molu, Sadalawanlu, Perindalu, and Toralay. These are like the Gótrams of the Bráhmans, the intermarriage of two persons of the same family being considered as incestuous. They call the proper god of the cast Krishna Swámi, who is one of the incarnations of Vishnu, and they allege, that he was born of their cast both by father's and mother's side. The Bráhmans allege, that the mother of this great warrior was of the Goala, or cow-keeper cast, in which, perhaps, they are well founded; and they pretend, that a Brahman condescended to impregnate her, which is not improbable. The Gollawanlu offer sacrifices to the Saktis. They pray to Kála Bhairava (terrific time), but the women do not appease his wrath by sacrificing their fingers, like the female Morasu above described. They think, that after death good men become a kind of gods, and they offer sacrifices to these spirits bad men become devils. The know nothing of transmigration. They bury the dead, and sometimes take the vow of Daseri. They are allowed to eat animal food, and to drink spirituous liquors. Although their Guru wears the linga, they do not. He is a Jangama, named Mullaswami Swami, who lives at Mapikáli Conda, about 14 miles north from hence. On his followers he bestows holy water, and for every marriage accepts of a fanam, although he does not attend the ceremony. This tribe seems not to be much attached to any sect, as its members also take holy water from the Gurus of the A'ayngar Bráhmans, and bestow on those persons charity in money and grain. At their marriages, at the new moons, at births, and at the Todanu, as the annual commemoration of the death of their parents is called in the Telinga language, the panchanga, or village astrologer, reads prayers (mantrams), which are by them reckoned of great efficacy, as they are in a language which they do not understand.

The Cunsa Woculigaru are a tribe of Súdra of Karnata descent, who are properly cultivators, and who formed a part of the Candashara, or native militia. Their hereditary chiefs are called Gaudas, whether they are head men of villages or not. The Gauda by excommunication or by the mulct of an entertainment, settles disputes and and punishes transgressions against the rules of cast. In cases of adultery, the head man, assisted by his council, inquires into the matter. If the man has been of the same cast, the adultress is only reprimanded the husband of course retaining the power of giving her corporal punishment, although he rarely proceed to such extremities, but if the man has been of a strange cast, the adultress is excommunicated. They can all intermarry, and the men are allowed to take several wives. The women are very industrious spinners, and labourers in the field, and continue to be marriageable after the age of puberty. Widows ought to be buried alive with their husbands' bodies; and some of the more strict people regret that the custom has become entirely obsolete. They are allowed to eat animal food, but not to drink spirituous liquors. Some of them can read and write accompts. They all worship the Saktis, by sacrificing animals,

animals, which they afterwards eat. They believe, that after death the spirits of good men become a kind of gods, and, by sending dreams, warn men of what is to happen. Bad men, after death, become devils, but have no power over the living. To the sainted spirits they offer sacrifices. Some of them take the vow of Dáseri, and some pray to Dharma Rája. The panchánga, or village astrologer, reads mantrams to them at marriages and births, and in some places attends at the annual commemoration of their parents' death, but in other places, those who have taken the vow of Dáseri attend at this ceremony They are divided into two religions. One sect worships Siva: these do not wear the linga, but their Guru is a Lingabanta Einaru, called Nanjaya, who lives near Colar he comes occasionally, distributing holy water, and accepting charity The other sect worships Vishnu, and follows the hereditary chiefs of the A'ayngar, who on their occasional visits distribute holy water, and accept of charity

The Lali-Gundaru deny their being Súdras, and say that they are Linga Banijigas; but that race will neither eat in their houses, nor give them their girls in marriage. They are a tribe of Karnataka descent. They are farmers, bullock-hirers, gardeners, builders of mud-walls, and traders in straw and other small merchandize: but they never take service as Battigaru, or hinds The have hereditary chiefs called Ijyamanas; who, as usual, with the assistance of a council, settle disputes, and punish transgressions against the rules of cast, by mulcting the offender in an entertainment, or by a temporary excommunication. In cases of adultery, the chief and his council first investigate the business. If they find it proved, that a woman has been guilty of a connection with a man of a strange cast, the priest (Wodear) is called, and in his presence she is excommunicated; but if she has only bestowed her favours on a man of the cast, her husband turns her away, and she may live with any unmarried person of the cast as a concubine. The men are allowed to have a number of wives, and even after the age of puberty, the women continue to be marriageable. The sex are very industrious, both at spinning, and working in the fields. This cast bury the dead, and, although they offer sacrifices of the Saktis, are not allowed either to drink spirituous liquors, or to eat animal food. They pray to the spirits of good men, thinking that they are the occasion of dreams which foretel future events, but they know not what becomes of the spirits of bad men after death. Some of them are worshippers of Vishnu, and some of Iswara. The Guru of the former is a Sri Vaishnavam Bráhman residing at Ahobalum. The Guru of the Siva side lives at Meilai, and is called Linguppa. He wears the linga, as do also his followers, and he is a Sannyási, but of what kind the people here do not know In his excursions, which do not happen above once in ten years, he distributes holy water, and receives contributions under the name of charity. It is at their marriages only that the panchánga reads mantrams.

I have already mentioned the customs of the Nagaratras, or Bheri, who worship Vishnu, and of those who worship Siva without wearing the linga. I had here an opportunity of examining those who wear that indecent badge of their religion They will neither eat nor intermarry with either of the other two sects; but the whole submit to the authority of the same hereditary chiefs, whatever their religious opinions may be. They say, that all Bheri were formerly of the Vishnu side, and that about five hundred years ago they separated from it. Yet they contend, that even before this secession, they and all other Nagarataru were under the authority of Dharma Siva Achárya, a Smartal Sannyási residing in the Lower Carnatic For this extraordinary circumstance they can assign no reason This Bráhman at their marriages bestows on them a thread, like that which is worn by the three higher casts, for they pretend to

be Vaiſyas. For each thread, which ever after marriage they continue to wear, they pay one fanam. Under the name of dharma (duty), they alſo give contributions to this Bráhman whenever he comes to the place. On ſuch occaſions he puniſhes by whip and fine all thoſe who have tranſgreſſed againſt the rules of caſt. They are alſo ſubject to Muniſwara Swámi, a perſon of their caſt, who lives at Baſwana-pura, near Cangundy, in the Bára Mahál. He beſtows on them the linga, and an upadéſa; but his power in puniſhing for delinquencies extends only to fines. The firſt Muniſwara Swámi is believed to have ſprung from the earth at Calyana Patana, and his ſucceſſors acknowledge no ſuperiors, but are conſidered as Iſwara in a human form. The office is hereditary, and of courſe the Swami marries. The eldeſt ſon, on the death of his father, becomes an incarnation of Siva, while the younger brothers are conſidered merely as holy men, but follow begging as their profeſſion; for in this country that is eſteemed the moſt honourable employment. They reſide in the matam, or college, with their brother, and accompany him in his travels among the diſciples. The daughters of this ſacred family never marry perſons of lower birth; but when there is a ſcarcity of women for the uſe of the men, they condeſcend to take the daughters of the Emulnaru, who among this ſect are a kind of nobility. Theſe do not intermarry with the populace, but they follow lay profeſſions, and are not in excluſive poſſeſſion of the office of hereditary chief. In the two other ſects of this caſt, there are no Emulnaru. The Brahman Guru, and Muniſwara Swami, are conſidered as of equal rank. The Lingabanta Jangamas are not by this caſt conſidered as their Gurus, but they receive charity, by which a kind of authority is implied. They give nothing to the Dévánga Jangamas. They do not know that Muniſwara Swami is poſſeſſed of any books: when he beſtows the linga, he prays extemporarily in the vulgar tongue. At marriages, and the ceremonies which are performed for their deceaſed parents, the panchánga and mendicant Bráhmans attend, and read mantrams. On theſe occaſions the Jangamas alſo attend, and beſides receive the whole profit of births and funerals. They bury the dead, and their widows ought to accompany them in the grave, but this cuſtom has become obſolete. Widows cannot marry again: ſuch an action, indeed, being conſidered as intolerably infamous, my informers loſt all patience when I aſked the queſtion. The men are allowed a plurality of wives, but cannot divorce them for any cauſe except adultery. They are not allowed to eat animal food, nor to drink ſpirituous liquors.

I here find, that beſides the tradeſman, there are three diviſions among the Whalliaru, and that the cuſtoms of each differ conſiderably in different villages, as might be naturally expected among a people who have no written rule. There are two tribes of Whallias that ſpeak the language of Karnata, one called ſimply Karnata, and the other Moraſu Whalliaru. Theſe laſt deny that they have any Guru, but ſay, that they give preſents to the prieſts at the temple of Kála Bhairava. They offer ſacrifices to the Saktis, to whom they are never pujaris, and in this place they never take the vow of Dáſeri. The Karnata Whalliaru ſay, that they have a god named Cadri Singuppa, which is one of the names of Viſhnu. The pujari at this idol's temple is a Vaiſhnavam, and acts as their Guru. He ſends annually a deputy to beſtow holy water, and receive charity. They alſo ſacrifice to the Saktis. The Teliga Whalliaru call themſelves Maliwanlu, and retain the Telinga language. Their religion here is the ſame with that laſt mentioned. They have no idea of a future ſtate. They never marry two wives, but, to keep up the family, if the wife has no children, they may take one concubine. Some men do not marry, and theſe may keep as many concubines as they pleaſe. The Gotugaru, or chief of the caſt, here, is not an hereditary office, but a perſon appointed by the amildar to collect the houſe rent. He is a Pariar from the

the Lower Carnatic; for, as I have before observed, the Parriar of the Tamuls, is the same cast with the Whalliarú of Karnata, and the Maliwanlu of Telingana. He settles all disputes, and on all delinquents imposes a mulct of an entertainment.

The Telinga Dévángas of the Siva sect intermarry with those who worship Vishnu; and the wife always adopts the religion of her husband. Even after the age of puberty the women may marry; and, except for adultery, cannot be divorced. Polygamy is allowed to the men, but they do not confine their women. Widows were formerly expected to bury themselves alive with their husbands' bodies, but the custom has become obsolete. The people of this cast are allowed to eat animal food, but not to drink spirituous liquors. They offer sacrifices to the Saktis, and have the same opinion concerning a future life that the Canara Dévángas entertain. They can read, and write accompts. Although they do not wear the linga, they reject the Brahmáns as Gurus, and follow Cari-Baswa Uppa, who admonishes them to wash their heads, and to pray to Iswara. He as usual receives dharma, or charity, and on every marriage has a small fee. At births, marriages, funerals, new moons, and the annual celebration of their parents' decease, the panchánga reads mantrams, but the Jangamas share in the profits, as on all these occasions they receive charity.

I found here three Smartal Brahmans, who were reckoned men of learning. They said, that the sacred cast is divided into at least two thousand tribes, which from hatred to one another, never intermarry, for they might do so without infringing the rules of cast. It is considered as incestuous for two persons of the same Gotram to intermarry. The origin of the Gótrams is thus explained. The first Bráhmans that sprung from the head of Brahma when he created mankind are still alive, and are called Rishis. They are endowed with wonderful powers, being able to induce the gods to perform whatever they please. This power they obtained by long fasting and prayer, and they continue to pass their time in these exercises, living in very retired places, and having been very seldom seen, especially in these degenerate days. Each of these Rishis had children, and each became thus the founder of a Gotram, all his descendants in the male line constituting one family. Every Gótram possesses Vaidika, Lokika, and Numbi, or Siva-Brahmana, as this last set are called by the Smartal.

21st July. — I went five cosses to Tonday Bava, near Mahá-kálídurga, passing chiefly through a barren hilly country, totally uncultivated, and covered with bushes or coppice-wood. It is part of a hilly chain that comes toward the west from the north of Colar, and meets at right angles the chain that extends north from Capala-durga. This chain running east and west is called a Ghat, and the country to the north of it is said to be below the Ghats. The whole of it is watered by branches of the Utara Pinakaní, or Pennar. The nature of the crops here is very different from that in the southern parts of the country.

The Baydaru are of two kinds, Karnata and Telinga. The former wear the linga, and are said to be numerous near Raya-durga. Those in the north-eastern parts of the Mysore Raja's dominions are of Telinga descent, and retain that language. They seem to be the true Súdra cultivators and military of Telingána, and to have been introduced in great numbers into the southern countries of the peninsula, when these became subject to Andray or Telingána Princes. The Telinga Baydas neither intermarry, nor eat in common with those of Karnata extraction. Among themselves they can all eat together, but, in order to keep up the purity of the race, they never marry, except in families whose pedigree is well known. Like the Bráhmans, they are divided into a number of families, of which a male and female can never intermarry. They have also among them a race of nobles called Chimalas. Among these are the hereditary

hereditary chiefs, who puniſh tranſgreſſions againſt the rules of caſt, and who are called Gotugaru. From this claſs of nobles were alſo appointed the feudal lords, vulgarly called Polygars; but who aſſumed to themſelves the Sanſkrit title of Sanſthánica. Civil differences in this tribe are made up in aſſemblies of the heads of families, the hereditary chiefs having become almoſt extinct. No heavier puniſhment was ever inflicted by theſe, than the mulct of an entertainment. The Baydaru ought by birth to be ſoldiers, hunters of tigers, boars, deer, and other noble game, and ought to ſupport themſelves by cultivating the ground. They are both farmers and hinds, and ſometimes act as tallari, a low village officer. The are permitted to eat fowls, ſheep, goats, hogs, deer, and fiſh, and to drink ſpirituous liquors. The men are allowed to take many wives, but can only divorce them for adultery. The women are very induſtrious, both at home and in the field, and even after the age of puberty continue to be marriageable. Widows are not expected to ſacrifice themſelves to the manes of their huſbands, but they cannot marry a ſecond time. In ſome families of the Baydaru, however, they may be received as concubines. They bury the dead. They believe, that after death wicked men become devils, and that good men are born again in a human form. The ſpirits of men who die without having married, become Virika, and to their memory have ſmall temples and images erected, where offerings of cloth, rice, and the like, are made to their manes. If this be neglected, they appear in dreams, and threaten thoſe who are forgetful of their duty. Theſe temples conſiſt of a heap or cairn of ſtones, in which the roof of a ſmall cavity is ſupported by two or three flags, and the image is a rude ſhapeleſs ſtone, which is occaſionally oiled, as in this country all other images are. Female chaſtity is not at all honoured in this way. This ſuperſtition ſeems rather local, than as belonging to this caſt, for it is followed by all the Súdras of this part of the country, and I have not obſerved it any where elſe. The Baydaru, in conſequence of vows made in ſickneſs, take Dáſeri, that is, dedicate themſelves to the ſervice of God, both perpetual and temporary. The proper god of the caſt is Trimula Devaru, to whom a celebrated temple is here dedicated. It is an immenſe maſs of granite on the ſummit of a low hill. Under one ſide of it is a natural cavity, which is painted red and white with ſtreaks of reddle and lime. In this cavity is placed a rude ſtone, as the emblem of the god, and it is attended by a prieſt or pujári of the caſt called Santmana. To this place all the Baydaru of the neighbourhood once a year reſort. The pujári then dreſſes ſome victuals, and having conſecrated them, by placing them before the idol, he divides them among the people. Trimula, it muſt be obſerved, is the name of the hill at Tripathi, on which the celebrated temple of Viſhnu, under the name of Vencaty Rámana, is built. The Baydaru never pray to any of the Saktis, except Marima, who inflicts the ſmall-pox on thoſe who offend her. To this terrible power they offer ſacrifices, and eat the fleſh. Their Guru is Tirumala Tata Achárya, an hereditary chief of the Sri Vaiſhnavam Bráhmans, who gives them chakrantikam, upadeſa, and holy water, and, when he viſits the place, receives from each perſon one fanam. At marriages, and at the annual commemoration of deceaſed parents, the panchanga acts as puróhita.

22d July.—I went three coſſes to Aſſauru, a village inhabited by cultivators, and ſaid to contain five hundred houſes, but which looks wretchedly poor.

23d July.—I went three coſſes to Doda Balea, a fortified village inhabited by farmers, which contains about fifty houſes.

24th July.—I went two coſſes to Madhu-giri, or Honey-hill, a ſtrong durga which is ſurounded on all ſides by hills. From Balea, theſe hills appeared as a connected chain, and are a part of that ridge which runs north from Capala-durga; but on entering among

among them; I found narrow vallies winding through in all directions. The hills are rocky and bare, but in many places the soil of the vallies is good. In some places there are cocoa-nut gardens; but many of the cleared fields are now unoccupied, and a great deal of good ground seems never to have been reclaimed.

The view of Madhu-giri, on approaching it from the east, is much finer than that of any hill-fort that I have seen. The works here make a very conspicuous appearance; whereas in general they are scarcely visible, being hidden by the immensity of the rocks on which they are situated. On the fall of the Vijaya-nagara monarchy, this place belonged to a Polygar named Chiccuppa Gauda, but more than a century ago it came into the possession of the Mysore family. Mul Rája built the fortress of stone, which formerly had been only of mud. Here also he built a palace, in the suburbs he rebuilt a large temple; and near it he made fine gardens, and the handsomest building for the reception of travellers that I have seen in India. Unfortunately, it is now ruinous. The fortifications were improved to their present form by Hyder, the place in his time was a considerable mart, and possessed some manufactures, having a hundred houses occupied by weavers. A Marattah chief, named Madi Row, held it for seven years of Hyder's government, having seized it after the victory which his countrymen gained at Tonuru. When he was forced to retire, he plundered the town of every thing that he could carry away; and with the exaggeration usual in Hindustan, the place is said to have been so rich, that he disdained to remove any thing less valuable than gold. The oppressions of Tippoo had nearly ruined the place, when the destruction was completed by the Marattah chief, Bulwunt Row, one of Purseram Bhow's officers. Although he besieged the fort five months, he was unable to take it. His army was numerous, exaggerated by native accounts to 20,000 men, but they were a mere rabble, a banditti assembled by the Polygars, who formerly were dispossessed of the neighbouring strong holds, and who then had ventured back under the protection of Lord Cornwallis When that nobleman gave peace to the Sultan, these ruffians had entirely ruined every open place in the neighbourhood, but they were immediately afterwards dispersed by the Sultan, who pursued with so much activity the 500 Marattah horse which had joined this rabble, that twenty only escaped with their chief. The place has ever since been in a very languishing condition, but is beginning to revive Purnea has appointed a brother-in-law of his own to be amildar, and gives the inhabitants considerable encouragement

The Idigas, or Idigaru, are a cast of Telinga origin; and, though they have lost all tradition concerning the time when they settled in this country, they still retain their original language. In this they are called Inrawanlu. They can all eat in common, but keep up the purity of the breed by marrying only in certain families whose descent is known. Like the Shanar of Madras, their proper business is to extract the juice of palm trees, to make it into jagory, and to distil it into spirituous liquors, but some few of them have become farmers. They wish to be called Súdras, but their claim to be of a pure descent is not acknowledged by the Bráhmans, and they appear never to have been permitted to carry arms. The Idigas can read and write accompts Although they eat animal food, they are prohibited from drinking even palm-wine. The men are allowed a plurality of wives, but can divorce them for no cause except adultery. Adultresses and widows cannot marry again; they may, however, become concubines, or cutigas. All the descendants of these form an inferior kind of breed, called also cutigas, with whom those who are descended from chaste mothers will not intermarry. The women sell the produce of their husband's labour, and manage household affairs; but never toil in the fields. Even after the age of puberty they continue to be mar-

riageable,

riageable, and are not permitted to bury themselves with their husband's bodies. They have no hereditary chiefs; but the renter, with a council as usual, settles all disputes, and punishes by fine all transgressions against the rules of cast. At their marriages, and at the monthly and annual ceremonies performed in commemoration of their deceased parents, the panchánga, or astrologer, reads mantranis. Their Guru is of the cast called Satanana, and is named Cadiy Singaia. Near this place he has two houses, and his office being hereditary, he is a married man. He reads to them the history of the gods, written in the Telinga language, gives them holy water, admonishes them to wear the mark of Vishnu on their foreheads, and from each person he receives two fanams as charity. His visits are about once in two years. With such a Guru, the principal object of their worship is of course Vishnu, but they also offer sacrifices to the Saktis, and to the Viraka, or men who, on account of chastity, have been sainted. All other good men are supposed to become powerful spirits, but are not objects of worship. Bad men are punished in hell. This cast do not take the vow of Dása.

The Curubaru are an original cast of Karnata, and, wherever they are settled, retain its language. They are divided into two tribes, that have no communion, and which are called Handy Curubaru, and Curubaru Proper. These last again are divided into a number of families, such as the Any, or elephant Curubaru, the Hal, or milk Curubaru, the Colli, or fire C., the Nelly C., the Samanta C., the Coti C., the Asil C., and the Murhindina Curubaru. These families are like the Gótrams of the Bráhmans, it being considered as incestuous for two persons of the same family to intermarry. The Proper Curubas have hereditary chiefs, who are called Gaudas, whether they be head-men of villages or not, and possess the usual jurisdiction. Some of them can read accompts, but they have no book. The proper duty of the cast is that of shepherds, and of blanket weavers, and in general they have no other dress than a blanket. A few of those who are rich have betaken themselves to the luxury of wearing cotton cloth next their skin, for all casts and ranks in this country wear the blanket as an outer garment. The dress of the women resembles that of the females of the kingdom of Ava. The blanket is put behind the back, and the two upper corners, being brought forward under the arms, are crossed over the bosom, and secured by the one being tucked under the other. As their blanket is larger than the cloth used by the women of Ava, the dress is more decent. The Curubaru were, besides, candachara, or militia, cultivators, as farmers, as servants, and as gardeners, attavana, or the armed men who serve the amildars; anchay, or post-messengers, and porters. They are allowed to eat animal food, but in most places are not permitted to drink spirituous liquors. In other places this strictness is not required, and almost every where they intoxicate themselves with palm wine. The women are very industrious, and perform every kind of work, except digging and ploughing. Even after the age of puberty they continue marriageable, and can only be divorced for adultery. In this cast the custom of cutiga, or concubinage, prevails, that is, all adultresses who are turned away by their husbands, and have not gone astray with a strange man, and all girls and widows, to whom a life of celibacy is disagreeable, may live with any man of the cast who chooses to keep them. They are looked down upon by their more virtuous sisters; but still are admitted into company, and are not out-casts. Among the Curubaru, the children of concubines do not form a separate cast, but are allowed to marry with those of a pure breed. By a connection with any man, except a Curuba, a woman becomes

becomes an entire outcast. The men take several wives, and, if they be good workers, do not always divorce them for adultery; but, as they thus incur some disgrace, they must appease the anger of their kindred by giving them an entertainment, and the Guru generally interposes his authority to prevent a separation. The Curubas believe, that those men who die without having been married become Vírikas, to whose images, at a great annual feast, which is celebrated on purpose, offerings of red cloth, jagory, rice, &c are made. If this feast be omitted, the Vírikas become enraged, occasion sickness, kill the sheep, alarm the people by horrid dreams; and, when they walk out at night, strike them on the back. They are only to be appeased by the celebration of the proper feast. The peculiar god of the cast is Bir'-uppa, or father Biray, one of the names of Siva; and the image is in shape of the linga, but no other person prays to Siva under this name, nor offers sacrifices to that god, which is the mode by which the Curubas worship Bir'-uppa. The priests who officiate in the temples of this deity are Curubas. Their office is hereditary, and they do not intermarry with the daughters of laymen. In some districts, the Curubas worship another god, peculiar, I believe, to themselves. He is called Battay Dévaru, and is a destructive spirit. They offer sacrifices to him in woods, by the sides of rivulets, or ponds. The carcases of the animals killed before the image are given to the barber and washerman, who eat them. Besides these, the Curubaru offer sacrifices to the Saktis, and pray to every object of superstition (except Dharma Rája) that comes in their way. They are considered as too impure to be allowed to wear the linga, as their Guru does. This person is called a wodear, or jangama, but he is married, and his office is hereditary. His title is Ravana Siddheswara, and he originally lived at Sarur, which is near Kalyana pattana. At his visits he bestows consecrated ashes and receives charity. He has a fixed due on marriages, and sends his agent to collect it. At some of their ceremonies the panchanga attends, and acts as purohita.

30th July.—I went four cosses to Badavana-hully, or the poor man's village; which is fortified with a mud-wall and a strong hedge, and contains about twenty houses of cultivators. In the former war it fell into the hands of Purseram Bhow's army, and, although the inhabitants have lived ever since in perfect security, it has not yet recovered one-half of its former population. The disease among the cattle last year did not extend toward this quarter farther than Chica Bala-pura, but this year it has killed one half of the stock.

The country through which I came to-day consists of vallies interspersed with detached barren hills. In these vallies there has been formerly a good deal of cultivation; at present, however, they are not half peopled. A great part of the country is covered with the wild date palm, or *elate sylvestris*, of which no care is taken. Even on bad soils it seems to be so thriving, that I have no doubt but that even there it is sufficiently productive of juice.

31st July.—I went four cosses to Sira. The greater part of the country, through which I passed to-day, is covered with trees, which are rather higher than is usual in the wastes of this country. Among them were many wild date palms. The Sultan, as I have already mentioned, with a view of enforcing the doctrine of his religion, which forbids the use of intoxicating liquors, gave orders that all these should be cut. Like most of his other regulations, this seems to have been very ill obeyed; for in the central parts of his dominions no tree seems to be in such abundance. On the way, I passed two ruinous villages, and one still inhabited, but by far the greater

number of the fields were uncultivated, and by far the greater part of the country shows no traces of its ever having been reclaimed, although it seems in very few places to be too steep or too barren for the plough.

From the 1st to the 6th of August, I remained at Sira, investigating the state of that neighbourhood, as being the principal place in the central division of the Raja's dominions north from the Cavery.

Sira, for a short time, was the seat of a government which ruled a considerable extent of country, and seems to have been at its greatest prosperity under the government of Dilâwur Khan, immediately before it was conquered by Hyder. It is said, that it then contained 50,000 houses, of which Mussulmans occupied a large proportion. By this change of masters Sira suffered greatly; not owing to any oppression from Hyder, but from its being deprived of the expenditure attending the court of a Mogul Nabob. It was also much reduced by the Marattah invasions, which had nearly proved fatal to the rising power of its new master; and its ruin was accomplished by his son Tippoo, who removed twelve thousand families, to form near his capital the new town of Shahar Ganjam. About three hundred houses remained, when the Marattah army, under Purseram Bhow and Hurry Punt, took up their head quarters in the fort, which is well built of stone, and of a good size. These invaders did no harm to the town, but destroyed most of the villages in the neighbourhood, and many of these still continue in ruins. The town itself, although the seat of an asoph, or Mussulman lord-lieutenant, continued to languish till it came under the English protection. It is little more than a year since the army under General Harris encamped here on its route to Chatrakal; and since that time two thousand houses have been built; many of its former inhabitants, whom the Sultan had forced to Seringapatam, have returned to their native abode; and others are coming in daily from the country that has been ceded to the Nizam. The only building in the place worth notice is the monument of a Mussulman officer, who commanded here during the Mogul government; but it is abundantly supplied with tombs of men who by the Mohammedans are reputed saints, and near which the people of that faith are anxious to be buried, as they consider the ground holy. The only considerable temple was pulled down by Bahadur Khan, the last asoph of the place; who was building a monument for his wife with the materials, when the arrival of the British army put a stop to such proceedings.

The Dévángas here make two thick coarse cloths; the one called cadi is plain, and resembles what is made by the Whalliaru near Bangalore; and the other has red borders, like the cloth of the Togotarus. The whole of the cloth made here is used in the immediate neighbourhood.

The Bily-Mugga weavers consider this name as a term of reproach, and call themselves Curivina Banijigaru. They are an original tribe of Karnata. Some of them are dealers in cloth or grain, and a few are farmers. They have no hereditary chiefs; but infractions of the rules of cast are punished by their clergy or jangamas, who are, however, bound to act by the advice of the elders of the tribe, should the fault be of such magnitude as to require excommunication. An assembly of the heads of families settles disputes. They pretend to be one of the tribes of pure Banijigas, and to be capable of being appointed to the priesthood. They say, that there are six tribes of proper Banijigas; the Badagulu, the Panchami, the Stalada, the Turcana, the Jainu, and the Curivina. All these can eat together; but cannot intermarry, unless they have been appointed jangamas; and the descendants of these never marry with the laity, although among themselves they lose all former distinctions. Each of these

these six tribes are again divided into Gótrams, and a man and woman of the same Gótram can never marry. The Gótrams of the Carivina are sixty-six in number. They may marry as many wives as they please; but cannot divorce them, except for adultery; and it is not unusual for a husband to keep his wife after she has been guilty of this crime. Women are marriageable even after the age of puberty; and widows may live with a man in a kind of left-hand marriage, and be called Cutigas, or concubines; but both the man with whom they live, and their children, are considered as legitimate. If a woman leaves her husband, and cohabits with another man of the same cast, she is called a Hadra; but her children are not disgraced. Any woman, even an unmarried one, who has connexion with a man of a strange cast, is excommunicated. A widow ought to bury herself alive in her husband's grave; but the custom has become entirely obsolete. The people of this cast eat no animal food, nor drink any intoxicating liquor. They never take the vow of Dáséri. They are allowed to read all the books belonging to the sect, among which they do not reckon the Védas. They wear the linga, and their adorations are principally directed to that emblem of Siva. Their women offer fruit and flowers to Marima, and the other Saktis; but this is not done by the men. They do not believe in the Virika, or spirits of chaste men. Their Gurus are the same with those of the Pancham Banijigaru; the five chief thrones being called Paravutta at Humpa, Verupacshy near the Tungabhadra river, Hujiny, Balahully, and Nidamavudy. Their lay followers of this cast these Gurus make what is called Detcha. The Detcha, having shaved and washed his head, is instructed in some mantrams, or forms of prayer, which are in the vulgar tongue, but which, like the upadésa of the Bráhmans, are kept a profound secret The Guru then bestows on the Detcha some consecrated herbs and water, and the Dechta in return gives him some money. This ceremony is analagous to the Dhana of the Bráhmans. The Gurus on their circuits receive also from their followers dharma, or charity, or rather duty, but have no fixed dues. The Einaru attend at marriages, births, and funerals, at Mala-paksha, as the tithi of the Súdras is called, and at all great feasts. On these occasions they perform pujá to the linga, reading some mantrams, in the vulgar tongue however, and pouring over it some water and flowers, which by this means are consecrated, and then are divided among the people whom the occasion has assembled. The Einaru then eats something that has been prepared for him, and at marriages receives a small sum of money. The panchánga, or village astrologer, attends on similar occasions, and reads mantrams in the vulgar language. He is of course paid for his trouble.

Here, some Dévángas of the Karnata nation do not wear the linga; but still they consider Cari Baswa Uppa as their Guru. They will eat in the house of a Dévánga who wears the linga, but he will not return the compliment. They eat in common, but do not intermarry with the Telinga Dévángas, who, like themselves, worship Siva, without wearing his indecent badge. They eat animal food; an indulgence which has probably occasioned the separation. They ought not to drink spirituous liquors. As a kind of excuse, or pretence for eating the flesh, they offer bloody sacrifices to the Saktis. They take the vow of Dáséri, but do not pray to the Virika, or spirits of men sainted for chastity. They acknowledge transmigration, as a future state of reward and punishment.

The Sadru Woculigas are a cast of Karnata origin and Súdra birth; they are divided into two tribes that seem to have no communion; the Cumblagataru Sadru, and the Sadru simply so called. The Sadru Proper are cultivators, both as masters and servants;

they act as Candachara, or native militia, and sometimes trade in grain. They have no hereditary chiefs; but their disputes are settled by a council of four Sadru Gaudas, or chief farmers, who also punish all transgressions against the rules of cast, excommunicating licentious women, and other heinous offenders, and reprimanding those who have been guilty of less enormous faults. By religion they are divided into three classes, those who worship Jaina; those who worship Siva; and those who worship Vishnu under the form of Vencaty Rámana, but this does not prevent intermarriages, and the woman always adopts the religion of her husband. They are also divided into a number of families analagous to the Gótrams of the Bráhmans, and a man never intermarries with a woman of the same family. They have among them a bastard race, descended from widows, who have become the kind of concubines called Cutigas; but they are not numerous, and are held in great contempt by the others. The Gauda whom I have so often mentioned is the person that gives me the information concerning the cast. He is a worshipper of Vencaty Rámana, and denies any belief in a future state; his worship of the gods being performed with a view of obtaining temporal blessings. This sect takes the vow of Daséri, and bury the dead. They can write accompts, but have no books nor science. They eat no animal food, and ought not to drink spirituous liquors. They are allowed as many wives as they can obtain, but do not divorce them for any cause except adultery. Girls continue to be marriageable even after the age of puberty, and widows are not expected to bury themselves with their husbands' bodies, but their becoming concubines of the kind called Cutigas is considered as very disgraceful to all their connections. Their Guru is Tata Achárya, an hereditary chief of the Sri Vaishnavam Brahmans. He bestows on his followers holy-water, and consecrated victuals, and accepts their charity. The panchánga, or village astrologer, is their puróhita, and attends at marriages, births, the building of a new house, and at Mala-paksha, the ceremony which the Súdras annually perform in commemoration of their deceased parents. The Sadru who worship Siva are but few in number, and wear the linga. The third sect of Sadru worship only the God Jaina, but do not intermarry with the true Jainaru. These burn the dead. The Gauda says, that formerly all the Sadru were Jainu; but that his ancestors, disliking that religion, betook themselves to worship Vishnu. They have not adopted the worship of the Saktis, of Dharma Rájá, nor of the Virika.

The Ladas, or Ladaru, have a language quite different from all the others that are spoken south of the Krishna river. This language they call Chaurasi; and say, that it is spoken at a city called Caranza, which is near the river Gódávari. In fact, it is a dialect of that spoken near Benares, to which the others have much less resemblance. The Ladaru say, that, in consequence of a famine in their own country, about five hundred years ago, they came to this neighbourhood. They serve as cavalry; trade, especially, in horses, and farm lands, but never cultivate them with their own hands. They assume the title of Kshatryas of the family of the sun, and wear a string like the Bráhmans. They will not intermarry with the Rajputs, or other pretenders to a royal descent; but they are treated by the Bráhmans merely as Súdras, and in fact seem to be the highest rank of Súdras in their native country, like the Kayashthas of Bengal, or the Kerit Nairs of Malyala. They are of 14 different families, like the Gotrams of the Bráhmans; and some are followers of the Siva Bráhmans, and some of the Sri Vaishnavam; but this does not produce a separation of cast; for the woman always adopts the religion of her husband. They have no hereditary chiefs, but the affairs of the tribe are managed by an assembly of the heads of families. For small faults these assemblies reprimand; for adultery, or for eating forbidden food, or with forbidden

persons,

[illegible]sons, they excommunicate. Many of them read Sanskrit, and study every similar book, except the Védas, which they never presume to inspect. My informants are worshippers of Vishnu; yet their Guru is a Smartal Bráhman, who bestows consecrated victuals and holy water, and receives their Dharma. When they are 5 or 7 years of age, they receive from the panchánga their first thread, and upadésa, at a ceremony called Upanéna. At this the panchánga reads mantrams, as also at births, marriages, full and new moons, at Sankrántis, or the first days of the solar months, at funerals, and at the Mala-paksha lately mentioned. These Ladas sacrifice to the Saktis, especially to the goddess Bhawání. The pujáris or priests in the temples of this idol are called Bombolas, who observe the rules of Sannyási, especially celibacy, and yet go absolutely naked. They have disciples who are also Sannyásis, but who are not considered as sufficiently holy to be allowed to show their nudities. Part of the sacrifices are eaten by the votary, and part by the Bombola; but the animal is sometimes made a burnt offering to the idol, which in this country is done by no other cast. This burnt offering is by the Ladas called Hómam, which is the same name that the Bráhmans use for their burnt offerings; but these always consist of flour, or other vegetable matter. It is true that the Bráhmans have a burnt sacrifice of animals, which they call Yagam; but it must be preceded by such a severity of penance, and is attended with such enormous expence that no one in these degenerate days is either willing or able to undertake such an offering. The proper Sakti Pújá, that ought to be performed to Bhawání, has also fallen into disuse here among the Ladas; but my interpreter says, that at Madras it is very common. The votary takes an animal, and offers it as a sacrifice to the idol in presence of a beautiful young woman, who is perfectly naked. It is supposed that any person who, while in the performance of this sacred ceremony, should even look with desire at the charms exposed to his view, would be instantly struck dead; no one, therefore, undertakes it who has not great confidence in the power which he has over his passions. By the Bráhmans this ceremony is much condemned, and ought to deprive any one of his cast that attempted its performance; yet some of them are said in a private manner to have recourse to this superstition, as it is supposed to have wonderful efficacy in procuring temporal success and felicity. Some of the Ladaru take the vow of Daséri, and at the same time receive chakrántikam. These beg only one day in the week, following on the other six their usual professions; and they never travel about as vagabonds making a noise with bells and conchs. The Ladus burn their dead, who ought to be accompanied on the pile by their widows; but this custom has become obsolete. Widows are not permitted to become concubines of the kind called Cutigas, nor are the men allowed to keep those called Hadras. A girl after ten years of age is no longer marriageable. The men may take as many wives as they can procure, but can only divorce them for adultery. Persons of this cast drink no spirituous liquors; and, as is usual in Bengal, eat no animal food, except that which has been offered as a sacrifice.

CHAP. VII. — *From Sira to Seringapatam.*

AUGUST 7th, 1800. — Having been informed, that in the woods to the north and north-east of Sira many cattle are bred, and that in the hills to the eastward much steel is made, I determined to take a short journey in these directions, although it was in some measure retracing my steps. For the cattle, Pauguda and Niddygul are the principal places; there being twelve large herds in the one district, and ten in the other. These places, however, being much out of my way, I determined to proceed to Madigheshy, where, I was told, there were several herds. In the morning I went five

coffes

[illegible] at Chandra-giri, or Moon-hill, which is a poor village at the foot of a high rock, [illegible] from Badavana-hully. Of course, I had before travelled the greater part of the road. In the neighbourhood of Chandra-giri are some fine betel-nut gardens. Formerly these amounted to five candacas of land, or 150 acres. In the time of a dreadful famine, which happened about thirty-six years ago, these gardens suffered much, owing to the wells having become dry; for they are all watered by the machine called Capily. They suffered still more, owing to the desertion of their proprietors, on account of the assessment which was imposed by Tippoo, to enable him to pay the contribution which Lord Cornwallis exacted. They are now reduced to about 45 acres, or 1½ candaca.

The tank here ought to water 6 candacas of land, or 180 acres: but from being out of repair, it at present supplies one-sixth part only of that extent. The farmers here allege, that in the last twenty years they have had only one season in which there was as much rain as they wanted. In this district of Madhu-giri some of the villages want one quarter, some one half, and some two-thirds of the cultivators which would be necessary to labour their arable lands, and some have been totally deserted.

8th August. — I went three cosses to Madigheshy. Part of the road lay in the country ceded to the Nizam, who in the neighbourhood of Ratna-giri has got an insulated district, in the same manner as the Rájá of Mysore has one round Pauguda. The whole country through which I passed was laid waste by the Marattah army, under Purseram Bhow; and as yet has recovered very little. In the Nizam's territory the villages were totally deserted. The greater part of the country is now covered with low trees, but much of it is fit for cultivation. On my arrival at Madigheshy, I was not a little disappointed on being told by the civil officers, that in the whole district there was not a single cow kept for breeding; and that the only cattle in the place were a few cows to give the village people milk, and the oxen necessary for agriculture.

Madigheshy is a fortress situated on a rock of very difficult access, and garrisoned by a few Company's sepoys; in order, I suppose, to prevent any of the ruffians in the Nizam's country from seizing on it, and rendering it a strong-hold to protect them in their robberies. At the foot of the hill is a well-fortified town, which was said to contain 100 houses, but that account was evidently greatly under-rated. In it were 12 houses of farmers, and twenty of Bráhmans, who, except two officers of government, were all supported by the contributions of the industrious part of the community; for Tippoo had entirely resumed the extensive charity lands which they formerly possessed. Their houses were, however, by far the best in the town, and occupied, as usual, the most distinguished quarter. The place is now dependent on Madhu-giri; but during the former government was the residence of an asoph, or lord-lieutenant. His house, which is dignified with the title of a mahal, or palace, is a very mean place indeed. The Mussulman Sirdars under Tippoo were too uncertain of their property to lay out much on buildings; and every thing that they acquired was in general immediately expended on dress, equipage, and amusement.

The place originally belonged to a Polygar family; a lady of which, named Madigheshy, having burned herself with her husband's corpse, her name was given to the town; for, above the Ghats, this practice, so far as I can learn, has been always very rare, and consequently gave the individuals who suffered a greater reputation than where it is constantly used. Madigheshy was afterwards governed by Ránís, or Princesses, of the same family with the heroine from whom it derived its name. From them it was conquered by the family of Chicuppa Gauda, who retained it long after the Polygars of Mysore had deprived them of their original possessions, Madhu-giri and China-náráyana-durga.* During the invasion of Lord Cornwallis, a descendant of

Chicuppa

Chicuppa Gauda came into this country; and, when he found that the place must return to the Sultan's dominion, he cruelly plundered it of the little that had escaped Marattah rapacity. He did not leave the place, which is extremely strong, till Commur ud' Deen Khan came into the neighbourhood with a confiderable force.

In the vicinity there is very little cultivation, owing, as the natives fay, to the want of rain. The late Sultan three years ago expended 700 pagodas (about 230l.) in repairing a tank, that ought to water eight candacas, or 240 acres of rice-land; but in no year fince has the rain filled it, fo as to water more than what fows two candacas. The wells here are too deep for the ufe of the machine called capily.

9th Auguft.—The native officer commanding the fepoys in the fort having informed me that I was deceived concerning the herds of breeding cattle, and the village officers being called, he gave fuch particular information where the herds were, that it became impoffible for them to be any longer concealed. The people, in excufe for themfelves, faid, they were afraid that I had come to take away their cattle for the ufe of Colonel Wellefley's army, then in the field againft Dundia; and, although they had no fear about the payment, yet they could not be acceffory to the crime of giving up oxen to flaughter. In the morning I took the village officers with me, and vifited fome of the herds; but the whole people in the place were in fuch agitation, that I could little depend on the truth of the accounts which they gave; and I do not copy what they faid, as I had an opportunity foon after of getting more fatisfactory information.

The country round Madighefhy is full of little hills, and is overgrown with copfe wood. The villages of the Goalas, or cow-keepers, are fcattered about in the woods, and furrounded by a little cultivation of dry-field. The want of water is every where feverely felt, and the poor people live chiefly on horfe-gram, their ragy having failed. In many places the foil feems capable of admitting the cultivation to be much extended.

Near the town is a fine quarry, of a ftone which, like that found at Ráma-giri, may be called a granitic porphyry.

Here alfo may be eafily quarried fine maffes of grey granite.

10th Auguft.—In the morning I went three coffes to Madhu-giri. The road led through pretty vallies, furrounded by detached rocky hills. Thefe vallies fhowed marks of having once been in a great meafure cultivated, and contained the ruinous villages of their former inhabitants. Ever fince the devaftation committed by Purferam Bhow, and the fubfequent famine, they have been nearly wafte, and many of the fields are overgrown with young trees. A few wretched inhabitants remain, and a few fields are cultivated; and it is faid, that this year greater progrefs would have been made toward the recovery of the country, had not the feafon been remarkably dry and unfavourable.

On my arrival at Madhu-giri, and queftioning Trimula Náyaka on the fubject, I found that every town and village in this hilly country had herds of breeding cattle. One of the herds I had met on the road; but they were fo fierce, that, without protection from the keepers, it would have been unfafe to approach them. I determined, therefore, to remain a day at Madhu-giri, and examine the particulars.

12th Auguft.—Having been informed, that Chin'-náráyan-durga was diftant three coffes, I ordered my tents to be pitched at that place; but on coming up, I found that the diftance was only one cofs. In this country, it is indeed very difficult to get any accurate information concerning routes and diftances.

13th Auguft.—I went three coffes to Tavina Caray, in company with the amildar, who

who seems to be a very industrious man. He says, that last year he brought 200 ploughs into his district, and that 200 more would be required for its full cultivation. Near Chin'-náráyan'-durga the country, for the most part, consists of a rugged valley surrounded by hills; but the fields between the rocks were formerly cleared, and well cultivated, and are said to be very favourable for ragy, the rock enabling the soil to retain moisture. Among these rugged spots we visited some iron and steel forges, which had indeed induced me to come this way.

As we approached Tavina-Caray, the country becomes open, and I observed that every field was cultivated. Tavina-Caray is a small town, but several additions to it are making. Some streets in the petta are well laid out; and, as an ornament before each shop, a cocoa-nut palm has been planted. The fortress, or citadel, is as usual almost entirely occupied by Bráhmans. This might seem to be an improper place for men dedicated to study and religion; but in cases of invasion their whole property is here secure from marauders; while the Súdras, who are admitted during the attack as defenders, must lose all their effects, except such moveables as in the hurry they can remove.

14th August.—I went to Tumcuru, the chief place of a district, called also Chaluru. The country is the most level, and the freest from rocks, of any that I have yet seen above the Ghats; I observed only one place in which the granite showed itself above the surface. The soil in most places is good, and might be entirely cultivated. Near Tavina-Caray it is so, but as I approached Tumcuru, I observed more and more waste land. I understand, that the late amildar did not give the people proper encouragement, and about twenty days ago he was removed from his office. By the way I passed nine or ten villages, all fortified with mud walls and strong hedges At some distance on my left were hills, and the prospect would have been very beautiful, had the country been better wooded, but, except some small palm gardens scattered at great distances, it has very few trees. Tumcuru is a town containing five or six hundred houses. The fort is well built, and by the late amildar was put in excellent repair The petta stands at some distance. The great cultivation here is ragy, but there are also many rice-fields. This year there will be no kartika crop, as at present the tanks contain only eight or ten days water.

15th August.—I went three cosses to Gubi; which, although a small town, containing only 360 houses, is a mart of some importance, and has 154 shops. The houses in their external appearance are very mean, and the place is extremely dirty; but many of the inhabitants are thriving, and the trade is considerable.

16th August.—I went three cosses to Muga-Náyakana-Cotay, a village in the Hagalawadi district. It is strongly fortified with mud-walls, and contains 190 houses. Before the last Marattah invasion, it had, in the petta, a handsome market, consisting of a wide street, which on each side had a row of cocoa-nut palms. While Purseram Bhow was at Sira, he sent 500 horse and 2000 irregular foot, with one gun, to take the place, which was defended by 500 peasants from the neighbourhood. They had two small guns, and 100 matchlocks, the remainder were armed with slings and stones. The siege lasted two months, during which the Marattahs fired their gun several times, but they never succeeded in hitting the place. On some occasions they had the boldness to venture within musket shot of the walls; but two or three of their men having been killed, they afterwards desisted from such deeds of hardihood, and finally retired without one of the defendants being hurt. The peasant destroyed the market, to prevent the Marattahs from availing themselves of the houses in their approach. Nothing can equal the contempt which the inhabitants

of

of Karnata have for the prowess of a Maratta army, but the horror which they have at its cruelty. When Purseram Bhow left this neighbourhood, his people carried off all the handsome girls that fell into their hands; and they swept the country so clean of provisions, that three-fourths of the people perished of hunger.

17th August.—In the morning I went two and a half cosses to Conli.

18th August.—In the morning I went all over Doray Guda, which is about a mile in length, from five to six hundred yards in width, and is divided into three hummocks. The northernmost of these is the most considerable, and rises to the perpendicular height of four or five hundred feet. It is situated in the Hagalawadi district; but, for what reason I know not, pays its rent to the amildar of Chica Nayakana Hully. This is the only hill in this vicinity that produces the iron ore; but as the same hill in different villages is called by different names, I at one time imagined that the mines had been numerous. The people here were ignorant of there being any other mine in this range of hills; but that I afterwards found to be the case. At Conli this hill is called Doray Guda, which name I have adopted. On all sides it is surrounded by other low hills; but these produce no iron.

The whole strata of these hills are vertical, and, like all others that I have seen in the country, run nearly north and south. Where they have been exposed to the weather, on a level nearly with the ground, which is generally the case, these strata divide into plates like schistus, and seem to moulder very quickly. In a few places they rise into rocks above the surface, and then they decay into roundish or angular masses. All that I saw were in a state of great decay, so that it was difficult to ascertain their nature; but, no doubt they are either earthy quartz, or hornstone, variously impregnated with iron, and perhaps sometimes with manganese. Within, the masses are whitish, with a fine grained earthy texture; but outwardly they are covered with a metallic efflorescence, in some places black, in others inclined to blue.

A ledge of this rock passes through the longer diameter of Doray Guda, and seems to form the basis of that hill; but the whole superstratum, both of the sides and summit, seems to be composed of a confused mass of ore and clay. The surface only is at present wrought; so that very little knowledge can be obtained of the interior structure of the hill. In its sides the miners make small excavations, like gravel-pits, but seldom go deeper than five or six feet. On the perpendicular surface of these the appearance is very various. In some places the ore is in considerable beds, disposed in thin brittle vertical plates, which are separated by a kind of harsh sand, yellow, bluish, or green. In one place I observed this sand of a pure white, and forming little cakes, readily crumbling between the fingers. In other places the ore is hard, forming irregular concretions, with various admixtures of earth, clay, and ochres. This kind has a tendency to assume regular forms, botroidal, and reniform, which inwardly are striated with rays diverging from a center. Sometimes plates are formed of this kind of ore, which consist internally of parallel striæ. Another form of the ore is bluish, and very brittle. The whole is mixed with what the natives call cari-cul, or black-stone, which is brown hæmatites. This is also scattered all over the surface of the ground, and there especially assumes botroidal and reniform shapes. By the natives it is considered as totally useless. In some pits I could observe nothing like a regular disposition of the component parts; in others, the various substances are evidently stratified, both in straight and waved dispositions.

The manner of mining the ore is extremely rude and unthrifty. A man with a pick-axe digs on the side of the hill, until he gets a perpendicular face five or six feet wide, and as much high, having before it a level spot that is formed from what

he

he has dug. Before him he has then a face containing ore, more or leſs intermixed with clay, ſand, and hematites, and covered with two or three feet of the external ſoil. He then ſcoops out the ore, and matters with which it is mixed; and having beaten them well with the pick-axe, and rubbed them with his hands, he picks out the ſmall pieces of ore, and throws away the hematites, ſand, clay, ochre, and large pieces of ore; aſſigning as a reaſon for ſo doing, that, as he can get plenty of ſmall pieces there is no occaſion for him to be at the trouble of breaking the large ones. The crumbling ores are alſo much neglected, as they are tranſported with difficulty. When they have dug as far as they chooſe to venture, which is indeed a very little way, the miners go to another ſpot, and form a new pit. The ore, broken as I have now mentioned, is carried down on aſſes backs, and farther cleaned from earth, and broken into very ſmall pieces, before it is put into the furnace. If it is to be carried far, it is generally tranſported by buffaloes; but this unwieldy animal is incapable of aſcending the hill, which in many places is very ſteep, and the paths are formed on the mouldering materials that have been thrown away by the miners. There is no perſon who prepares the ore for thoſe who come from a diſtance; they remain here for ſome time with their aſſes; and, when they have collected a conſiderable quantity, a number of buffaloes are brought to carry it away. The renter has no occaſion to come near the mine. He knows the men that get a ſupply of ore, and each pays yearly a certain ſum, and takes as much ore as he pleaſes. The renter ſtates the furnaces that are ſupplied from hence to be ſix in Tumcuru, ten in Hagalawadi, ſeven in Chica Nayakana Hully, and three in Sira, but I have acceſs to know that he conceals part of them; yet he is much more correct than the revenue accompts that are kept in Purnea's office at Seringapatam.

No tradition remains concerning the time when this mine began to be wrought, for the natives think that ore has been taken from it ever ſince the creation of the world; or, as they expreſs themſelves, ſince the hill was born; and, as above 100 aſs-loads are daily carried from it, I think it probable that the miners have repeatedly gone over the ſurface. At each time the natives remove only a very ſmall proportion of the iron; and after a certain number of years, new decompoſitions, and recompoſitions of the materials, ſeem capable of rendering the ſurface again fit for their manner of working.

The miners have a tradition, that formerly there had been dug into the ſouthern face of the largeſt hummock an immenſe cavern, from whence the whole neighbourhood was ſupplied with ore. The roof of this is ſaid to have given way, and to have buried the miners of ſeven villages, with all their cattle. The appearance of the hill confirms the truth of this tradition, there being evident proofs of a part of it having fallen in; and in the perpendicular ſurface, left by this convulſion, may be ſeen the mouth of a cavern, probably a part of the old mine. The time when this happened is likely to have been very remote; as, lower down than this convulſed ſurface, there is another mine, which the natives believe to be a natural cavern, and into which, not without ſome reaſon, they are afraid to enter. Indeed, none of them have attempted it; for they are perſuaded that it extends a great way into the earth, which made me curious to examine it.

The miners have evidently wrought into this part of the mine from the weſtward; and until they came to the ledge of earthy quartz, or hornſtone, before mentioned, they have carried on a regular face of conſiderable width and depth. This ledge cutting off the mine, they had by the ſide of the barren rock made a horizontal cavity into the hill, and thus formed a cavern about fifty feet long, twelve feet high,

 and

and nine wide. It is probable, that they had then met with some obstruction; for under this they have formed another mine, which cuts off the communication between the ground and the first-mentioned cavern. As there were evident marks of the feet of a large beast of prey at the mouth of the cave, I took the precaution of of making a sepoy fire his musket into it; and, nothing but a large flock of bats, having appeared, I went in, accompanied by two armed men. We soon came to a place where a bed had been formed in the sand by some of the tiger kind; and having advanced about 100 feet we reached the end of the cave, where another wild beast had formed its bed. This, therefore, was probably the usual haunt of a pair of leopards. We found also a porcupine's quill; but were uncertain whether the animal had fallen a prey to the leopards; or whether protected by its prickles, it ventured to shelter itself in their company. The sides of the mine consist partly of the ore, and partly of the rock already mentioned, which is much intermixed with the caricul, or brown hæmatites. The place is perfectly dry. It is probable that the work was deserted when the poor people in the higher mine suffered. Ever since, the miners have contented themselves with working on the surface, and even there are in constant fear. An annual sacrifice is offered to prevent the spirit of the hill from overwhelming the miner. She is called Canicul Dévaru, or the goddess of ironstone, and Gudada Umma, the mother of the hill; and is represented by the first convenient stone that the workmen find when they come to offer the sacrifice. They also put themselves under the protection of a benevolent male spirit, named Muti Raya, or the Pearl King. He is worshipped by offerings of flowers and fruits only, and is represented by a shapeless stone, that is hid in the obscurity of a shrine, which is composed of stones and flags, and which in all its dimensions extends about six feet.

19th August.—In the morning I went two cosses to a village named Madana Mada, having been detained on the way by examining the minerals of a hill, which, from a temple situated near it, and dedicated to Siva, is named Malaiswara Betta. Owing to the vicinity of this temple, a white lithomarga that is found on the hill is considered as holy, and is used in place of the consecrated ashes which the followers of Siva employ to make the marks of their religion. The strata are nearly the same as near Doray Guda, and consist of a schistose decaying rock, disposed vertically. Parallel to this I observed strata of white fat quartz, from one inch to twenty feet in thickness. Near the temple I found the veins, or strata of quartz, running parallel to each other, and from six to twelve inches distant, and at similar distances sending off transverse bands which united the strata. The interstices of this kind of net-work were filled up with the common stone of the country, not much decayed. It seems to be a hornstone, containing a good deal of iron, and some mica. The surface of this rock had a curious appearance. The ferruginous brown of the hornstone being chequered with the gray quartz, while this, resisting the weather best, stood up considerably above the surface, and represented in miniature the whin-dykes of the island of Mull, as described in the Philosophical Transactions. In some places I saw the white quartz decaying into sand, and forming masses, that on the slightest touch crumbled between the fingers. As I ascended the hill I met with a curious concretion of brown calcareous tufa. It resembled very exactly a decayed white ant's (termes) nest changed into lime, and amongst its branches were impacted some pieces of decayed hornstone, round which it had evidently been formed. In these hills such concretions, I was afterwards informed, are very common; and some of them are of a pure white, in which case they are burned into lime. But this information I did

 not

not receive in time to ascertain the fact. I saw also several detached lumps of hæmatites; but on the hill there is no ore of iron, that is by the natives considered as workable.

The lithomarga is found in large masses heaped together, and incumbent on the rocky strata, with various fragments of which it is intermixed, and it appears to me to have been formed from the hornstone in a particular state of decay. Its surface is generally shining, polished, and conchoidal. The masses, so far as I observed, are not disposed in strata; but, internally, some of the pieces are composed of alternate thin plates of different colours. That used for superstitious purposes is, of a pure white colour, and indurated substance; some is red, being coloured by an oxyde of iron; some, as I have observed before, is internally stratified, and consists of alternate layers of the lithomarga and of a yellow ochre; some is black, resembling very dark vegetable mould in an indurated state; some again of the lithomarga is of a pure white colour, and friable nature; and nearly approaching to this is another clay, which is evidently decomposed white mica. Among the lithomarga is found a black, friable substance, in its appearance much resembling charcoal; but it is undoubtedly of a fossile nature, and probably is an iron ore. It has a bluish tinge, which it probably derives from manganese.

The temple of Malaiswara is a very poor building; but is much frequented at a festival in the month of Magha. Some of the figures on the chariot of the image are exceedingly indecent. The woods above the temple are rather taller than usual in these barren hills, and contain many trees of the Dupada, Chloroxylon Dupada, *Buch. MSS.* The resin is used as incense; and musical instruments, somewhat resembling the guitar, are made of the wood. From the top of the hill the view is very fine; the country being composed of hills, cultivated fields, reservoirs, like small lakes, and palm gardens, all intermixed. In this hilly country are some considerable flocks of sheep, but no herds of breeding cows.

Madana Mada contains 40 or 50 houses, and is placed between two reservoirs; one belonging to itself, and the other to a neighbouring village. So partial are the rains in this country, that the one reservoir is now half full, while the other has not above a quarter of its water; the two hills, from whence they are supplied, being on opposite sides of a very narrow valley. Madana Mada has a very fine palm garden, for the use of which the water of its reservoir is entirely reserved. When that fails, the proprietors have recourse to the machine called capily. Three thousand pagodas have been granted by Purnea for enlarging their reservoir; by which means the machinery is expected to become unnecessary, and of course the revenue will be greatly augmented. The gardens here contain 48,000 palm trees.

At night I was awaked by a prodigious noise in the village, which was at some distance from my tents. On inquiry of the sentry, I was told, that there was no one near except himself, every other person having gone into the village as soon as the uproar commenced. I lay for some hours in great uneasiness, supposing that my people had quarrelled with the natives, but, it being a rainy night, I did not venture out, and was unwilling to part with the sentry. Soon after all was quiet, and the people returned. In the morning my interpreter told me with a good deal of exultation, that one of the cattle-drivers had been possessed by a pysachi, or evil spirit, and had been for some time senseless, and foaming at the mouth. On this occasion the whole people, Mussulmans and Pagans, had assembled; and, in hopes of frightening away the devil, had made all the noise that they could. but he had continued obstinately to keep possession, till the arrival of the Brāhman, who, having

thrown some consecrated ashes on the man, and offered up the prayers proper for the occasion, at length procured a release. The interpreter, I suspect, made the most of his story, in order to remove my infidelity; as the day before I had refused my assent to believe, that certain mantrams pronounced by a Bráhman could compel the gods to be present in whatever place he chose. It is almost unnecessary to observe, that the poor cattle-driver was subject to the epilepsy, the recurrence of which this night had, I believe, been occasioned by a violent paroxysm of intoxication, in which the whole party had been so deeply engaged, that until morning I could not get a man to tie up the baggage

20th August.—In the morning I went to Chica Nayakana Hully; and by the way visited a hill called Gajina Guta, which produces much cavi cullu, or reddle. This hill is reckoned 1½ coss from Chica Nayakana Hully. The part of it which I examined consists of caricul, or brown hæmatites, and clay. In some places the hæmatites forms a kind of rock; in others it is found only in small lumps, immersed in the clay. In this hill it has every where a strong tendency to decomposition, and then in most places forms red ochre, but in some parts it falls into a yellow oxyde. I observed nothing in it like strata. Those masses which consist of clay mixed with lumps of the hæmatites, in various stages of decomposition, bear a strong resemblance, except in hardness, to the hornstone porphyry found near Seringapatam; for many of the lumps of hæmatites are angular, and have a glassy longitudinal fracture, while their transverse fracture is earthy. Whoever sees these masses, I am persuaded, will be struck with the resemblance, and will believe that from the one kind of mineral the other derives its origin. In all this chain of hills, however, I confess, I saw no porphyry, nor even granite. The reddle is found in large veins, or irregular masses, running through the rock of hæmatites, or masses of clay, in very irregular directions; and seems to be nothing more than the hornstone of the country dissolved into clay, and then strongly impregnated with the red oxyde of iron, from a similar dissolution of the hæmatites. It always contains specks of yellow ochre. People come to dig it from Hegodu Devana Cotay, Chin'-ráya-pattana, Narasingha-pura, Gubi, and all the intermediate country toward the south and west, and they send it still farther toward the frontiers. For every ox-load of about 5 cucha maunds, or about 130lbs. they pay to the renter 12 dudus, or about 6d. He says, that about 30 loads only are annually required. He keeps no person on the spot, and is either attempting to deceive me, or is himself defrauded; for the excavations made to collect it are very considerable It is used to paint walls, and to dye goni or sackcloth, and the cloth used by Sannyásis and Jangamas. The dye comes out with the least water, but the colour is easily restored.

In the same places are found lithomargas of several colours, which seem to me to be portions of the clay less impregnated with iron than the reddle; and which perhaps derived their origin from hornstone, that contained magnesia, as some are known to do.

In one of the excavations that have been made by digging out the hæmatites, and which forms a cave, I found the nests of a flock of wild pigeons, exactly resembling those of the caves of Europe. This bird, therefore, is perhaps one of the most universally diffused kinds in the old world, at least of such as are in a wild state. The common sparrow is equally universal.

Chica Nayakana Hully is a large square town, strongly fortified with mud walls, and having bruches, or cavaliers at the angles. In its center is a square citadel, fortified in a similar manner. In the outer town a wide street runs all round, and on both hands

ſends off ſhort lanes to the outer and inner walls. The houſes are at preſent very mean and ruinous, and do not nearly occupy the whole ſpace within the walls. They are in number about 600, of which 80 are occupied by Bráhmans. It contains a garden which belongs to the government; is in great diſorder, and is rendered diſguſting by two banyan-trees (*Ficus Bengalenſis*) loaded with large bats, whom the people will not diſturb. To the ſouth of the town there was formerly a large ſuburb, but about forty years ago it was deſtroyed in an invaſion of the Marattahs. It was plundered by Purſeram Bhow, when he was going to join Lord Cornwallis at Seringapatam; but at that time he obtained very little, the inhabitants having hidden their moſt valuable effects, and withdrawn into the hilly country. When the Marattah army retired to Sira, they ſent to the inhabitants aſſurances of protection, and began by making ſmall daily diſtributions of charity to the Bráhmans. By this means they inveigled back a conſiderable number of the inhabitants, and no ſooner had they got the leading men into their power, than they put them to the torture, until the wretched men diſcovered where their effects were hid, and thus they procured 500,000 rupees. During the remainder of Tippoo's reign the place continued languiſhing, the inhabitants of 300 houſes only having ventured back. It poſſeſſes a ſmall manufacture of coarſe cotton cloth, both white and coloured, and made by Dévángas and Togotaru. It has alſo a weekly fair, at which theſe goods, and the produce of the numerous palm-gardens in the neighbourhood, are ſold. Many of its inhabitants act as carriers, tranſporting goods to different places for the merchants of Naggara and Bangaluru. Its name ſignifies the town of the little chief; which was the title aſſumed by the Polygars of Hagalawadi, its former maſters, and who, about 300 years ago, firſt fortified it. About a century afterwards they were overcome by the Polygars of Myſore, and, in order to retain Hagalawadi free from tribute, gave up entirely this part of their dominions. Hyder made them tributaries even for Hagalawadi, and his ſon ſtripped them of every thing.

21ſt Auguſt. — I remained at Chica Nayakana Hully, inveſtigating the management of the palm gardens in its vicinity. Theſe occupy by far the greater part of the watered land in the diſtricts called Honawully, Budihalu, Hagalawadi, and Chika Nayakana Hully, with a conſiderable portion in Sira and Gubi. In the dry ſeaſon they require the aſſiſtance of the capily, the water in the reſervoirs ſeldom laſting throughout the year.

22d Auguſt. — I went three coſſes to Arulu Gupay. Except the ridge of hornſtone hills on my left, and a ſhort detached ridge on my right, the country was free from hills. The ſoil was, however, by no means ſo good as that in the level country which lies between the Durgas and the ridge of hornſtone; for in many places the rock appeared above ground, and lumps of white quartz almoſt intirely covered many fields. The rock here was grey granite. I believe the hornſtone is confined to the ridge in which Doray Betta is ſituated. In the ſmall ridge to my right, the rocks were grey granite; the black-ſtone already deſcribed as accompanying this in the eaſtern Ghats; and the ſame containing white ſpots, which probably were quartz.

At a ſmall village by the way, I was ſhewn a well, from whence what the natives call ſhidy munnu had been taken. It was in the back yard of a Bráhman's houſe. About two months ago he had dug 20 feet through the common ſoil of the country, which in many places is very deep. He then came to a ſtratum of this ſubſtance, which he continued to procure until prevented by water. It is a looſe ſcaly earth, of a ſilvery white colour, and is mixed with ſmall fragments of quartz. It is ſo friable, that it cannot be handled without falling to pieces, and is no doubt ſchiſtoſe mica in a ſtate of decay. The micaceous matter is waſhed off by water, and in the houſes of inferior perſons, ſerves the

ſame

ſame purpoſes that the powdered mica, or abracum, does in the palaces of the great. They are in fact the ſame, only the abracum is purer. Shidy munnu is ſaid to be found in great quantity near [illegible]lar.

Arulu Gupay is a large village in the Hagalawadi diſtrict. It is fortified with a mud wall and ditch, but its market, which is a ſtreet running the whole length of the one ſide of the town, is quite defenceleſs. It contains about a hundred houſes, and a temple of curious workmanſhip dedicated to Naraſingha. It is not of great ſize, but the whole is built of what the natives call ſila cullu, or image-ſtone, which is indurated pot-ſtone. This has been cut and carved with great pains and induſtry, but is totally devoid of elegance or grandeur. The general deſign is clumſy, and the execution of the figures miſerable. It wants even ſtrength, the uſual concomitant of clumſineſs among the buildings of rude nations; and the walls, although not above fourteen feet high, and built of large ſtones which have ſuffered no injury, are yielding to the preſſure of the roof, and probably will ſoon fall. It is ſaid to have been built by one of the Sholun Ráyas.

23d Auguſt. — In the morning I was detained by a very heavy rain, which has given the people high ſpirits. In the afternoon I went two coſſes to Turiva-Caray, the reſidence of an amildar. The country afforded a melancholy proſpect. Like that near Bangalore, and the other places toward the eaſtern Ghats, it riſes into gentle ſwells, and occaſionally projects a maſs of naked granite, or of quartz blackened by iron; but it has once been completely cultivated; and every ſpot except thoſe covered by rock, bears marks of the plough. Scattered clumps of trees denote the former ſituations of numerous villages: all now, however, are nearly deſerted. I ſaw only two houſes, and a few fields ploughing for horſe-gram ſeemed to be the commencement of cultivation, from the time the country had been laid deſolate by the mercileſs army of Purſeram Bhow.

Turiva-Caray conſiſts of an outer and an inner fort, ſtrongly defended by a ditch and mud-wall. It has beſides, at a little diſtance, an open ſuburb, and contains 700 houſes; but is by no means completely rebuilt. It has no merchants of any note; but contains 20 houſes of Dévánga weavers and 150 of farmers. It poſſeſſes two ſmall temples, ſimilar to that at Arulu Gupay, and which, like it, are ſaid to have been built by a Sholun Raya, who was contemporary with Sankara Achárya, the reſtorer of the doctrine of the Vedas.

This Prince is very celebrated, by having built temples throughout the country ſouth from the Kriſhna river. All of them that I have ſeen are ſmall, and entirely built of ſtone. Their architecture is very different from the great temples, ſuch as that at Kunji, the upper parts of which are always formed of bricks, and whoſe moſt conſpicuous part is the gateway. This laſt mentioned ſyſtem of architecture ſeems to have been introduced by Kriſhna raya, of Vijaya-nagara; at leaſt, the 18 moſt celebrated temples in the Lower Carnatic are commonly ſaid, by the Bráhmans, to have been rebuilt by that Prince: for it muſt be obſerved, that ſcarcely any temple of celebrity is admitted to have been founded in this Yugam, or age of the world; and many of them are ſuppoſed to be coeval with the univerſe. The ſmall rude temples ſo common in the country, and which from the ſimplicity of their form are probably of great antiquity, are all dedicated to Saktis, or to ſpirits worſhipped by the low caſts, and never to any of the great gods. Many of them, no doubt, are of very late erection, but they ſeem to me to preſerve the ſimple form of temples erected by rude tribes; and the worſhip performed in them appears to be that which prevailed throughout India before the introduction of the 21 ſects which the Bráhmans reckon heretical;

although

although some of them were probably antecedent, at least in Southern India, to the three sects of Bráhmans who follow the doctrine of the Vedas.

This place formerly belonged to the Hagalawadi Polygars, who, although called Chica Nayakas, or little chiefs, seem to have been a powerful family. One of them, who lived about 250 years ago, constructed in this neighbourhood four temples, and four great reservoirs. According to the legend, Ganésa supplied him with money for carrying on these. This god appeared to the chief in a dream, informed him that a treasure was hidden under an image which stood in the suburbs, and directed him to take the money and construct these works. The treasure was accordingly found, and applied as directed. The image from under which the treasure had been taken was shown to me; and I was surprised at finding it lying at one of the gates quite neglected. On asking the reason, why the people allowed their benefactor to remain in such a plight, they informed me, that the finger of the image having been broken, the divinity had deserted it, for no mutilated image is considered as habitable by a god. At one of the temples built with this money I saw a very fine black stone, well polished, and cut into a rude imitation of a bull. It was about eight feet long, six high, and four broad, and seemed to be of the same kind with the pillars in Hyder's monument at Seringapatam. The quarry is six miles distant. The reservoir here is in very fine condition, and was constructed with Ganesa's treasure. It formerly watered some excellent areca gardens; but, in consequence of Purseram Bhow's invasion, most of the trees perished. For some days his head-quarters were at this place. The cocoa-nut palms, that formerly surrounded the betel-nut gardens, still remain, and mark their extent. The amildar says, that he has only one-half of the people that would be necessary to cultivate his district, and that most of them are destitute of the necessary stock.

24th August.—I was detained all day at Turiva-Caray by the violence of the rain. The strata here consist chiefly of grey granite, or gneiss, for the matters composing it are sometimes nearly stratified, the dark green mica, or talc, being in some strata much more predominant than in others. This gives it a veined appearance, but it is perfectly solid, and, except this appearance, has nothing of a slaty texture. Here may be observed beds parallel to the strata of granite, and consisting entirely of this green matter in a state of decay. Its very greasy feel makes me suspect that it is rather talc than mica. Here also, as well as in many parts of the country, the grey granite is intersected in all directions by veins of reddish felspar, intermixed with fragments of white quartz. These veins are frequently a foot wide, and sometimes, in place of being disposed in veins, the felspar runs in beds, or strata, which are parallel to those of the granite, and are several feet in width.

25th August.—In the morning I went two cosses to Cada-hully, a small village fortified with a mud-wall. The country nearly resembles that between Arulu Gupty and Turiva-Caray, but the soil is more inclined to be stony. It is, however, in a rather better state of cultivation, and perhaps a fourth part of the arable fields is now occupied. At this village there was a sheep-fold, strongly fortified by a hedge of dry thorns, and containing four huts, which the shepherds usually occupied. These people, alarmed at my appearance, and suspecting that I came to take away their flocks for the use of the army, did not approach the village all night; but preferred exposing their cattle to the danger of tigers. These beasts of prey are said to be numerous here, and at night frequently prowl under the walls, we therefore burned fires round the tents, as was our usual practice in suspicious places. My motive for stopping at this poor place was, to examine the quarry from whence the fine black stone used in Hyder's monument

ment was taken. When I assigned this reason to the people, it appeared so absurd to them, that their fears were greatly increased.

This quarry is situated about half a mile east from the village, and rises in a small ridge about half a mile long, a hundred yards wide, and from twenty to fifty feet in perpendicular height. This ridge runs nearly north and south, in the common direction of the strata of the country, and is surrounded on all sides by the common grey granite, which, as usual, is penetrated in all directions by veins of quartz and felspar; but neither of these enter the quarry.

This stone is called cariculiu, or black-stone, by the natives, who give the same appellation to the quartz impregnated with iron, and to the brown hæmatites; and in fact they all run very much into one another, and differ chiefly in the various proportions of the same component parts; but have a certain general similitude easily defined, and are found in similar masses and strata. The black-stone of this place is an amorphous hornblend, containing minute but distinct rhomboidal lamellar concretions of basaltine. I imagine that it is the same stone with that which by the antients was called basaltes, and which was by them sometimes formed into images, as it is now by the idolaters of India.

The surface of the ridge is covered with large irregular masses, which, where they have been long exposed to the air in the natural process of decay, lose their angles first. When these masses have thus become rounded, they decay in concentric lamellæ; but where the rock itself is exposed to the air, it separates into plates of various thicknesses, nearly vertical, and running north and south In the sound stone, there is not the smallest appearance of a slaty texture, and it splits with wedges in all directions. The north end of the ridge is the lowest, and has on its surface the largest masses. It is there only that the natives have wrought it; they have always contented themselves with splitting detached blocks, and have never ventured on the solid rock, where much finer pieces might be procured than has ever yet been obtained. The baswa, or bull, at Turiva-Caray, is the finest piece that I have seen.

Immediately north from the village is a quarry of ballapum, or, pot-stone, which is used by the natives for making small vessels, and is so soft, that pencils are formed of it to write upon books, which are made of cloth blackened and stiffened with gum. Both the books, and the neatness of the writing, are very inferior to the similar ones of the people of Ava, who, in fact, are much farther advanced in the arts than the Hindus of this country. This pot-stone separates into large amorphous masses, each covered with a crust in a decaying state; and some of them are entirely penetrated with long slender needles of schorlaceous actynolite.

In the same place I found the calcareous tufa in a solid mass, and procured a specimen distinctly marked with the impression of a leaf.

Immediately parallel, and contiguous to the pot-stone, is a stratum of quartz in a state of decay; which separates into schistose plates, disposed vertically, and running north and south.

At Haduna Betta, or Kite-hill, a coss east from Belluru, masses of a harder pot-stone, called sila cullu, may be procured; and from thence probably Sholun Rāya conveyed it to build his temples at Arulu Gupay, and Turiva-Caray.

26th August.—In the morning I went three cosses to Belluru.

In this part of the country a good many sheep are bred: in the morning I met with three large folds of them.

To the eastward of Belluru is a range of barren rocky hills. One of them rises to a considerable height, and is called Haduna Culla Betta, or Kite-rock Hill, from its abound-

abounding with that kind of bird. So far as is known to the natives, theſe hills produce neither wood nor ore of any uſe.

Belluru is a large town, and both ſuburbs and citadel are ſtrongly fortified with a mud-wall and ditch. The walls of the citadel have been lately repaired; but thoſe of the ſuburb are in the ſame ruinous ſtate in which, on the approach of Purſeram Bhow, they were left by Tippoo's troops.

In all this part of the country it has been cuſtomary, when a new village was founded, for the perſon appointed to be hereditary Gauda, or chief, to place a large ſtone in or near the village. This ſtone is called the caruvu cullu, or calf-ſtone, and is conſidered as repreſenting the Gráma Dévaru, or god of the village. The hereditary Gauda always officiates as pújari, or prieſt, and at the annual village feaſt, after having rubbed it with oil, offers a ſacrifice, with which he feaſts his relations and the chief men of the place.

27th Auguſt.—I went three coſſes to Nágamangala. The country through which I came reſembles what I ſaw yeſterday, but the greater part of the heights, although barren, appear as if they had been formerly cultivated. At preſent very little of the country is under cultivation, and it looks very bare. Within ſight were many ruinous villages.

Nágamangala is a large ſquare mud fort, and contains in its center a ſquare citadel, which, like that of Chica Nayakana Hully, leaves room in the outer town for one ſtreet, with ſhort lanes on each ſide. In the inner fort are two large temples, and ſome other religious buildings, in good repair, and a mahal, or palace, a cutchery, or public office, and ſeveral large granaries in ruins. The town and all theſe public buildings were erected by a Prince named Jagadéva Ráya, who ſeems to have been of the ſame family with the Rájas of Myſore, for the two houſes had frequent intermarriages. According to tradition, Jagadéva Ráya, who founded this city, lived about 600 years ago. His dominions extended from Jagadéva-Pattana on the eaſt, to the frontiers of the Manzur-ábád Polygar and of the Ikeri Rája on the weſt They were bounded by Hagalawadi on the north, and included the Belluru diſtrict. On the ſouth they were bounded by the territories of the Rája of Myſore, and of the Vir'-Ráya, who poſſeſſes the country that we call Coorg, and who was then proprietor of Mahá-Ráyana-Durga. About three centuries ago, the ſucceſſor of Jagadéva Ráya, dying without children, was ſucceeded by his kinſman, the curtur of Myſore. This town was originally called P'hani-pura, or the city of ſnakes, but its name has been changed into Nagamangala, which ſignifies the bleſſed with ſerpents. Before the invaſion of Purſeram Bhow it contained 1500 houſes, which are now reduced to 200, that are ſcattered amid the ruins. At the ſame time the Marattahs deſtroyed 150,000 palm trees. In the whole diſtrict there are only about one half of the neceſſary cultivators, and they come in ſlowly, the Nizam's country being at too great a diſtance. Forty houſes only have been built ſince the place received cowl, or protection, from the Engliſh. It poſſeſſes three fine reſervoirs, but for the laſt four years ſo little rain has fallen, that very little of the rice-ground has been cultivated, and the proprietors have not been able to replant their palm-gardens.

I obſerved the people fiſhing in the ſmall quantity of water that is in the reſervoirs; and was told, that ſmall fiſhes are to be found in all the tanks of the country, although they frequently dry up, and have no communication with ſtreams from whence they might get a ſupply. The eggs, no doubt, remain dry in the mud, and are not hatched until they have been moiſtened by the return of the water.

The greater part of the inhabitants of Nágamangala are what are here called Tigularu, or Taycularu; that is to ſay, are deſcended from perſons who came from coun-

tries where the Tamul language is spoken. According to tradition, they left [illegible] about 700 years ago; but they can give no account as to the occasion of their ancestors deserting their native country. Most of them have lost their original language; but they never intermarry with the native Karnátas. Some of them can read the books in the Tamul language that belong to their cast.

Immediately west from Nágamangala is a hill, which consists chiefly of a talcose argillite, approaching very near to a slaty pot-stone; the natives indeed call it by the same name; and they use it for pencils as they do the other. Its structure is slaty, and it is disposed in strata much inclined to the horizon, and running north and south. Some of it is reddish, and some has a greenish hue. Intermixed with it are several large masses of white quartz. The rock at the town is granite.

28th August.—In the morning I went three cosses to Chinna. The country is more barren than any that I have seen for some time, and the heights rise into low rocky hills. Some parts of it are covered with low trees, especially with the elate sylvestris, or wild-date. Chinna is a poor ruinous place. It was formerly of some note; but about thirty years ago it was destroyed by the Marattah army, then attacking Hyder, and it has never since recovered.

29th August.—I went one coss to Mail-cotay, or the lofty fortress. The country is steep, and nearly uninhabited. There are, however, many places on the ascent that have a good soil, and that have formerly been cultivated. The other lands are covered with copse-wood.

Mail-cotay, in the Sanskrit language, is called by the uncouth name of Dakshina Bhadarikásramam. It is situated on a high rocky hill, and commands a noble view of the valley watered by the Cávéri, and of the hills of Mysore to the south; of those of the Ghats to the west; and toward the east, Savana-Durga and Siva-Gangá close the prospect. It is one of the most celebrated places of Hindu worship, both as having been honoured with the actual presence of an Avatára, or incarnation of Vishnu, who founded one of the temples; and also as being one of the principal seats of the Sri Vaishnavam Bráhmans, and having possessed very large revenues. About forty years ago it contained almost a thousand houses, inhabited by Bráhmans, who did not allow many of the Sùdras to remain in the place. A few shop-keepers and Satánanas composed the remainder of the inhabitants. Soon after this period the Marattahs gained a victory over Hyder, and encamped for some time on the south side of the hill. The Bráhmans here were too cunning to be caught, and the place, was entirely deserted; but even the temples of their gods did not escape Marattah rapacity. For the sake of the iron-work, and to get at it easily, they burned the immense wooden raths, or chariots, on which the idols are carried in procession; and the fire spread to the religious buildings, some of which were entirely consumed. A sufficient number, however, still remain. The three principal are, a temple placed on the very summit of the rock, and dedicated to Narasingha, one of the Avatáras of Vishnu; the great temple of Chillapulla Ráya; and a noble tank.

The large temple is a square building of great dimensions, and entirely surrounded by a colonnade, but it is a mean piece of architecture, at least outwardly. The columns are very rude, and only about six feet high. Above the entablature, in place of a balustrade, is a clumsy mass of brick and plaster, much higher than the columns, and excavated with numerous niches; in which are huddled together many thousand images composed of the same materials, and most rudely formed. Unwilling to give offence, I did not see any of the interior parts of it, although no remonstrance would have been made against my entering the inner courts; but I wished to get some infor-

mation

mation from the Bráhmans; and my not presuming to approach so holy a place evidently gave satisfaction. The present structure was built, or at least put into its present form, by Ráma Anuja Achárya; but, as I have before mentioned, the temple itself is alleged to be of wonderful antiquity, and to have been not only built by a god, but to be dedicated to Krishna on the very spot where that Avatára performed some of his great works. Although the image represents Krishna, it is commonly called Chillapulla Ráya, or the darling prince; for chillapulla is a term of endearment, which mothers give to their infants, somewhat like our word darling. The reason of such an uncommon appellation being given to a mighty warrior is said to be as follows: on Ráma Anuja's going to Mail-cotay, to perform his devotions at that celebrated shrine, he was informed that the place had been attacked by the Turc king of Dehli, who had carried away the idol. The Bráhman immediately set out for that capital; and on his arrival he found that the king had made a present of the image to his daughter; for it is said to be very handsome, and she asked for it as a plaything. All day the Princess played with the image; at night the god assumed his own beautiful form, and enjoyed her bed; for Krishna is addicted to such kinds of adventures. This had continued for some time when Ráma Anuja arrived, and called on the image, repeating at the same time some powerful mantrams; on which the idol immediately placed itself on the Bráhman's knee. Having clasped it in his arms, he called it his chillapulla, and they were both instantaneously conveyed to Mail-cotay. The princess, quite disconsolate for the loss of her image, mounted a horse, and followed as fast as she was able. She no sooner came near the idol than she disappeared, and is supposed to have been taken into its immediate substance; which, in this country, is a common way of the gods disposing of their favourites. A monument was built for the princess; but as she was a Turc, it would have been improper to place this building within the walls of the holy place; it has therefore been erected at the foot of the hill, under the most abrupt part of the rock.

The tank is a very fine one, and is surrounded by many buildings for the accommodation of religious persons, and for the intended recreation of the idols when they are carried in procession. Were these kept in good order, they would have a grand appearance, but the buildings are filthy and ruinous. The natives believe, that every year, at the time of the grand festival, the water of the Ganges is conveyed by subterraneous passages, and fills this tank; yet they candidly acknowledge, that not the smallest external mark of any change takes place. On this occasion it is customary to throw in bits of money. My attendant messenger, who is a Bráhman, says, that he was present when all the water was taken out by orders from the Sultan, who expected by this means to find a great treasure. All that was found, however, was a pot full of copper money.

The jewels belonging to the great temple are very valuable; and even the Sultan was afraid to seize them. They are never exposed to the risk of being carried away by any desperate ruffian, but are always kept in the treasury at Seringapatam; and during the time of the festival are sent to Mail-cotay, under a strong military guard. This property was respected by the British captors, and the jewels are sent to the place as formerly.

I expected here to be able to get some account of the Mysore family, who long had been generous benefactors to the Bráhmans of Mail-cotay; but in this I was entirely disappointed. I was told that they gave themselves no concern about worldly affairs; and that to them the history of the low casts was of no consequence. They seem not at all interested about their young Rája; and the family has been so long in obscurity, that it is no longer looked up to with awe; which among the natives in general is the only

only thing that supplies the place of loyalty. Their military men are the only class that seem to have a strong attachment to their princes; and they serve faithfully, so long as they are regularly paid, or gratified by a permission to plunder; but provided these pay them better, they are equally willing to serve a Mussulman or Christian leader, as a Hindu Prince. Terror is therefore the leading principle of every Indian government; and among the people, in place of loyalty and patriotism, the chief principles are, an abject devotion to their spiritual masters, and an obstinate adherence to custom, chiefly in matters of ceremony and cast.

The hill on which Mail-cotay stands consists of many different kinds of rock; but to most of them, the French term *Roche feuilletée* seems applicable. They are all aggregates, with their component parts disposed in a striated or foliated manner. They are of very great tenacity, being extremely difficult to break, especially across the fibre; they split somewhat more easily in its direction, but even in that strongly resist all external violence. These rocks are disposed in vertical strata, running north and south, and the fibres or laminæ are placed in the same direction. In small pieces this structure is often not easily discernible, but it is always very conspicuous in large masses, or when the rock begins to decay. The strata are intercepted by fissures crossing them at right angles, but never, so far as I observed, containing any extraneous fossil, such as quartz or felspar. In decay, this rock has a tendency to form long cylindrical masses, which, from their fibrous nature, have somewhat the appearance of petrified logs of timber. The most common of these strata are various kinds of gneiss, which may be cut here into pillars of any size, and afford admirable materials for fine buildings. Some of it is very small grained, and assumes the form which by some mineralogists is called regenerated granite. In some of the buildings here are columns of this kind, which are of an excellent quality, and cut remarkably well. The people could not tell from whence they had been brought. Many other strata consist of a granitel, composed of hornblend slate, quite black, and mixed with white quartz. When broken longitudinally, the quartz forms veins, when transversely, it forms spots. It might perhaps be called a hornblend porphyry. Here are also strata of schistose mica, one of which is decayed into a kind of earth called nama, and is a source of some profit to the place. It is supposed to have been created by Garuda, or the mythological eagle on which Krishna rides; and near this is used by all the Sri Vaishnavam Bráhmans, and their followers, to mark their foreheads. Some of it is, for this purpose, sent even to Káfi, or Benares. Some Vaishnavams work it by digging the whole substance out of the beds in which it lies, and throwing it into large vessels of water. It is well stirred about, and, while the mica swims, the fragments of quartz remain at the bottom, and are taken out by the hand. The mica is then allowed to subside, and forms into a mass, which is divided into small pieces, and afterwards made into balls by being moistened in water. These are sold for use, and are perfectly white.

31st August — In the morning my interpreter informed me, that last night, until a late hour, he had attended the council of Bráhmans at the temple. After a long deliberation, it was determined that they would give him a verse, or slókam, containing the era that I wanted to know, enigmatically expressed, as is usual in these verses. They also explained the enigma to him in the vulgar language, and gave him a copy of this, which he might show, but they enjoined him by no means to expose to profane eyes the slókam, a request that he treated with great contempt. It was also determined, that they would neither copy any part of the book, nor permit it to be seen, under pretence of its having been carried away by the Marattahs. What could induce them to adopt such an excuse, I cannot tell. Before a hundred people at my tent, and these the chief inhabitants of the place, a man venerated for his

his years, his learning, and his piety, declared himself possessed of the book, and received money to defray the expence of copying a part of it; and now he was not ashamed to declare, that thirty years ago he had been robbed of it. To do him justice, he offered to refund the money; but my interpreter refused it, having no orders to rescind the bargain. It had, indeed, been by his advice that I had made the advance. He alleged, that in his cast no promises of reward are looked upon as good for any thing; but that the immediate view of the money produces strong effects; and, after receiving the money, the faithful performance of what a Bráhman undertakes may very generally be expected.

I then went to Tonurú-Caray, by the Mussulmans called Muti Talau, or the pearl-tank, a name given to it by one of the Mogul officers who visited the place. From Mail-cotay it is distant three cosses.

The strata here are similar to those at Mail-cotay; but are so intersected by fissures as to be of no use for building.

On the rising ground, north from the reservoir, a severe battle was fought between the Marattahs and Hyder. The latter was completely defeated, and all his army destroyed, except one corps, with which he fled into Seringapatam, passing by the western end of the hills.

1st September. — I went three cosses to the northern bank of the Cavery, at Seringapatam. By the way, I examined the quarry of grey granite at Chica Mally Betta, which is the best in the neighbourhood. It is about six miles north from Seringapatam. The workmen have never cut upon the solid rock, but have contented themselves with splitting the lower blocks that cover the surface of the hill, and a stone 12 cubits long is reckoned a very large one. Longer ones, if wanted, might no doubt be obtained by cutting into the solid rock. This granite, in its appearance, has nothing either of a fibrous or foliated texture, but in fact its parts are so disposed, that the stone splits much easier in one direction than in any other. The workmen cannot judge of this by external appearance; but they try the block by chipping it in various parts, until they find out the direction in which the wedge will have its most powerful effects. In decay, the plates of which the rock consists are abundantly conspicuous. This stone is easier wrought than that of Mail-cotay, but, owing to the coarseness of its grain, cannot be cut into such fine figures.

Chica Mally Betta and the French rocks, as we call them, are two small rocky hills, which rise up in the middle of the country between Tonuru and the Cavery. In no other place, except the Kari-ghat hill, is the surface too steep for the plough. All the low ground has formerly been cultivated, though in many places the declivity of the fields is great. North from the canals a very small portion of the arable land is at present in cultivation, and even under the canals there is waste land, although these noble works are now full of water, and send forth copious streams to all the fields between them and the river. Owing to the steepness of the ground, many of the rice plots are not above six feet square, and the ingenuity and labour with which they have been formed almost equal those of the Chinese terraces.

1st — 4th September 1800. — I remained at Seringapatam repairing my equipage and making ready for the journey. The Cavery is now full, and contains a large rapid stream; but its water is by no means clear, and is reckoned unwholesome. The town is so low, that at this season many of the houses are damp and unhealthy; and the air of the eastern end of the island is still more prejudicial to the human constitution.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII. — *Journey through the part of Karnata south from the Cavery.*

ON the 5th of September, I went one cofs to Pal-hully. Owing to fome miftake, my baggage miffed the way; and, after having wandered the whole day, arrived in the evening with the cattle fo fatigued, that on the day following it was impoffible to move.

6th September. — Pal-hully formerly contained a thoufand houfes; but during the fiege of Seringapatam, as it was in the immediate rear of the camp of General Harris, it was entirely deftroyed. A hundred houfes have been rebuilt, and the inhabitants are daily returning.

7th September. — I went three coffes to Gunjural-Chatur, which is fituated in the Maháfura Nagara Taluc, or diftrict of the city of Myfore, and diftant three coffes from that place. The country is uneven, but contains no hills. Its ftrata confift of gneifs, fchiftofe hornblende, and fchiftofe mica, and run nearly north and fouth.

8th September. — I went three Sultany coffes to Muluro. At the diftance of one cofs from Gunjural-Chatur I came to Sicary pura, which by the Muffulmans was called Huffeinpoor. It had been given in jaghir to Meer Saduc, the favourite minifter of Tippoo Sultan; and, although an open town, it has been a neat place with wide ftreets, which croffed each other at right angles. More than half of the houfes are now in ruins. On the approach of one of our foraging parties, it was entirely deftroyed by Purnea and Cummer ud' Deen Khan, and a few only of the houfes have been rebuilt.

At a fhort diftance weft from Sicany-pura is a fine little river called the Lakfhamana tirta, which comes from the fouth-weft, and rifes among the hills of the country which we call Coorg. At all times it contains a ftream of water, and in the rainy feafon is not fordable. It fupplies fix canals to water the country. The anas, or dams, that force the water into thefe canals, are fine works, and produce beautiful cafcades.

Water for drinking is here very fcarce and very bad, yet the people have never attempted to dig wells.

9th September. — I went to Emmaguma Cotágala.

10th September. — I went three coffes to Priya-pattana, which in our maps is called Periapatam.

The following is the account of the climate which was given me by the moft intelligent natives of the place. The year is, as ufual, divided into fix feafons: I. Vafanta Ritu comprehends the two months following the vernal equinox. During this the air is in general very hot, with clear fun-fhine, and ftrong winds from the eaftward. No dew. Once in ten or twelve days fqualls come from the eaft, accompanied by thunder, and heavy fhowers of rain or hail, and laft three or four hours. II. Grifhma Ritu contains the two months including the fummer folftice. The air is very hot, and there is no dew. The winds are wefterly; during the firft month weak, but after the folftice ftrong. It is faid, that formerly, during this period, the weather ufed to be conftantly clouded, with a regular, unintermitting, drizzling rain; but for the laft half century fuch feafons have occurred only once in four or five years; and in the intervening ones, although the cloudy weather continues, the conftant rain has ceafed, and in its place heavy fhowers have come at intervals of three or four days, and thefe are preceded by fome thunder. III. Varfha Ritu includes the two months preceding the autumnal equinox. The air is cool. The winds are light and come from the weft-ward.

ward. Formerly the rains used to be inceffant and heavy; but of late they have not been fo copious oftener than about once in four or five years: ftill, however, they are almoft always fufficient to produce a good crop of grafs and dry grains, and one crop of rice. Priya-pattana has therefore been juftly named the chofen city by the natives of Karnáta, who frequently fuffer from a fcarcity of rain. At this feafon there is very little thunder. IV. Sarat Ritu contains the two months following the autumnal equinox. In this the air is colder, and in general clear, but once in three or four days there are heavy fhowers from the north-eaft, accompanied by thunder, but not with much wind. In the intervals the winds are gentle, and come from the weftward. Moderate dews now begin. V. Hémanta Ritu includes the two months immediately before and after the winter folftice. The air is then very cold to the feelings of the natives. They have never feen fnow nor ice, even on the fummits of the hills; but to thefe they very feldom afcend. Bettada-pura I conjecture to be about 1800 or 2000 feet perpendicular above the level of the country, which is probably 4000 feet above the fea. It is a detached peak, and is reckoned higher than either Siddhéfwara, or Saihia Paravata, from whence the Cavery fprings. Thefe two are the moft confpicuous mountains of the Coorg country, and are furrounded by lower hills. At this feafon there are heavy dews and fogs; fo that until ten o'clock the fun is feldom vifible. There is very little wind, but the little that there is comes from the weft. This is reckoned the moft unhealthy feafon, and during its continuance intermittent fevers are very frequent. VI. Sayfhu Ritu includes the two months immediately preceding the vernal equinox. The dews decreafe gradually in the firft, and difappear in the fecond month. There is no rain, and the atmofphere is clear, with remarkably fine moonfhine nights. The air is cool and pleafant. The winds are from the eaftward, and moderate. Except in Hémanta Ritu, fevers are very rare. In the Coorg country the air is hot and moift, and by the natives of this place is reckoned very unhealthy.

Sandal-wood grows in the fkirts of the foreft. The people of Coorg were in the habit of ftealing a great part of it; but fince the country received the Company's protection they have defifted from this infolence. It is often planted in gardens and hedges, and, from the richnefs of the foil, grows there to a large fize; but in fuch places the timber has little fmell, and is of no value. It is a daray, or ftony foil only, that produces fine fandal. It may be felled at any feafon; and once in twelve years, whatever has grown to a proper fize is generally cut. On thefe occafions, this diftrict produces about 10,000 maunds, or above 2000 hundred-weight. The whole was lately fold to the agents of the Bombay government, and a relation of Purnea's was employed to deliver it. Much to the credit of the Dewan, this perfon was put in confinement, having been detected in felling to private traders fome of what he cut, and alfo in having fold great quantities that were found buried. During the Sultan's government a great deal of it arrived at maturity, which he would not fell. In general, this was privately cut, and concealed under ground, till an opportunity offered of fmuggling it into the Vir' Ráya's dominions. The amildars have now received orders to cut all the fandal-wood in their refpective diftricts, and to deliver it to the Bombay agents. They know nothing of the conditions of fale. At prefent, no fandal oil is made at Priya-pattana.

The woods are infefted by wild elephants, which do much injury to the crops. They are particularly deftructive to the fugar-cane and palm-gardens; for thefe monftrous creatures break down the betel-nut tree to get at its cabbage. The natives have not the art of catching the elephant in kyddas, or folds, as is done in Bengal; but

but take them in pit-falls by which a few only can be procured, and these are frequently injured by the fall.

The strata of rocks in this neighbourhood are much concealed; but from what I have seen of them, I am persuaded that their direction is different from that of the strata toward the north-east. They run about west-north-west and east-south-east, a point or two more or less I cannot determine, as my compass was stolen at Bangalore, nor could I repair my loss at Seringapatam. The most common rock here is hornblende. In the buildings of the place there are two excellent stones: one is what the Germans call regenerated granite, the other is a granite, with grey quartz and reddish felspar disposed in flakes, or alternate plates, but in such an irregular manner, that it does not appear to me that they could be so arranged by any deposition from water, however agitated.

14th September.—In the morning I went three cosses to Hanagodu, the chief place of a division, called a hobli, dependent on Priya-pattana. It has a mud fort, but the suburb is open, and contains about fifty houses. The country is naturally very fine; little of it is cultivated however, and it is infested with tigers and elephants that are very destructive. Hanagodu is one coss and a half distant from the southern frontier of Priya-pattana, and at a similar distance from the present boundary of Coorg. The Vir' Ráya is said to have made a ditch and hedge along the whole extent of the old eastern boundary of his dominions, which runs within three cosses of Hanagodu. One-half of this distance, next to his hedge, was reckoned a common or neutral territory, but the Raja lately claimed it as his own, and, the Bombay government having interfered, Tippoo was compelled to acknowledge the justice of the claim. The whole country between Hanagodu and the frontier of Coorg has for sixty years been waste.

The Lakshmana river passes within a quarter of a mile to the eastward of Hanagodu, and at present contains much water. At all seasons it has a considerable stream, and at this place is the uppermost of its dams. Advantage has been taken of a natural ledge of rocks which cross the channel, and stones have been thrown in to fill up deficiencies. The whole now forms a fine dam, over which rushes a cascade about a hundred yards long, and fourteen feet high, which in a verdant and finely wooded country, looks remarkably well. This dam sends off its canal to the eastward, and waters the ground that requires for seed 100,000 seers of rice. If this be sown as thick as at Priya-pattana, the ground irrigated will amount to 2678 acres. On the ground above the canal, as the declivity in many places is very gentle, much might be done with the machine called capily, but the use of that valuable instrument is here not known. It is probable, that on this river several additional dams might be formed. Here it is said, that of the seven, which have been built, three are now out of repair.

The Gungricara Woculigas are in this neighbourhood the most common race of cultivators, and are a Súdra tribe of Karnáta descent. Some of them wear the linga, others do not. It is from these last that I take the following account. The two sects neither eat together nor intermarry. They act as labourers of the earth, and as porters. The head of every family is here called Gauda; and an assembly of these settles all small disputes, and punishes transgressions against the rules of cast. Affairs of moment are always referred to the officers of government. The business of the cast, as usual, is punishing the frailty of the women, and the intemperance of the men. If the adulterer be a Gungricara, or of a higher cast, both he and the husband are fined by the officers of government, from three to twelve fanams, or from two to eight

eight shillings, according to their circumstances. The husband may avoid this fine by turning away his wife, in which case she becomes a concubine of the kind called Cutiga; but this is a length to which the husband seldom chooses to proceed; the difficulty of procuring another wife being considered as a more urgent motive than the desire of revenge. If, however, the adulterer has been of a low cast, the woman is, without fail, divorced, and delivered over to the officers of government, who sell her to any low man that will purchase her for a wife. In this cast there are two kinds of Cutigas: the first are such women as have committed adultery, and their descendants, with whom no person of a pure extraction will intermarry, the others are widows, who, having assembled their relations, obtain their consent to become lawful Cutigas to some respectable man. The children of these are legitimate, although the widows themselves are considered as inferior to virgin wives. A man never marries a woman who is of the same family in the male line with himself. The men are allowed a plurality of women, and the girls continue to be marriageable even after the age of puberty. None of them can lawfully drink spirituous liquors. Some of them eat meat, but others abstain from this indulgence. These two do not intermarry, and this division is hereditary. Some of them can keep accompts, and even read legends written in the vulgar tongue. Some worship Siva without wearing the linga; and some worship Vishnu; but this produces no division in cast. They do not offer bloody sacrifices to the Saktis, but pray to the images of the Baswa, or bull of Iswara, of Marima, and of the caricul, or village god. They do not believe in the spirits called Virika, but indeed that worship does not seem to extend to the south of the Cavery. They do not take the vow of Dáséri. They bury the dead, and believe that in a future state good men will sit at the feet of God. Even a bad man may obtain this happiness, if at his funeral his son bestow charity on the Dáseris. An unfortunate wicked man, who has no son to bestow charity, becomes as mud. By this, I suppose, they mean that his soul altogether perishes. Their Guru is an hereditary chief of the Sri Vaishnavam Bráhmans, and lives at Mail-cotay. He gives them chakrántikam, holy water, and consecrated rice, and from each person accepts of a fanam a year, as dharma The panchanga, or village astrologer, acts as puróhita at marriages, at the building of a new house, and sometimes at the annual ceremony performed in commemoration of their deceased parents. On these occasions, he reads mantrams, which the Gungricara do not understand, and of course value greatly. He is paid for his trouble.

15th September.—I set out very early with an intention of going to Hegodu Devana Cotay, where, as I had been informed, I should have an excellent opportunity of examining the forests that invest the western frontiers of the Mysore dominions. I was two hours employed in getting my baggage ferried over the Lakshmana, for there was only one leather boat, about six feet in diameter.

16th, 17th, and 18th September.—I remained at Hejuru, endeavouring to procure an account of the forests, in which I met with much less success than might reasonably have been expected. I went into them about three cosses, to a small tank, farther than which the natives rarely venture, and to which they do not go without being much alarmed on account of wild elephants. In this forest these animals are certainly more numerous than either in Chittagong or Pegu. I have never seen any where so many traces of them. The natives, when they meet an elephant in the day-time, hide themselves in the grass, or behind bushes, and the animal does not search after them; but were he to see them, even at a distance, he would run at them, and put them to death. It is stragglers only from the herds, that in the day-time frequent the

the outer parts of the forest. The herds that at night destroy the crops, retire with the dawn of day into the recesses of the forest; and thither the natives do not venture, as they could not hide themselves from a number. It is said, that at the above-mentioned tank there was formerly a village; but that both it and several others on the skirt of the forest have been lately withdrawn, owing to an increased number of elephants; and to the smaller means of resistance which the decrease of population allows.

The Cad' Curubaru are a rude tribe of Karnâta, who are exceedingly poor and wretched. In the fields near villages they build miserable low huts, have a few rags only for covering, and the hair of both sexes stands out matted like a mop, and swarms with vermin. Their persons and features are weak and unseemly, and their complexion is very dark. Some of them hire themselves as labouring servants to the farmers, and, like those of other casts, receive monthly wages. Others, in crop season, watch the fields at night, to keep off the elephants and wild hogs. These receive, monthly, one fanam and ten seers, or $1\frac{38}{100}$ peck of ragy. In the intervals between crops, they work as day-labourers, or go into the woods, and collect the roots of wild yams (dioscoreas); part of which they eat, and part exchange with the farmers for grain. Their manner of driving away the elephant is by running against him with a burning torch made of bamboos. The animal sometimes turns, and waits till the Curubaru comes close up; but these poor people, taught by experience, push boldly on, and dash their torches against the elephant's head, who never fails to take immediate flight. Should their courage fail, and should they attempt to run away, the elephant would immediately pursue, and put them to death. The Curubaru have no means of killing so large an animal, and, on meeting with one in the day-time, are as much alarmed as any other of the inhabitants. During the Sultan's reign they caught a few in pit-falls. The wild hogs are driven out of the fields by slings; but they are too fierce and strong for the Curubaru to kill. These poor people frequently suffer from tigers, against which their wretched huts are a poor defence; and, when this wild beast is urged by hunger, he is regardless of their burning torches. These Curubaru have dogs, with which they catch deer, antelopes, and hares; and they have the art of taking in snares peacocks, and other esculent birds. They have no hereditary chiefs, but assemble occasionally to settle the business of their cast. They confine their marriages to their own tribe. The Gauda, or chief man of the village, presides at this ceremony, which consists of a feast. During this the bridegroom espouses his mistress, by tying a string of beads round her neck. The men are allowed to take several wives, and both girls after the age of puberty, and widows, are permitted to marry. In case of adultery, the husband flogs his wife severely, and, if he be able, beats her paramour. If he be not able, he applies to the Gauda, who does it for him. The adulteress has then her choice of following either of the men as her husband. They can eat every thing, except beef; and have no objection to the animal having died a natural death. They will eat victuals dressed by any of the farmers, but would not touch any of my provisions. They do not drink spirituous liquors. None of them take the vow of Dáséri; nor attempt to read. Some of them burn, and others bury the dead. They believe that good men, after death, will become benevolent Dévas, and bad men destructive Dévas. A good man, according to them, is he who labours properly at his business, and who is kind to his family. The whole are of such known honesty, that on all occasions they are entrusted with provisions by the farmers; who are persuaded, that the Curubaru would rather starve than take one grain of what was given to them in charge. They have no Guru, nor does the panchánga, or any

 other

other kind of prieft, attend any of their ceremonies. The fpirits of the dead are believed to appear in dreams to their old people, and to direct them to make offerings of fruits to a female deity, named Bettada Chicama, that is, the little mother of the hill. Unlefs thefe offerings are made, this goddefs occafions ficknefs; but fhe is never fuppofed to do her votaries any good. She is not, however, appeafed by bloody facrifices. There is a temple dedicated to her near Nunjinagodu; but there is no occafion for the offering being made at that place.

There is alfo in this neighbourhood another rude tribe of Curubaru, called Betta, or Malaya, both words fignifying mountain; the one in the Karnáta, and the other in the Tamul language. Their dialect is a mixture of thefe two languages, with a few words that are confidered as peculiar, probably from their having become obfolete among their more refined neighbours. They are not fo wretched nor ill-looking as the Cad' Curubaru, but are of diminutive ftature. They live in poor huts near the villages, and the chief employment of the men is the cutting of timber, and making of bafkets. With a fharp ftick they alfo dig up fpots of ground in the fkirts of the foreft, and fow them with ragy. A family in this manner will fow nine feers of that grain. The men watch at night the fields of the farmers; but are not fo dexterous at this as the Cad' Curubaru are. They neither take game, nor collect wild yams. The women hire themfelves to labour for the farmers. The Betta Curubaru have an hereditary chief called Ijyamána, who lives at Priya-pattana. With the affiftance of a council of three or four perfons, he fettles difputes, and punifhes all tranfgreffions againft the rules of caft. He can levy fmall fines, and can expel from the caft any woman that cohabits with a ftrange man. In this tribe, the concubines, or Cutigas, are women that prefer another man to their hufband, or widows who do not wifh to relinquifh carnal enjoyment. Their children are not confidered as illegitimate. If a man takes away another perfon's wife, to keep her as a Cutiga, he muft pay one or two fanams as a fine to the Ijyamána. Girls are not confidered as marriageable until after the age of puberty; a cuftom that by the higher orders is confidered as a beaftly depravity. The men may take feveral wives, but never marry a woman of the fame family with themfelves in the male line. The Betta Curubaru never intoxicate themfelves, but are permitted to eat every kind of animal food, except beef, and they have no objection to carrion. They never take the vow of Dáféri, and none of them can read. Some of them burn and others bury the dead. They underftand nothing of a future ftate. The god of the caft is Ejuruppa, who feems to be the fame with Hanumanta, the fervant of Ráma; but they never pray to this laft-mentioned deity, although they fometimes addrefs Siva. To the god of their caft they offer fruit, and a little money: they never facrifice to the Saktis. Their Guru, they fay, is of the caft Wotimeru, and from their defcription would appear to be of thofe people called Satánanas. He gives them holy water, and confecrated victuals, and receives their charity. At their marriages, he reads fomewhat in a language which they do not underftand.

19th September.—I went four coffes to Hegodu Dévana Cotay; that is, the fortrefs of the mighty Déva.

20th September.—I went three coffes to Humpa-pura. The country has formerly been almoft entirely cultivated; but at prefent about three-fourths of it are wafte.

Humpa-pura is a miferable open village. A little eaft from it is erected a ftone, containing fome fmall figures in bas-relief, which are much defaced. Concerning this the tradition is as follows: Canterua, Ráya of Myfore, having invaded Coorg with a large

large army, was entirely defeated, and pursued this length by the Vir' Ráya. In the fight there perished three hundred and sixty of the Mysore nobles, each of whom had the privilege of using a palanquin. The conqueror having bestowed great dharma, that is to say, having thrown away much money on religious mendicants, erected this stone as a monument of his victory, and to mark the new boundary of his dominions. It was but for a short time, however, that he retained these acquisitions.

Yesterday afternoon I was very unwell; and another day's stay in the woods would probably have given me a serious indisposition.

21st September.—I remained at Humpa-pura, to obtain an account of the iron mines in that neighbourhood.

The strata at Humpa-pura are vertical, and run nearly north and south. Many of them consist of pot-stone of a bad quality. These are of various breadths.

South from Humpa-pura is a cluster of high hills, named Chica Deva Betta, or, the hill of the little spirit. It is sacred to Chicama, the deity of the Cad' Curubaru, lately mentioned. Over the elephant she has peculiar authority; before a hunt of that animal is undertaken, she is propitiated by a sacrifice.

On the north side of Chica Deva Betta are three low hills, which produce iron ore. Mota Betta is situated about three miles E. S. E. from Humpa-pura, immediately below the junction of the river Nuga with the Kapini, and to the right of both. Culla Betta is the most considerable mine, and is situated between the two rivers, being distant from Mota Betta one coss and a half. West from thence about half a coss, is Hutena Betta, which is on the left of the Kapini. I could only examine Mota Betta, without occasioning a delay of several days in my journey; which I did not think adviseable, as I was told that the ore in all the three places is nearly the same; and this is confirmed by the hills lying nearly in the direction of the strata at Mota Betta.

Mota Betta is a hill of no considerable height, about a mile in length, and extending from north to south. It is wrought at the south end only; but no trial has been made to ascertain how far the mine extends. The strata that are in view run from about north-west to south-east, or rather more toward the east and west; but I judge merely from the sun. They point directly toward the high peak called Bettada-pura; while those on the opposite side of the Kapini run nearly north and south. The strata dip toward the north at an angle of about 30 degrees. They consist of schistose plates; and, owing to their being penetrated by fissures at right angles to the strata, they break with a smooth surface into angular fragments. The internal structure of the plates is foliated, and these leaves, being of different appearances, and sometimes straight, sometimes undulated, would seem to show that they have been deposited from water at different times. The strata are from one to three feet in thickness, and consist of granular quartz, more or less impregnated with iron ore, which is of the same nature with the common iron-sand of the country. In most of the strata the quartz predominates; and by the natives these are considered as useless. In others, although having nearly the same external appearance, the iron is more abundant, and these are the ore. From these last, ochres of various colours exude, by which they are readily distinguished from the barren strata. In the rainy season, the workmen content themselves with collecting the fragments of ore which the water brings down from the hill. These are like the black sand, but larger and more angular. From the earth, with which they are mixed, they are separated by being washed in long wooden troughs, made of hollow trees. In the dry season the workmen are forced to have recourse to the strata; but never penetrate deeper than the surface. Before they begin to work upon any spot, they

cover it with a coat of earth for a year; which seems to accelerate the decay, and to render the ore brittle. After it has been dug up with pick-axes, the ore is broken into small pieces, and the iron is separated from the stony matter by washing.

In the fork, between the Nuga and Kapini rivers, is a stratum of a similar disposition to those of the mine. It consists of very shining black foliated hornblende, or perhaps basaltine, dotted with white felspar.

The pillars of a temple of Bhairawa Dévaru, at the same place, are of very fine gneiss, like some of the best at Mail-cotay. The priest could not inform me from whence they had been brought.

Bhairawa Dévaru is the god of the Curubas, and is a malevolent male spirit. His temple is built exactly like the smaller temples of the gods of the Bráhmans, and without spires or high ornaments. Its roof, like those of the temples of Iswara (also a destructive spirit) is ornamented with images of the bull. The pujári, or priest, is a Hal Curubaru, who can neither read nor write.

The Kapini river, at Humpa-pura, is about sixty yards wide, and at all seasons contains running water. Its channel is sandy, and considerably below the level of the country; which circumstances have prevented the natives from making dams. It takes its rise from a hill named Banasura, in the Bynadu. At this season the river is no where fordable. I crossed it on bamboo floats, which with ease transport horses and palanquins, and which are a much better conveyance than the baskets, covered with leather, that are the usual ferry-boats in all parts of the peninsula.

The Nuga river is smaller and more rapid and rocky than the Kapini. It also rises in the Bynadu. Formerly there were two dams on it; but the fields which they watered have for twenty years been deserted. By the disturbances in the country the number of the people had then been so much diminished, that they were no longer able to resist the encroachments of the elephants. This year the amildar of Hegodu Dévana Cotay has sent a party of armed men to protect the place, and some farmers have returned to their former abodes. The country watered by these rivers coming from the western Ghats, is naturally by far the finest in Mysore, and would equal in beauty any in the world, were it decently cultivated; but ruin and misery every where stare the traveller in the face.

I have no where met with the people so ignorant, and such gross liars as in this vicinity. Except the accomptant, a Bráhman, I did not converse with one man who did not prevaricate; and very few of them would give an answer to the most simple question, while most of them pretended ignorance on all occasions and subjects. The accomptant's answers were rational, and never contradictory; and it was owing to him that I was able to procure any account of the iron manufacture. During my stay at Humpa-pura I could procure none that was in the least satisfactory; but, ashamed of his countrymen, he persuaded two of the workmen to follow me to the next stage, and to give me the account that I have inserted.

22d September.—In the morning I went three cosses to Maru-Hully.

By the way I turned out of the road; and in order to examine a quarry of the stone called sila, or pratimá cullu, I went in among the hills on my left to a small village, named Arsina Caray. The first name in the Sanskrit language means stone; the latter appellation means image-stone, as it is used for making idols. The quarry is in a hollow, which is surrounded by low hills that are sacred to Chicama. Many stones have formerly been dug, and have left a considerable cavity; but as the quarry has not lately been wrought, much rubbish has fallen in, and entirely hides the disposition of the strata. The whole of the strata that I observed between Maru-Hully and Humpa-pura on both sides

[illegible] of the quarry, run nearly north and south, and are much inclined to the plane of the horizon. These strata consist of a bad kind of the pratima cullu, which crumbles into irregular masses, and is disposed alternately with those of schistose mica, intermixed with parallel layers of pot-stone. All these strata are in a state of decay. I have little doubt, but that the quarry itself is disposed in a stratum parallel to the others; but thicker, more compact, and less decayed. Lying round the quarry were many half-formed images. The largest that I saw was about eight feet long, three broad, and one and a half thick; but by digging deeper, larger masses might probably be procured. It is an indurated pot-stone, or rather a pot-stone intimately united with hornblende, and is capable of a fine polish. It approaches very near to the hornblende of Hyder's monument, but is softer.

Near Maru-Hully also, there is a quarry of sila, or image-stone. The mass of rock is larger than that of Arsina-Caray, and has lately been wrought for the buildings that are now erecting at Mysore. Although it has been laid bare to a considerable extent, nothing stratified can be observed. The stone seems to be of a middle nature, between that of Hyder's monument and the sila of Arsina-Caray, and to contain less hornblende than the former, but more than the latter. Large blocks may be procured, and perhaps of the whole it is the finest stone.

23d September.—In the morning I set out for Nunjinagodu, distant three cosses; and I intended, by the way, to visit a place from whence pot-stone is dug. After having gone half way, I discovered that the guide had deserted me; and, in order to procure another, I was forced to go back again to Maru-Hully. I found the quarry not a mile from that place; and was informed, that the stone-cutter who works it lives there, although I had in vain solicited the officer of government to procure me a workman of that kind to break some specimens of the image-stone. It must be observed, that I find more difficulty in acquiring a knowledge of the quarries and forests, than of any other subject of my inquiries. On the revenue of the country the natives are more communicative than I desire; and even in their accounts of the produce of the fields, the cultivators of the land adhere more to the truth than all ranks do, in answering queries relative to quarries and forests. It is evidently suspected, that my object in asking such questions is to find out materials for public works; and the natives are terrified at the thought of being again harassed with the Corvées, to which in the reign of the Sultan they were cruelly subjected.

The pot-stone of Maru-Hully is used for making pots, dishes, and pencils. It differs from the image-stone only in containing more earth of magnesia; for it has hornblende as one of its component parts. It is readily scratched by the nail; but retains an excessive toughness, so that before it will break into fragments under the hammer, it is reduced to powder. Like those of the kindred stones that have been already described, its masses are irregularly angular. The surrounding strata are vertical, and run north and south.

At some distance from this I crossed the Kapini by a bridge, which is here looked upon as a prodigy of grandeur; in Europe it would be considered as a disgrace to the architect of the meanest town. The arches are about five feet span; the piers are of nearly an equal thickness, and do not present an angle to the stream. The sides of the arches have scarcely any curvature, but are composed of two planes, meeting at an acute angle. The parapet is rude, and the whole is composed of an irregular mixture of brick and stone. The pavement consists of rough and irregular flags, which form a very bad road. The bridge is, however, both long and wide, and is a great convenience for foot passengers, or merchants conveying their goods on oxen.

26th Sep-

26th September. — Having yesterday had a severe paroxysm, and being desirous of getting near assistance should my disorder have increased, I altered my intention of proceeding to Satteagala by Coulanda, Arcotar, Hardena-hully, Homa, and Ellanduru, and returned to Mysore, which is four cosses distant from Nunjinagodu. At Mysore I met with some friends who informed me that Seringapatam was then dreadfully unhealthy; and Mysore being in a fine dry situation, I determined to remain there till my fever could be stopped.

The country through which I passed has formerly been mostly cultivated; but at present a very large proportion of the fields is waste. Were it in a good condition, it would be very beautiful. Several of the tanks are out of repair: near Mysore are two remarkably fine.

Except at Mysore and Seringapatam, I have in every part of the country experienced a difficulty in procuring forage. I have reason to think that this proceeds from the universal and long continued usage, of every person who belongs to the government taking without payment whatever forage he wants. At Seringapatam, and even here, the women of our Madras servants have been of great use. The officers of government are afraid to meddle with them, and they are very diligent, and bring in large supplies of grass.

27th, 28th, and 29th September. — While confined here, I sent for the stone cutters, who with the utmost obstinacy, would give me no information whatever on the subject of the quarries. In the buildings here, the three most common stones are, a gray granite with large spots of black mica; a reddish granite; and a fine grained yellowish gneiss, like that of Mail-cotay. They are all probably from the hill that overlooks the town, and many of the blocks are of large dimensions. While I was at Seringapatam I had seen specimens of them all.

30th September. — Having escaped two periods without any return of the fever, I went two Sultany cosses to Waracadu. The country has formerly been nearly all cultivated, and more than a half is now occupied.

1st October. — I went two cosses to Taiuru. Part of the road passes among low hills covered with bushes, and abounding with antelopes. The soil of these hills is in general poor, and full of small stones; but they are not occupied by naked rocks, like those on the north side of the Cavery.

2d October. — I went five Sultany cosses to Malingy. From Taiuru to Narasingha-pura is three cosses. Near both places the country is very beautiful, and well cultivated.

The mountainous tract which forms the western Ghats is visible from Malingy, and rises very high above the country to the westward.

There are two Malingys: this, called Tady, and another, which is called Hossa, and is situated in the Company's territory. Tady Malingy is a small open village; but before the Marattah invasion it had a fort, and was a considerable place. The last war has occasioned several ruins. Concerning its governors before it became subject to the Rájas of Mysore, no tradition is current. It forms a part of the Talacadu district, the chief town of which is situated on the north bank of the river, and contains about two hundred houses, and a celebrated temple dedicated to Iswara. Between it and the present channel of the river were formerly situated a large fort, and a great number of temples, which for many years have been overwhelmed by sand-hills. The bank at Malingy is steep, and the principal stream of the river comes near it; yet these sand-hills appear to be higher; and, to the traveller, coming all the way from Narasingha-pura, they make a very conspicuous,

tuous figure. They are said to be yearly increasing in height; and no part of the former city is now to be seen, except the tops of some of the temples, and cavaliers. This is a curious phenomenon: but circumstances would not permit me to investigate the particulars on the spot. The natives attribute it to the prayers of a woman, who was drowned while she was crossing the river to visit the place, and who, while dying, wished that it might be overwhelmed by sand. One temple only has escaped; the legend concerning which is extremely absurd. A mendicant came one day to Talacadu, intent on making an offering to Mahádéva, or Iswara. The temples dedicated to that idol were, however, so numerous, that he was much at a loss how to procure an offering for each, so as to avoid giving offence to any idol that might be omitted. With his whole means, which were very slender, the holy man purchased a bag of pease, and offered one at each temple, but all his pease were expended, and one idol still remained, to which no offering had been made. Of course it was highly offended at the preference given to the others by a person of his holiness, and, to avoid their insolent boasting, it transported itself across the river, where it now stands at Malingy, while its former companions are buried in sand. Near it is a sila sásana, or inscription engraved on stone; but unfortunately it is not legible, as it might probably have thrown some light on the history of Talacadu.

The Cavery here is at present a fine large and deep river, flowing with a gentle stream about a quarter of a mile in width. In the hot season it is fordable; but after heavy rains it rises above its present level ten or twelve feet perpendicular, and then its channel is completely filled. Once in nine or ten years it rises higher, and occasionally sweeps away a hut; but its floods are never very destructive.

The only ferry-boats on this large river are what are called donies, or baskets of a circular form, eight or ten feet in diameter, and covered with leather. They transport with tolerable safety men and goods; but cattle must swim, which is both a fatiguing and a dangerous enterprize. Bamboo floats, provided with a hawser, so as to form flying bridges, would make an excellent and cheap conveyance. From the north side of the Cavery a fine canal is taken by means of a dam, and waters much land near Talacadu.

3d October.—I went to Satteagala, distant from Malingy four Sultany cosses; but, owing to the deepness of the roads, I was obliged to take a circuitous route, a circumstance that never happened to me in any other place above the Ghats. A small village named Caleuru, is the last in the present dominions of Mysore. Mulur, the first place in the Company's territory, is one coss and a half from Malingy, and is a prettly large open village.

From Mulur I went one coss to Coleagala, an open town which contains above 600 houses. It is the residence of a tahsildar, or chief of a taluc, or district, for the officers in the Company's territory differ from those in Mysore. It has two large temples, and is a considerable mart for the traders between Seringapatam and the country below the Ghats, and near the Cavery. Coleagala signifies the plundered town; which appellation was bestowed on it after it had been pillaged while under the dominion of Ganga Rája, to whom it formerly belonged.

From Coleagala to Satteagala the distance is two cosses and a half. The country through which I passed to-day is in general very fine, and much better cultivated than that between Narasingha-pura and Malingy.

4th October.—I went to visit the island of Sivana Samudra, or the sea of Siva, and its noble cataracts. From Satteagala, the upper end of the island is one Sultany coss;

and

and its whole length is ſaid to be three coſſes, or probably nine miles; but in width it is no where above a mile. The iſland at its upper end is not much raiſed above the level of the river, but, as its lower end does not ſink, while the river falls very rapidly, toward its eaſtern end it appears to be very high. Owing to the rapidity of the river, and to deep cavities between the rocks and ſtones of its channels, even in the hot ſeaſon, there is only one ford that leads to the iſland, and that is a very bad one in the ſouthern branch. The iſland is therefore by nature very ſtrong.

The northern branch of the river is the moſt conſiderable, and ſoon divides into two channels, which form a ſmaller iſland, named Nellaganatitu. The channel of this branch next the northern continent is the ſmalleſt, and is nearly level until it comes oppoſite to Gangana Chuki, a place on the large iſland about three miles from its upper end. There it precipitates its water over a perpendicular rock, I ſuppoſe nearly two hundred feet high. The ſtream is very conſiderable; but is divided by a ſmall iſland into two great branches, and by large rocks into four or five portions, which before they reach the bottom are quite broken into foam. The water which runs between the two iſlands is the moſt conſiderable portion of the northern branch of the river. It runs with vaſt rapidity over and among immenſe rocks, until it comes to Gangana Chuki, where it ruſhes down into the abyſs, which a little way below receives alſo the other portion. There it is hidden from human view in a cloud of vapour, which is formed by its violence, and which is at times viſible even from Satteagala. From this circumſtance I could not aſcertain how far this fall is entirely perpendicular. If it be quite ſo, the whole height will be about a hundred feet, but at times I thought I could ſee obſcurely through the cloud a projection of the rock, which divided the fall into two ſtages. I have never ſeen any cataract that for grandeur could be compared with this, but I ſhall not attempt to deſcribe its broken woody banks, its cloud of vapour, its rainbow, its thundering noiſe, nor the immenſe ſlippery rocks from whence the dizzy traveller views the awful whirlings of its tumultuous abyſs. All theſe, except in magnitude and ſublimity, exactly reſemble thoſe of the other water-falls that I have ſeen. The pencil of an artiſt might be well employed in imitating its magnificent ſcenery, and would convey a better idea of its grandeur than my power of deſcription can venture to attempt.

The iſland of Sivana Samudra is in general rocky, with vertical ſtrata running north and ſouth. The principal ſtone is a gneiſs, of which the great buildings of Ganga Rája are conſtructed, and which may be cut into blocks of large dimenſions. Near the upper end of the iſland, bridges have been conſtructed acroſs both branches of the river. They were formed, like that at Seringapatam, of long ſtones placed upright as pillars to ſupport others laid horizontally, ſo as to form the road. Both bridges have long ago been broken, but many of the pillars ſtill remain erect. Two dams and canals from the ſouthern branch of the river ſupply the iſland with water, and, if in good repair, ought to ſupply with water as much ground as would ſow 3510 ſeers of rice. In order to magnify the wonders of the iſland, this quantity of ſeed in the accompts is called 90 candacas, a nominal candaca of 39 ſeers having been purpoſely introduced. Owing to the diſrepair of the dams, two-thirds of this land is at preſent waſte. On the iſland there is a good deal of land fit for the cultivation of dry grains, and it would be a fine ſituation for a village, were it not poſſeſſed by a Muni, on which account, and owing to the terrible diſaſters attributed to this demon's wrath, no Hindu will ſettle in the place. The people of Satteagala, at the time of cultivation, carry over their cattle, and ſleep with them in one of the old temples, which is a defence againſt the tigers, that are ſaid to be very numerous.

When they have committed the feed to the ground, they return home, and wait there until the time of harvest; when they again go to the island, and bring away their crops.

The Munis of Karnata, who are demons of the first magnitude, must be carefully distinguished from a kind of Bráhmans of the same name, who have been faints of the greatest holiness, and whose memories persons of all ranks venerate. The Bráhmans never openly worship the Munis, although it is alleged, that in private many of them make offerings, in the same manner as they do to the Saktis, or destroying female spirits. Among the followers of the Bráhmans below the Ghats, the worship of the Munis, who are male destructive spirits, is very prevalent.

The only persons who defy this devil, and the tigers, are two Mussulman hermits, that dwell at Gangana Chuki. The hermitage is a hut open all round, placed opposite to the tomb of Pirca Wullay, an antient faint, and surrounded by some neat smooth areas, and a number of flowering and aromatic trees, introduced from the neighbouring forests. One of these hermits was absent on business, the other had no defence from the tigers but his confidence in the holiness of the place, and in his own sanctity, of which he seemed to have a very favourable opinion. He told me with great complacency, that he had offended Major Macleod by not answering that gentleman's questions, having been at the time more inclined to read the Khoran than to converse with an infidel. He appears to be an ignorant bigot, but the man who is absent is said to possess more conciliating manners. In the reign of the Sultan, these hermits received very frequent visits and many presents from the Mussulman officers, and their families. They are now almost deserted, and subsist on a candaca sowing of free-gift-land that they possessed on the island, and of which they have not been deprived.

5th October.—Having remained all night near the abode of the hermit, in the morning I crossed over to view the cataract of the southern branch of the Cavery, which is also about three miles from the upper end of the island. The river there is very wide, and in its channel contains a number of rocks and small islands, the largest of which is called Birra Chuki. The precipice at the southern cataract may be about a hundred feet high, and forms part of the arch of a large circle, down which the river is thrown in ten or twelve streams. In the center is a deep recess, in form of a horse-shoe, down which the principal stream falls, and, having been collected into a narrow channel, rushes forward with prodigious violence, and again falls down about thirty feet into a capacious basin at the foot of the precipice. In the dry season two channels only contain water. The month immediately following the summer solstice is the most favourable for viewing these water-falls, as the river is then at its greatest height. The one on the southern branch contains many beauties; and as a stair has been made, so as to give easy access to the side of the basin, and to afford a fine view of the whole, I think it is by far the most agreeable object of contemplation. The access to Gangana Chuki is very bad, and a descent to the river there is both fatiguing and dangerous. Its cataract is, no doubt, more sublime than the other, but in viewing it the mind is impressed more with awe at its tremendous force, than with pleasure at its magnificence.

From the falls of Birra Chuki I went about a mile to the eastern gate of the old city of Ganga Rája. On the walls here some red stains are shown with great gravity, as the blood of the inhabitants who were killed when the place was taken. From this gate a straight wide street may be traced, for about a mile and a half, to another gate that leads to the ruinous bridge over the southern branch of the river. On one

ſide of this bridge is a large temple, and on the other the ruins of the palace, where I was ſhown the baths in which the Rája ſported with his women.

On my return to Satteagala, an old Brahman, the hiſtorian of the place, was brought to me. He had no written documents, but related the following account, on the authority of tradition. About 600 years ago Ganga Raja, of the Anagundi family, was ſent hither by his kinſman, the King of Vijaya-nagara, to govern the neighbouring country. On examining all the places in the vicinity, he found none ſo fit for erecting a city in which he might reſide, as the iſland of Sivana Samudra, where there then were two or three ſmall villages. The inhabitants of theſe informed the Prince, that they lived there by the permiſſion of the Muni, and unleſs that could be obtained, certain deſtruction would await the new built city. In order to obtain the favour of the Muni, the Raja made daily large offerings of fruit and rice, and prayed inceſſantly, till at length the demon appeared to him in a dream, and informed him, that he might lay the foundation of the new city whenever a ſignal was made by the blowing of a conch. The Raja, having prepared every thing, was waiting for the ſignal, when an unlucky Dasari paſſed by, blowing on his conch, as is uſual with that kind of mendicants. This having been miſtaken for the ſignal, the foundation of the city was immediately laid. Half an hour afterwards the Muni gave the true ſignal, at which the Raja, being alarmed, had again recourſe to offerings and prayers. Moved by theſe, the Muni appeared to the Raja, and informed him, that, as he had begun to build the city at an improper time, it could not be permitted to ſtand long. Out of his perſonal regard for the Prince, however, the Muni would cauſe the city to flouriſh for three generations. Ganga Rája accordingly reigned there in great magnificence, and died in peace.

Nandi Raja, the ſon of Ganga, met with many miraculous adventures, and at length was defiled by eating, unknowingly, with a certain ſervant of the Whalia caſt, who had the power of rendering himſelf inviſible, and who, while in this ſtate, partook of his maſter's food. On this occaſion, the Prince conſulted the Brahmans, who adviſed him to put himſelf to death. He accordingly delivered the kingdom to his ſon, and, having perſuaded his wife to accompany him, they blindfolded a horſe, and, having mounted him, precipitated themſelves into the cataract at Gangana Chuki.

Ganga Raja the ſecond enlarged the city greatly, and lived with much ſplendour. He had two daughters, whom he gave in marriage to the two chief Polygars in the neighbourhood. The one was married to the Raja of Kilimaly, a place now in ruins, and about four coſſes from Satteagala. The other daughter was married to Buc' Rama, Raja of Nagara-Caray, one coſs eaſt from Madura. Theſe marriages were very unhappy, for the pride of the ladies gave their huſbands continual diſguſt. They were continually upbraided for not living in equal ſplendour with their father-in-law, and at length, having conſulted together, they determined to humble their wives, by ſhowing that their power was ſuperior to that of Ganga Raja. Having aſſembled all their forces, they beſieged Sivana Samudra, but for a time had very little ſucceſs. The ſiege had continued twelve years, without their having been able to penetrate into the iſland, when the two Rajas found means to corrupt the dalawai or miniſter of Ganga Raja. This traitor removed the guards from the only ford, and thus permitted the enemy to ſurpriſe the place, while he endeavoured to engage his maſter's attention at the game of cheſs. The ſhouts of the ſoldiery at length reaching their ears, the Prince ſtarted up from the game. The Dalawai who wiſhed him to fall alive into the hands of his ſons-in-law, endeavoured to perſuade him that the noiſe aroſe merely from

children

children at play; but the Rája, having drawn his ſword, firſt killed all his women and children, and then, ruſhing into the midſt of his enemies, fought, until he procured an honourable death. The ſons-in-law, on ſeeing this, were ſtruck with horror, and immediately threw themſelves into the cataract at Gangana Chuki, and their example was followed by their wives, whoſe arrogance had been the cauſe of ſuch diſaſters. Jagadeva Raya of Chenapattana, and Sri Ranga Rája of Talacadu, the two moſt powerful of the neighbouring Polygars, then came, and removed all the people and wealth of the place; and ever ſince the Muni has remained in quiet poſſeſſion of his iſland.

There can be no doubt, that the time of the foundation of the city in Sivana Samudra is later than its hiſtorian ſtates. Six hundred years from the preſent time would make Ganga Rája the firſt anterior to his anceſtor Harihara, the firſt King of Vijaya-nagara. I afterwards learned that Jagadeva's grandſon was alive, and governed a large territory, in the year of Salivahánam 1546 We may allow a hundred years for the reigns of the three Princes of Sivana Samudra and of the three Polygars of Chenapattana, which will make the foundation of the city to have happened in the year of Saliváhánam 1446, or 188 years after the foundation of Vijaya-nagara, and 277 years before the preſent time.

At the time of the fall of Ganja Rája the ſecond, it is ſaid that the Myſore Rájas were very petty Polygars, and poſſeſſed in all thirty-two villages. Other Polygars governed Tauuru, Womaluru, Moguru, Mangala, Ellanduru, Hardena-hully, &c. &c. all places in what our maps call Myſore Proper The firſt riſe of the family is ſaid to have been their deſtroying the Rája of Sri-Ranga-Pattana, called by us Seringapatam. This Prince poſſeſſed the two diſtricts called Aſhta-gráms, and was of the blood of the Ráyalus, the ſovereigns of the country, for after the death of Ráma Raja, who was killed on the banks of the Kriſhna before the middle of the fifteenth century, ſeveral Princes of the royal family retired to different ſtrong holds, and for ſome time retained a certain power, until it was gradually overwhelmed by their rebellious ſubjects the Polygars, or by Muſſulman and Marattah invaders.

It is ſaid, that during the hot ſeaſon ſome diaphanous ſhining ſtones are found in the channel of the Cavery above Gangana Chuki. I could procure no ſpecimen, but from the deſcription of the natives I ſuppoſe that they are rock cryſtal.

6th October.—I went three computed coſſes, called Sultany, to Singanaluru. The diſtance could not be above nine or ten miles, ſo that the coſſes called here Sultany are not longer than the uſual computed coſſes or Hardanies of the country above the Ghats.

The people in this part of the country conſider the ox as a living god, who gives them their bread; and in every village there are one or two bulls, to whom weekly or monthly worſhip is performed, and when one of theſe bulls dies, he is buried with great ceremony. Theſe objects of worſhip are by no means Sannyáſis, but ſerve to propagate the ſpecies. When a woman of a ſacred caſt has not a child ſo ſoon as ſhe could wiſh, ſhe purchaſes a young bull, carries him to the temple, where ſome ceremonies are performed; and ever afterwards he is allowed to range about at pleaſure, and becomes one of theſe village gods. The Bráhmans, however, abſtain from the abſurd worſhip of theſe animals, although they are poſſeſſed of a Bráhman's ſoul. On the north ſide of the Cavery this ſuperſtition is not prevalent. The bull is there conſidered as merely reſpectable, on account of Iſwara's having choſen one of them for his ſteed, and as the animal is occupied by the ſoul of a Bráhman in a ſtate of purgation.

6 Major

Major Macleod, the collector, has just now sent up people with the seed of the Palmira tree, or Borassus flabelliformis, in order to instruct those here in the manner of cultivating that palm. They are forming a plantation on good land, a quarter of a coss in length and 200 yards wide. The people here were formerly supplied with palm-wine from the wild date, but by the order of the Sultan these were all cut, for the rigidity of this Prince's morals would not allow him to permit, in his territory, the growth of an intoxicating substance.

7th October. — Following the same valley in which Singanaluru is situated, I went two cosses to Hanuru. The soil is rather poor, and in some places stony; but, owing to a want of cultivators, a great deal of good land is waste. Hanuru is an open straggling village, which contains between seventy and eighty houses. For the accommodation of travellers, a choultry, or inn, has lately been erected.

Hanuru is estimated to be five cosses from Bud-hully, the nearest place on the Cavery. Below Sivana Samudra the immediate banks of the river are so steep and high, that there is no road near it, and very little cultivation: but villages are every where scattered in the vallies that lie among the hills, which are included in its great bend, as it descends the Ghats. A road passes from Hanuru to Canya-karna-hully, vulgo Cancan-hully, and crosses the Cavery at a ford called Baswana Kydda, which is about half a coss below the place where the Ráma-giri river enters. In other places the Cavery tumbles over rocks and precipices, which, although not of great height, render the channel so uneven, that it is impassable.

The principal hill between the Cavery and the southern extremity of the eastern Ghats is called Hedima Betta, and on this chiefly grow the timber trees that are to be procured. It produces chiefly Tayka, Biriday, Whonay, and Jala, which have all been before mentioned. The sandal wood grows on a hill called Mahadevéswara.

On the east side of Hanuru is a small river of clear water, which some years, even in the hot weather, does not become dry. It is called Tati-holay, and falls into the Cavery two cosses below Baswana Kydda. On the banks of this, two cosses below Hanuru, is Rudra-pura, formerly a large place. It had rice and sugar grounds, watered by a dam and canal, from the Tati-holay, but now the whole is in ruins. On this rivulet there are still four dams in repair, but the grounds which they supplied with water are entirely unoccupied. The rivulet is too inconsiderable to be depended on for a regular supply of water from its dams, so that the crops were uncertain: but this might be remedied by forming reservoirs to collect the water of its canals, and by sowing no more seed than the quantity collected would be able to mature.

In this mountainous district there are two rainy seasons. The first is in the month following the vernal equinox, and is called Mungaru. During this the wull' ellu, or sesamum, is sown. The second lasts the two months before, and the two immediately following, the autumnal equinox. These rains bring to maturity the crops of ragy, shamay, jola, cambu, udu, hessaru, huruli, and carlay. Since the country has been under the management of Major Macleod, the solar year of the Tamuls has been introduced.

8th October. — I went four computed cosses to Caud-hully. The road is hilly, and on the whole descends considerably.

9th October. — I went three computed Sultany cosses to Mar'-hully, or Marat-hully.

10th October. — I went three computed cosses to Nidy Cavil, which in the Tamul language signifies the guard of the middle, this place being in the middle of the Ghats,

Ghats, and ſituated at the boundary of Karnáta from the Chéra Déſam, which includes what we call the province of Coimbetore, and the diſtrict of Salem.

Soon after leaving Mat'-bully, I reached the Palar, which comes from the ſouth-weſt, and paſſes through a valley that is cultivated from its ſource downwards to Nelluru, which is four coſſes from where we joined the river. From Nelluru to the bottom of the Ghats this valley is very narrow, and could ſcarcely admit of any cultivation. There are, however, ſome level ſpots that might be cultivated, and this would add greatly to the comfort of paſſengers. I am perſuaded, that Palmira trees would thrive near the banks of the Palar the whole way, and their produce would find a ready ſale. The channel of the Palar, ſo far as I have ſeen it to-day, has a very moderate declivity, and at preſent contains a good deal of water; but in many places it is fordable. For ſeveral days together, after heavy rains, it is frequently impaſſable, to the great diſtreſs of travellers. In the dry ſeaſon there is no ſtream in its channel, but, by digging in the ſand, good water may always be procured. The dry weather, however, is here of uncommon ſhort duration; for the rains from the eaſtward commence as ſoon as thoſe from the weſt have abated. I have now been out the whole of the rainy ſeaſon above the Ghats, and to-day I met the violence of the monſoon coming from the eaſtern ſide of the peninſula.

The road paſſes by the ſide of the Palar, and frequently croſſes its channel. In the dry ſeaſon, indeed, this is generally uſed by travellers. A good road, and one of eaſy declivity, might without much trouble be conſtructed. At preſent, nothing can be worſe. The hills on both ſides are ſteep, and covered with trees, but few of them are of a ſize fit for timber.

The ſtrata of the Ghats run north and ſouth, and are vertical. They are ſo much interſected by fiſſures, as to be of little uſe for building. In one place I found large concretions of lime-ſtone, reſembling thoſe found at Maléſwara Betta, which have the appearance of the petrified neſts of white ants. but here the maſſes were infinitely too large to have derived their origin from ſuch a ſource. The ore of iron, in form of black ſand, is very plentiful, but in this neighbourhood none is ſmelted.

Chap. IX.—*From the Kaveri-pura Ghat to Coimbetore.*

OCTOBER 11th, 1800.—Nidy Cavil, at which I have now arrived, is ſituated on the frontier between Karnáta and Chéra Déſams, two of the ancient diviſions in Hindu geography. It was formerly a ſmall fort, and was occupied by a few ſepoys; but the fort is now in ruins, and the guard has been withdrawn.

To-day I went three computed coſſes to Chica Cavil, at the bottom of the Ghats. The road is by no means ſteep, but the day's journey was laborious, as we were obliged to croſs the Palar four times, and it was exceedingly ſwollen by the heavy rains. The road, I believe, might readily be conducted, the whole way, on one ſide of the river; but, as the ſtream for a great part of the year is inconſiderable, travellers have been in the habit of croſſing it on the ſlighteſt difficulty; and thus the path has been formed in a manner very inconvenient for thoſe who are compelled to paſs it after heavy rain.

The hills on both ſides of the river are ſteep, but afford abundance of paſture for cattle; and in a few places leave level ſpots, that might be made comfortable abodes for the managers of flocks, or for the cultivators of Palmira trees. From the hills on either ſide, ſeveral ſmall clear ſtreams run into the Palar. Chica Cavil, or the ſmall guard,

guard, is a houſe built for the accommodation of paſſengers, on a riſing ground above the Palar, where it enters the valley watered by the Cavery, as that river comes ſouth from Alumbady. From the riſing ground, thoſe who delight in rude ſcenes of nature may enjoy a moſt beautiful proſpect. The valley watered by the Cavery is here very rough, and contains few people and little cultivation.

In the Ghats above this place the moſt common ſtrata are gneiſs, and a quartz ſtrongly impregnated with iron. Both are vertical, and run north and ſouth. They are much interſected by veins and fiſſures; ſo that no large blocks could be procured. The moſt remarkable mineral phenomenon here is the lime-ſtone, or tufa-calcaria. In its nature it entirely reſembles the congcar of Hinduſtan Proper. Some of it is whitiſh, and ſome of an earthy brown. It is found in very large maſſes, many feet in length, and often ſix or eight in thickneſs. It appears to me to have been once in a ſtate of fluidity, reſembling thin mortar, and to have flowed irregularly over many large ſpaces of theſe Ghats, after which it has hardened into its preſent form. Where it flowed through earthy or vegetable matters, it filled up the interſtices between their parts; and afterwards having been freed from them by their gradual decay, and the action of the rains, maſſes of it are now expoſed to the air perforated in all directions, like that which I found at Malaiſwara Betta. In other places, this liquid has flowed among the decaying maſſes of rock and gravel. It has filled up all the veins and rents of the former, and united them again into a ſolid maſs. With the gravel, it has formed a ſubſtance entirely reſembling the mortar made of quick lime and that matter, but of a very great hardneſs. This rock is therefore evidently of a much later formation than the ſtrata of the mountains, having been formed after they began to decay, and even after the formation of mould and vegetables.

12th October.—I went five computed Malabar hours' journey, which, I ſuppoſe Major Rennell would call five coſſes of the Carnatic, and came to Káverí-pura.

The mountains, viewed from the banks of the Cavery here, do not appear to be higher above the level of the country than they did from Satteagala above the Ghats. This is probably owing to their eaſtern ridges being lower than thoſe to the weſtward, but yet ſufficiently high to conceal the others from the view. The Cavery here is at preſent a wide and ſtrong, but ſmooth ſtream, which is no where fordable, but in the dry ſeaſon it has fords every where.

13th October.—I went ten Malabar hours' journey to Navapútty, that is, the nine villages, having formerly been the principal of nine adjacent hamlets. It is a ſorry place, containing about twenty houſes. The huts of the country, called Chéra, are like bee-hives, and conſiſt of a circular mud-wall, about three feet high, which is covered with a long conical roof of thatch. Contrary to what might have been expected in a hot climate, but agreeable to the cuſtom of almoſt all Hindus, one ſmall door is the only out-let for ſmoke, and the only inlet for air and light. Each family has a hut for ſleeping, another for cooking, and a third for a ſtorehouſe. Wealthy men add more huts to their premiſes, but ſeldom attempt at any innovation in the architecture of the country.

14th October.—Having been deceived about the diſtance, concerning which it is very difficult to get accurate information, I went a very ſhort way to Nerinja-petta, which was ſaid to be five Malabar hours' journey. I paſſed through a narrow plain, bounded on my left by the Cavery, and on my right by high hills. The ſoil of this plain, in ſome places, is covered with rock, and ſand, intermixed with calcarious tufa; but much of it is good, although, from a want of inhabitants, very little is cultivated. There is no rice land.

Nerinja-

Nerinja-petta is a poor open town, said to contain about two hundred families. The inhabitants of three hundred houses are said to have retired from it to the country, under Colonel Read's management, in consequence of the contributions levied by Jemál-Khán, to enable the Sultan to pay the sum which was exacted from him by Lord Cornwallis. Previous to that emigration, the place contained many traders and cotton-weavers. These were of three kinds; Muca Chambadavar, Shaliar, and Coicular. The first have entirely deserted the place; and of the two last only eight houses remain. The Shaliar are a tribe of Telinga origin, and are the same with those who above the Ghats are called Padma Shalay.

The Cavery here begins to rise about the 26th of May. It is at the highest from the 13th of July until the 13th of August, before the rainy season commences. As this advances, it decreases in size, but does not become fordable until after the 11th of January. At Nerinja-petta a dam was built across the Cavery by Cada Ráya, one of the family of Chica Déva Rája of Mysore. It formerly sent a canal to each side of the river; that on the left ran five Malabar hours' journey; that on the right ran three hours' journey, watering the fields all the way between it and the river; both have been entirely ruinous from the breaking down of the dam, which happened at a period beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitant.

On Palla hill, which extends from Shamli to Nerinja-petta, are sixteen villages of Malayála, or hill people, who on the summit of their mountain cultivate all the dry grains of Mysore, and have the only mango (mangifera) and jack (artocarpus integrifolia) trees that are to be found in this neighbourhood. These villages are said each to contain from five to sixteen houses; but are so difficult of access, that I could not visit them without a day's halt. Several similar hills are scattered through Major Macleod's district on both sides of the Cavery. The inhabitants of the plains cannot live on these mountains; nor can the highlanders live on the plains, without the greatest danger to their health. They are a distinct cast from the people of the plains; but quite different from the people of Malayálam, or what we call the province of Malabar, although both people are known by the same name, from their both inhabiting hilly countries.

In the hills here are many black bears. These are harmless animals, living chiefly on white ants, wild fruit, and that of the Palmira tree. The only injury that they do is to the crops of sholum (holcus sorghum). If a man disturb or surprise a bear, he is liable to be killed by the animal, but not to be eaten. It is unsafe, therefore, to approach these animals, especially advancing straight before them, for, the bear's eyes being turned backwards, he does not see the person advancing towards him until he is alarmed by the man's near approach, and then attacks the sudden intruder. The bear is very strong, and is not afraid of the tiger. It lives in caves, and holes under large stones. Such is the account of the natives; for in the south of India I have not seen the animal, although there can be no doubt that it is the Bradypus ursinus of naturalists, which is a real bear.

15th October.—I went ten Malabar hours' journey to Bhwánikudal, called in our maps, Boviny Coral.

The strata run north and south, and are much intermixed with calcarious matter, that has diffused itself among them while it was in a fluid state. It is chiefly found near rivulets and torrents. On the banks of the Sitaru I observed it under an extensive stratum of white quartz; but I do not think it can be from thence inferred, that the quartz is of so recent a formation as the calcarious tufa. It may have been undermined by the rivulet, and the calcarious matter afterwards deposited under it, so as to fill up the empty space.

The

The following is the account given by the most intelligent persons of the weather in the different seasons, or Ritus.

I. Chitri and Vyashi form Vasanta Ritu. The winds are moderate, and from the southward, except about twice in the season; when, for from ten to fifteen days, violent squalls come from the westward, accompanied with thunder and lightning, with pretty heavy showers, and sometimes with hail. Before the squalls the sky is red; at other times it is clear, with warm sunshine, and neither fogs nor dews. At this season the trees flower.

II. Gríshma Ritu contains Ani and Adi. Once in eight or ten days heavy showers come from the westward, accompanied by much wind and thunder, but no hail. There are fogs on the hills, but not in the open country. In the intervals between the rains the heat is moderate, with cloudy weather, and strong westerly winds.

III. Varshá Ritu contains Avony and Peratashi. At this season heavy and incessant rains, for five or six days, come from the westward, with similar intervals of fair weather, and are attended with lightning, but no thunder, and very moderate winds.

IV. Sarat Ritu contains Alpishi and Carticay. In the former, heavy rains come, once in six or eight days, from the north east. Each fall in general continues a whole day. There is very little wind, and the heats are by the natives reckoned moderate, that is, to an European they are not absolutely frying. In Carticay, there are usually only two or three days rain, which also comes from the eastward. The winds are moderate, and easterly. The air is cool. Toward the end of the month there are heavy dews.

V. Hémanta Ritu contains Margully and Tey. About the middle of Margully there are showers for three or four hours in the day, with moderate winds from the south, and some thunder. At other times there are heavy dews, with a very cold air, and south-easterly winds of very moderate strength. The sky is sometimes clear, and at others cloudy.

VI. Sayshu Ritu contains Mashi and Panguny. Towards the end of Panguny there are sometimes squalls from the westward, with thunder and rain; but the greater part of the season is clear and hot, with light breezes from the south, and moderate dews.

In the southern parts of the Coimbetore province, opposite to the breach in the mountains at Ani-malaya, the winds in the beginning of the south-west monsoon are excessively violent.

All the people here allege, that the rains are more regular and in greater quantity above the Ghats, than they are here. This however appears to me doubtful: although here, as well as above the Ghats, the westerly winds bring the strongest rains; yet here they enjoy a considerable portion of the rain from the other monsoon, which must prevent the country from ever being burnt up by a long drought.

Fevers and fluxes are epidemic from about the middle of October until the tenth of January; and generally at the same time the epidemic distemper prevails among the cattle.

18th October.—I went seven Indian hours' journey along the northern bank of the Bhawání, to Apogodal. The country through which I passed is level, and well peopled; and the quantity of waste land is not considerable. it indeed seems too small to be able to afford pasture for the cattle. I saw eight or ten acres only of rice-ground, and one half of that was waste. The only fences were a few hedges made of dry bushes. The cultivation is extremely slovenly, more so even than in any place

above the Ghats. It is said, that at any distance from the river one half of the fields is waste. Near the hills is Andeuru, the chief place of a large district comprehending Káveri-pura and Bhawání-kudal. In its vicinity are said to be seven reservoirs in repair, which supply with water a considerable quantity of rice-ground.

Apogodal contains a temple of Iswara, and about one hundred houses, but has not a single shop.

19th October.—I went a very long stage, called nine hours' journey, to Naráyana-pallyam, a small village on the bank of the river, which at all seasons contains running water, and has here many pools, which are always deep, and harbour crocodiles.

20th October.—I went six Malabar hours' journey to Anacodavery, the place where the canals are taken from the river Bhawání to water the rice-grounds which I described yesterday.

21st October.—I went three Malabar hours' journey to Sati-mangalam, which in the Sanskrit language signifies truly good. The fort is large, and constructed of uncut stone, and has a garrison, but contains very few houses. It is said to have been built about two hundred years ago, by Trimula Náyaka, a relation of the Rája of Madura, who governed this part of the country for his kinsman. The merchants, who in general are the best-informed Hindus on historical subjects, say, that fifty years afterwards it became subject to Cantirava Nursa, Rája of Mysore. From this long dependence on Princes of Karnáta, the language of that country is now the most prevalent, although that of the Tamuls is the original dialect of the place, which is a part of Chóla Désam. It is said to have formerly depended on Pandia, which formed the continental possessions of Rávana, King of Lanca, or Ceylon.

The petta, or town of Sati-mangalam, is scattered about the plain at some distance from the fort, and in Hyder's reign contained seven hundred and eighty-four houses. These are now reduced to five hundred and thirty-six. Here is a considerable temple dedicated to Vishnu. The rath or chariot belonging to it is very large, and richly carved. The figures on it, representing the amours of that god in the form of Krishna, are the most indecent that I have ever seen.

The country is at present very unhealthy; and ever since we came through the Káveri-pura pass, some of my people have been daily seized with fevers. The days are intensely hot, with occasionally very heavy rains. The nights are tolerably cool; to the natives they appear cold.

23d October.—I went seven Malabar hours' journey to Moducun-Dery, or the ferry of Moducun.

I went from Dodara-pallyam, and about a mile from the river saw a quarry of pot-stone. It is found in very large beds or masses among the usual vertical strata of the country, all of which near the Bhawání run east and west. The Balapum, or pot-stone, is of a better quality than that above the Ghats; and the vessels made of it are much used by the natives for cooking, as it resists the fire, and, although very soft, is by no means easily broken. Four men find a constant employment in making these vessels, which are sent as far as Seringapatam. They are very clumsy, and not polished.

The country through which I passed to-day is more rocky than that east from Sati-mangalam, but is better peopled. About one half only is waste. The only cultivation is that of dry grains. The country would look pretty if it were better wooded; but all the banks of the Bhawání are rather bare. The land here lets from five to forty fanams the estimated bulla. That which gives a higher rent is in very small

quantity,

quantity, and the common rent is from ten to fifteen fanams. By far the greater number of the people here are of Karnáta extraction. The ficknefs among my people continues to increafe.

24th October.—I went five Malabar hours' journey to Dan' Nayakana Cotay, a fort fituated on the north fide of the Bhawání, a little above the junction of the Máyár. It is faid to contain only about fifty houfes, but it is large. In the fuburb there are faid to be 107 houfes. Both ftatements feem to me to under-rate the population.

25th October.—I remained at Dan' Nayakana Cotay, and took a very long and fatiguing walk to the top of the weftern hills, in order to fee a cambay, or village, inhabited by Eriligaru. The love of the marvellous, fo prevalent in India, has made it commonly reported, than thefe poor people go abfolutely naked, fleep under trees without any covering, and poffefs the power of charming tigers, fo as to prevent thofe ferocious animals from doing them any injury. My interpreter, a very fhrewd man, gravely related that the Eriligaru women, when they go into the woods to collect roots, entruft their children to the care of a tiger.

On the hills the Eriligaru have fmall villages. That which I vifited contained feven or eight huts, with fome pens for their goats; the whole built round a fquare, in which they burn a fire all night to keep away the tigers. The huts were very fmall, but tolerably neat, and conftructed of bamboos interwoven like bafket-work, and plaftered on the infide with clay. Thefe people have abundance of poultry, a few goats, and in fome villages a few cows, which are only ufed for giving milk, as the Eriligaru never ufe the plough. They poffefs the art of taking wild-fowl in nets, which adds to their ftock of animal food, and fometimes they kill the tigers in fpring traps, loaded with ftones, and baited with a kid. Near their villages they have large gardens of plantain and lime trees, and they cultivate the neighbouring ground after the Cotucadu fafhion, changing the fields every year. One of the articles raifed by this means is a new fpecies of amaranthus, the feed of which they grind to flour, and ufe as a farinaceous fubftance. I have fent it to Dr. Roxburgh, under the name of amaranthus farinferus. Befides cultivating their gardens and fields, the Eriligaru gather wild yams (diofcoræ), and cut timber and bamboos for the people of the low country. Both men and women take an equal fhare of the labour in cultivating their fields. They have the advantage of a tolerably good foil, and a part of two rainy monfoons; yet, although they have fixed abodes, and of courfe gardens, they are greatly inferior to the fubjects of the Pomang-gri, and other rude tribes, who inhabit the hilly parts of Chittagong. Their huts are much poorer, and their perfons are miferable. Both men and women are clothed with dirty cotton ftuffs, but in much fmaller pieces than thofe ufed by the other inhabitants. They fpeak a bad or old dialect of the Karnáta language, and muft be therefore of a different race from the Eriligaru that I faw at Rámi-giri, who fpoke a dialect of the Tamul.

Although the atmofphere was rather hazy, I had from the hills a noble view of the whole courfe of the Bhawání, and of the country called Chéra as far as Sanch-durga, and other remote hills. Near the village I was refrefhed by the cool water of a fine perennial fpring, which in India is a great rarity.

26th October.—I went feven and a half Malabar hours' journey to Sirumugá, on the eaft fide of the Bhawání, which is here a fine clear ftream coming from the fouth. Cultivation occupies a very fmall proportion of what has formerly been ploughed, and is confined chiefly to the banks of the river, where the foil is beft. The higher grounds confift of a poor foil full of ftones; and many of the fields, to judge from

 the

the size of the trees that have sprung up in them, seem to have been long deserted. Sirumugá is a poor village, with about twenty houses; but has some shops, which are not very common in this province. In the Sultan's reign it was the residence of an amildár dependent on the asoph of Coimbetore, and contains the ruins of many huts. The people complain much of the scarcity of rain; and the dryness of the fields, and want of pasture, show their complaints to be well founded. Fifteen of my people are now ill with fevers.

27th October.—I went a long stage called seven and a half Malabar hours' journey, and halted at Gulur, a village without a shop. By the way I passed Bellady, a mud fort, which has a suburb at some distance. Two small streams cross the road towards the east; but it is said, that having united they turn round, and at Sirumugá join the Bhawání by a channel, which I did not observe. A small tank has been formed near these streams, and receives a supply of water from them, so as to enable the people to cultivate a little rice. The soil of the country through which I passed to-day is very poor, and there is scarcely any of it cultivated.

There has been rain twice only this season, and none for the last fifteen days, so that the country is quite parched; and it is said, that had there been more rain, the cultivation would have been more extensive. The rains seem here to be very partial. They have been plentiful all the way up the Bhawání, except at Sirumugá; and at Nellaturu, near its source, they are said to have been abundant. Most of the people here speak the Tamul language, a few use the Telinga, but that of Karnáta does not extend so far from the Ghats.

28th October.—I went eight Malabar hours' journey to Coimbetore. The country is much freer of rocks and stones than that through which I have passed for some days, and the soil is in general good. The waste fields do not appear to amount to more than a half of all that is arable. There are few hedges, and the country is remarkably bare of trees. An avenue of a species of Ficus has been planted all the way from Dan' Náyakana to Coimbetore, but it is not thriving; and, except these trees, the country is as bare as that in the vicinity of Seringapatam

The hereditary chief of Coimbetore, as we call it, is of the Vaylalar tribe. Formerly his ancestors dwelt in a village at the foot of the hills, the site of the town being then a forest, in which there were four or five huts of a rude tribe, called Malashir, and a temple of their goddess Conima, which still remains. The head man of these people was called Coia, and the name of the village Coiampuddi. The ancestor of the present chief, having obtained the consent of the Malashir, came to their village, and built a fort. Soon after all these people died, and the goddess appeared in a dream to the Vaylalar chief, and commanded him to enlarge her temple, and appoint a priest (pujári), promising him a great increase of power, and desiring him to assume the name of Cotegara Calippa, and to change that of the place to Coiamaturu. The present chief, who gives me this information, says, that he is the twentieth in descent from the first founder of the town. The family originally paid tribute to the Rájás of Madura. The country was conquered by the Mysore family about one hundred and fifty years ago, and the fort was then enlarged. For some time before and after the accession of Hyder, it was governed by a person named Madana, who enjoyed his office forty years, and was a Lingabunt (one who wears the linga). He built a house here, which by the natives is called a palace, and is considered as an immense work. It certainly is abundantly large; but it is a clumsy inconvenient pile of mud; and at present serves as a barrack for the officer commanding a regiment of cavalry, who is very indifferently lodged. In the government of Madana the place was very flourishing. It suffered

fered much by the subsequent wars; and about eight years ago the fort was destroyed by the late Sultan. Since it fell into the hands of the English, and especially since it became the quarters of a regiment of cavalry, the town has recovered considerably; and it now contains two thousand houses, which is about five-eighths of what it contained under Hyder's government. It has a tolerable mosque, built by Tippoo, who sometimes resided in the palace; but it has no large temple. Here I was most kindly received by the officers of the regiment, as indeed I was almost every where during my journey; for English hospitality is in no part of the world more eminently distinguished, than among the officers serving under the government of Madras.

29th and 30th October. — I remained at Coimbetore, taking an account of the vicinity; and on the morning of the 30th I visited a celebrated temple at Peruru, which is two miles from Coimbetore. It is dedicated to Iswara, and called Mail (high) Chitumbra, in order to distinguish it from another Chitumbra, that is near Pondicherry. The idol is said to have placed itself here many ages ago; but it is only three thousand years since the temple was erected over it by a Rája of Madura. It has four raths, or chariots, and a very fine tank entirely lined with cut stone. The building is highly ornamented after the Hindu fashion; but the whole, as usual, is utterly destitute of elegance, and the figures are not only extremely rude, but some of them are indecent. The stone of which it is built is very fine. Some of the pillars intended for it are lying near, and are said never to have been erected; the work having been left incomplete, owing to the death of the Rája by whom it was undertaken. The freshness of the stones by no means corresponds with the era given by the Bráhmans for the work. The Bráhmans in the time of Hyder had very large endowments in lands; but these were entirely reassumed by Tippoo, who also plundered the temple of its gold and jewels. He was obliged, however, to respect it more than many others in his dominions, as, when he issued a general order for the destruction of all idolatrous buildings, he excepted only this, and the temples of Seringapatam and Mailcotay. This order was never enforced, and few of the temples were injured, except those which were demolished by the Sultan in person, who delighted in this work of zeal. This temple is in the district of Mr. Hurdis, who gives for its support an allowance sufficient for keeping up a decent worship, but very inadequate to quiet the clamours of the Bráhmans. Even in the reign of the Sultan an allowance was clandestinely given, so that the púja, or worship, never was entirely stopped, as happened in many less celebrated places.

The dancing women, and their musicians, thus now form a separate kind of cast; and a certain number of them are attached to every temple of any consequence. The allowances which the musicians receive for their public duty is very small, yet morning and evening they are bound to attend at the temple to perform before the image. They must also receive every person travelling on account of the government, meet him at some distance from the town, and conduct him to his quarters with music and dancing. All the handsome girls are instructed to dance and sing, and are all prostitutes, at least to the Bráhmans. In ordinary sets they are quite common, but, under the Company's government, those attached to temples of extraordinary sanctity are reserved entirely for the use of the native officers, who are all Bráhmans, and who would turn out from the set any girl that profaned herself by communication with persons of low cast, or of no cast at all, such as Christians or Mussulmans. Indeed, almost every one of these girls that is tolerably sightly is taken by some officer of revenue for his own special use, and is seldom permitted to go to the temple, except in his presence. Most of these officers have more than one wife, and the women of the Bráhmans are very beautiful; but

but the insipidity of their conduct, from a total want of education or accomplishments, makes the dancing women be sought after by all natives with great avidity. The Mussulman officers in particular were exceedingly attached to this kind of company, and lavished away on these women a great part of their incomes. The women very much regret their loss, as the Mussulmans paid liberally, and the Bráhmans durst not presume to hinder any girl, who chose, from amusing an Asoph, or any of his friends. The Bráhmans are not near so lavish of their money, especially where it is secured by the Company's government, but trust to their authority for obtaining the favours of the dancers. When a Mussulman called for a set, it procured from twenty to two hundred fanams (from 12s. 6d. to 6l. 4s. 9d.), according to the number and liberality of his friends who were present; for in this country it is customary for every spectator to give something. They are now seldom called upon to perform in private, except at marriages, where a set does not get more than ten fanams, or about 6s. 3d. The girls belonging to this cast, who are ugly, or who cannot learn to sing, are married by the musicians. The Nutua, or person who performs on two small cymbals, is the chief of the set, and not only brings up the boys to be musicians, and instructs all the good-looking girls, born in the set, to sing and dance, but will purchase handsome girls of any cast whatever that he can procure. When a dancing girl becomes old she is turned out from the temple without any provision, and is very destitute, unless she has a handsome daughter to succeed her; but if she has, the daughters are in general extremely attentive and kind to their aged parents. To my taste, nothing can be more silly and unanimated than the dancing of the women, nor more harsh and barbarous than their music. Some Europeans however, from long habit, I suppose, have taken a liking to it, and have even been captivated by the women. Most of them that I have had an opportunity of seeing have been very ordinary in their looks, very inelegant in their dress, and very dirty in their persons: a large proportion of them have the itch, and a still larger proportion are more severely diseased.

CHAP. X. — *From Coimbetore to the Frontier of Malabar.*

ON the 1st of November I went ten Malabar hours' journey to Kanya-uru, which is a small village without any shops, and is situated at some distance north from the Noyel river. The country near Coimbetore is fully cultivated, but very bare of trees. A few very fine hedges show how well they would thrive, if all the fields were inclosed. Towards Kanya-uru large proportions of the fields are unoccupied, but the country is better wooded. Much of the soil is poor, and all at any distance from the Noyel is dry-field.

2d November. — I went ten Malabar hours' journey to Avanasi, the residence of a Tahsildar.

3d November. — I went five Malabar hours' journey to Tripura, fording the Noyel at that town.

4th November. — I went ten Malabar hours' journey to Tallawai Pallyam, as being the most likely place to find the iron forges; but in this I was disappointed, no iron having been ever made there. Some parts of the country through which I passed were well cultivated, while others were quite waste.

At almost every village in the Perinduru district, iron is also smelted from black sand.

Throughout the country watered by the Noyelar, the strata are vertical, and composed in general of aggregate stones in a slaty form. The strata run nearly east and west;

forests; and in many places, especially near rivers or torrents, have been over-flowed by the tufa calcaria, already frequently mentioned. The sporadic concretions usually found above the Ghats, and the great diffused masses found in Coimbetore, seem to consist exactly of the same materials. The whole calcarious matter, however, in Coimbetore is by no means in large beds; many sporadic concretions are every where to be found.

6th November. — I went five Malabar hours' journey to Perinduru. The soil of the country through which I passed is in general poor, and not much of it cultivated.

7th November. — I went eight Malabar hours' journey to Erodu, or, as it is called in our maps, Eroad. The country through which I passed is in a state similar to that between China Mali and Perinduru, and contains no rice lands.

9th November. — I went a very long stage, called ten Malabar hours' journey, to Pashar. The canal from the Bhawání continued near my route on the left, and goes on three Malabar hours' journey farther, to a place called Colanelly. The high ground on my right was in general very poor. Of what is tolerably good a large proportion is cultivated. Pashar is an open village, containing 130 houses, of which 40 are inhabited by Bráhmans. There is, however, only one small temple that has a Bráhman pújári, or priest The others have betaken themselves to honest industry, and rent the lands which they formerly held in Enam; that is to say, almost the whole rice-ground belonging to the place. They are said actually to have put their hands to the plough. Great complaints are made here of a want of rain.

I observed near Pashar very large rocks of white quartz, in which it is evidently disposed in plates, like schistus, from one quarter of an inch to one inch in thickness, standing vertically, and running east and west in the direction of the common strata of the country.

10th November. — I went eight Malabar hours' journey to Codomudi, a town on the bank of the Cavery.

11th November. — I went seven and a half Malabar hours' journey to Pogolur, in the district under the management of Mr. Hurdis.

13th November. — I went ten Malabar hours' journey to Caruru, or Caroor. A considerable proportion of the country is not cultivated, and there are very few fences. The soil is in general poor, with many projecting rocks, especially of pure white quartz, among which are found irregular masses perfectly pellucid. There is a quarry near Caroor, of a stone called carum-gull, or the black stone. It differs from the hornblende of Mysore, being mixed with felspar, but is used for the same purposes, and is called by the same name.

Caruru is a considerable town, situated on the northern bank of the Amara-wati river, and having at a little distance from it a neat fort, containing a large temple, and a garrison of sepoys. The town contains 1000 houses. Its merchants seem, however, to be chiefly petty dealers, nor are the weavers in the place numerous.

14th November. — I went seven and a half Malabar hours' journey to Cutamboor, a small village without a shop. The river Amara-wati is at least 400 yards wide; but its stream is very gentle, and almost always fordable. To-day it was about two feet deep. The channel is entirely of sand, and the banks are very low; so that, for watering the rice-grounds, canals (corums) are easily taken from it.

Near the river the rice-grounds are extensive, and fully cultivated. Farther on, the soil becomes poor, and has many large projecting rocks; but they do not rise high above the surface. There are few inclosures, and much of the dry-field is waste. The country south from the river Noyelar is remarkably bare of trees.

15th Novem-

15th November. — I went seven and a half Malabar hours' journey to Arava-courchy.

16th November. — I went ten Malabar hours' journey to Mulinuru. The country is better enclosed, and less rocky, than that through which I came yesterday; but it is equally uncultivated.

17th November. — I went a long stage to Daraporám. Near this are two fine canals, that water much rice-land in a good state of cultivation. The soil of the dry-field is poor, and but little of it is cultivated.

21st November. — I went about eleven miles to Puna-puram. By the way I saw very little cultivation, but the whole country has formerly been ploughed. From a want of trees and hedges it is very bare, and the soil is rather poor. Immense fields of limestone are every where to be seen; and the strata of it at Puna-puram are much thicker than I have observed any where else. Many wells having been dug through these strata, to the depth of twelve and fifteen feet, give the traveller a good view of them. The calcarious matter seems to have been gradually deposited in horizontal strata, or layers. It involves small angular masses of quartz, and other stones, which, I suppose, must have arisen from its having flowed over the surface of the original strata while it was in a soft state, and collected fragments of these as it rolled along. On the surface of the layers, or in cavities, some of it assumes a botryoidal form, while other parts of these cavities have a smooth undulating or conchoidal surface. The original strata are all aggregate rocks. Puna-puram is a small fort, of which the hereditary chief is a young boy. He was brought to me by his grandmother, and male relations, who are the chief farmers in the place. This season they have had scarcely any rain, to which some of the waste appearance of the country must be attributed; but they say, that they have suffered much from the neighbouring Polygars, especially during a commotion that took place about three years ago.

22d November. — I went seven and a half Malabar hours' journey to Mangalam, an open village belonging to a Polygar. The country is not so stony as that through which I passed yesterday; but it is equally uncultivated. Mangalam is now reduced to forty houses. It formerly contained one hundred. This diminution is attributed to the oppression of Tippoo, and to want of rain; for many of the cultivators have removed to places blessed with a more favourable climate. The Polygar is one of the most stupid looking men that I have ever seen, and goes about with very little attendance, or state.

Wherever wells have been dug into the lime-stone, water has been found at no great distance from the surface; yet here there is little or no garden cultivation. Much of the well water has a saline taste; and in almost every part of the neighbourhood culinary salt may be procured in the dry season by scraping the surface of the earth, and by lixiviation.

23d November. — I went seven Malabar hours' journey to Pujar-petta, an open village with a few shops. Like almost all those in this neighbourhood, it is surrounded and intersected by many hedges, which serve as a defence against the thieves and robbers who come to drive away the cattle; and these miscreants, owing to the vicinity of the Polygars, have always been numerous. The village belongs immediately to the government, but is surrounded by the lands of Polygars.

This day's road led through a country which is in nearly a similar state with all that I have ever seen west from Darapuram; but the soil in some places is much better, and really very good. The hills of Coimbetore, and those that bound the Ani-malaya pass on the south, are both visible from Pujar-petta.

24th Novem-

[illegible] November.—I went six Malabar hours' journey to Pallachy. As I approached it, the country became gradually more cultivated, and better inclosed; and its [illegible] look well, being adorned with groves of coconut palms; but there are no other trees near it: the town contains 300 poor houses and a small temple, and derives its name from the second wife of a Vaylalar, who came to the place when the country was entirely covered with woods, and began to clear it by the Cotu-Cadu cultivation. The town is rising fast into importance, having been made the residence of a Tahsildar, and being placed in the line of the new road that has been opened to Pali-ghat. Near it is a small fort.

In this vicinity was lately dug up a pot, containing a great many Roman silver coins, of which Mr. Hurdis was so kind as to give me six. They were of two kinds, but all of the same value, each weighing 56 grains. One of the kinds is of Augustus. The legend round the head is CAESAR AVCVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE; that is, *Caesar Augustus Divi Filius Pater Patriae*. Above the reverse, representing two persons standing with two bucklers and spears placed between them, the legend is AVGVSTI F COS DESIC PRINC IVVENT; that is, *Augusti Filio Consule designato, principe juventutis*. Under the figures is written CAESARIA, or *Caesaria*, at some city of which name it has been struck. The other coin is of the same weight, and belongs to Tiberius. The legend round the head is TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVCVSTVS; *Tiberius Caesar Divi Augusti Filius Augustus*. On the reverse, representing a person seated and holding a spear in one hand and a branch in the other, is the following legend: PONTIF MAXIM, or *Pontifex Maximus*.

27th November.—I went seven Malabar hours' journey to Animalaya. Until I came to the river Alima, the road passed through a country well cultivated and inclosed. I forded the Alima at a town called Umbrayen-pallyam, which has formerly been a large place, but is now mostly in ruins, having been destroyed by the Nairs in their wars with Tippoo. I then proceeded up the side of the Alima, having a fine canal with rice-fields to my left, and woods on my right. These occupy the grounds of a village, in which there was formerly much cultivation of dry grains. This also was destroyed by the Nairs, who are considered by the people here as fierce and cruel barbarians.

Ani-malaya, or Elephant-hill, is so called from the great number of elephants and hills in its neighbourhood. It is a town which contains about 400 houses, and is situated on the west side of the Alima. It is the common thoroughfare between Malabar and the southern part of the Arcot dominions, being placed opposite to the wide passage that is between the southern end of the Ghats of Karnáta, and the hills that run north from Cape Comorin. The Madura Rájás, the former lords of the country, built a fort close to the river, which having fallen to ruins, the materials were removed by the Mysore Rájás, and a new fort was built at some distance to the westward. Twelve years ago Tippoo gave it some repairs, and, to procure materials for the purpose, pulled down five large temples. It is still a very poor work, and is in the district of Palachy.

The greater part of the dry-field in the neighbourhood is now overgrown with woods; for eight entire villages to the westward have been completely destroyed by the Nairs, and have never been repeopled.

The elephants are increasing here in number, owing to no hunt having been made for some years past. They are very destructive and formidable, and kill many poor people, who are travelling in a solitary manner.

 The

The Cadar are a rude tribe inhabiting the hills in this neighbourhood, and speaking a dialect that differs in accent only from the Tamul. The men live by collecting drugs for the renter, as I have already mentioned. The women collect roots that are edible. They have no means of killing game, but eat any that they find dead. They rear no domestic animals, nor cultivate any thing whatever; but their clothing is as good as that of the neighbouring peasantry. They pay no taxes, and the renter settles all disputes among them. They live in villages called Malaya-pudy. They always marry in their own tribe, but cannot take a girl who is of the same family with themselves in the male line. They are allowed a plurality of wives. The lover presents the mother of his mistress with some cloth, and iron tools, and the ceremony consists in a feast given to the relations. The girls continue to be marriageable after the age of puberty, and a widow can without disgrace marry again. If a woman commit adultery, the tribe assembled deliver her over to her paramour, who pays a fine to the husband, and takes the woman to be his wife. They do not drink spirituous liquors, and they bury the dead. After death, the spirits of good men reside with a god named Mudivirum, while those of wicked men go to a bad place. Their temples are small huts, in which rude stones represent Mudivirum, and two female deities called Ray-cotu-Ummum, and Kali Ummum. These deities protect their votaries from tigers, elephants, and disease, but have no priests. Once a year the whole people assemble at the temple, and offer rice and flowers to the images, and sometimes sacrifice a goat. When in the low country, they say that they are of Vishnu's side; but they pray to every image that they see. They say, that the men of another tribe living in the hills, and called Visabun, or Corabun, are their Gurus, and are able to read and write. They make presents to their Guru, and he gives them consecrated ashes. They have nothing to do with the Bráhmans.

28th November.—I went seven Malabar hours' journey to Mingara, a place in the middle of the Ani-malaya forest, and on the frontier of the country which formerly belonged to the Tamuri Rája, where a guard of 15 armed men is placed by the Tahsildar of Palachy. The men are hutted on the banks of a mountain torrent; and, although relieved once a fortnight, suffer exceedingly from this unhealthful climate. They are stationed here to prevent the passage of thieves and armed vagabonds, to prevent smuggling, and to intercept unlawful correspondence. The three small huts which they occupy are the only habitations near the place.

On strong high trees the guard has constructed two stages, to which the men fly when they are attacked by solitary discontented male elephants, who are not to be driven away by firing at them, unless the ball takes place in some sensible part. Herds of elephants come very frequently to drink at the torrent; but are easily alarmed, and run away at the first shot. The guard meets with no annoyance from tigers. For the sake of water, merchants stop to breakfast at this place, and very often pass the night under protection of the guard. The road is a great thoroughfare, and between this and Ani-malaya is very good for loaded cattle. Carts might pass all the way, but in some places with difficulty. A very little expense would make the whole good.

CHAP. XI.—*Journey through the South of Malabar.*

BEFORE entering Malabar, it may be necessary to premise, that this province is subject to the authority of three commissioners, under whom are employed a number of gentlemen, that act in their respective circles as magistrates and collectors. These officers,

officers, formerly appointed by the government of Bombay, have been lately placed under the presidency of Fort St. George. With an establishment, the expense of which has far exceeded the revenue, a complete protection from invaders, and a most tender regard to avoid the punishment of the innocent, it might have been expected that this province would have been found in a situation very different from what I am compelled to represent it. No doubt, this has arisen from a lenity in punishing crimes, an aversion to employ harsh measures to repress the turbulent, originating in a gentleness of disposition, which, however amiable in private life, in a government often produces the utmost distress to the peaceable and industrious subject.

November 29th, 1800.—Having crossed the rivulet immediately after leaving Mingara, I entered the province of Malabar, in that part of it which formerly belonged to the Tamura Rája, as the Zamorin is called by the natives. I found that they considered it unlawful to mention the real name of this personage, and always spoke of him by his titles.

The stage that I went to Colangodu is of moderate length, and the road crosses the rivulet five times, which from that circumstance is called Wunan-Ar. The woods through which we passed to-day are very fine; but the declivities are rather steeper, the roads worse, and the country is more rocky, than between Animalaya and Mingara. About half way to Colangodu are the ruins of a small mud fort, which was built by the Tamuri Rájá, and destroyed by Tippoo. The circumjacent country has once been cultivated, as is evident from the remains of corn-fields. Teak and other forest trees are now fast springing up among the Banyan (*Ficus Bengalensis*) and Palmira trees (*Borassus flabelliformis*), by which the houses of the natives have formerly been shaded; and this part of the country will soon be no longer distinguishable from the surrounding forests.

The environs of Colangodu are very beautiful. The high mountains on the south pour down cascades of a prodigious height; and the corn fields are intermixed with lofty forests, and plantations of fruit trees. The cultivation, however, is very poor. Most of the dry-field is neglected, and the quantity of rice-land is not great. Here the rain, without any assistance from art, is able to bring one crop of rice to maturity; and in a few places the natives have constructed small reservoirs, which enable them to have a second crop.

Colangodu has a resemblance to many of the villages in Bengal, although the structure of the houses is quite different; but each is surrounded by a small garden, and at a little distance nothing is to be seen, except a large grove of trees, mostly Mangoes (*Mangifera*) or Jacks (*Artocarpus*). The houses in Colangodu are about 1000 in number, and many of them are inhabited by Tamul weavers of the Coicular cast, who import all their cotton from Coimbetore. The Malayala language is, however, the prevalent one, and differs considerably from that of the Tamuls, or what among the Europeans at Madras is called the Malabar language. They are, nevertheless, both branches of the same dialect; and my Madras servants and the natives are, to a certain degree, able to understand each other. The accents are very different, and the Malayala language, containing a larger share of Sanskrit, and of the Paat, or poetical dialect, than the language prevailing to the eastward, is generally allowed to be the more perfect. The character used in Malayala is nearly the same with that used among the Tamuls for writing poetry; and the poetical language of both people is very nearly the same.

30th November.—I went a long stage to Pali-ghat. The country through which I passed is the most beautiful that I have ever seen. It resembles the finest parts of Bengal;

Bengal; but its trees are loftier, and its palms more numerous. In many places the rice grounds are interspersed with high swells, that are crowded with houses, while the view to the north is bounded by naked rocky mountains, and that to the south by the lofty forests of the Travancore hills. The cultivation of the high grounds is much neglected.

1st—4th December. — I remained with Mr. Warden, the collector of the district, taking an account of the neighbourhood; and from him I not only received every assistance during my stay, but have also been favoured with very satisfactory answers to queries which I proposed to him in writing. Of these I shall avail myself in the following account. Owing to Mr Warden's kind and hospitable attentions, I found myself perfectly at home while under his roof, which was indeed the case every where in Malabar, when I had the good fortune to meet with an English gentleman.

Pali-ghat is a beautiful fort, built by Hyder on his conquest of Malabar, and situated in the country called Pali-ghat-shery, which belonged to the Shekhury Rája, one of the petty chiefs of Malaya, a word from which, by sundry corruptions, Malabar is derived.

An immense rock near the temple of Bhagawat consists of a good grey granite, very fit for building, and indeed the temple is constructed of this stone; the structure of this granite is evidently lamellar, the plates being vertical, and running east and west, as they do in Coimbetore: in some places the plates have a sort of circular disposition round a centre, somewhat like the layers round a knot in wood; in others they are undulating, and have a resemblance to the waving figures on marbled paper. Each of the plates containing different proportions of the felspar, quartz, and mica, they are more distinguishable by their colour, than by its being practicable to separate them. The rock here contains fewer veins of quartz than any granite that I have hitherto seen in the peninsula. Although the plates are vertical, the rock is divided by parallel horizontal fissures that have a smooth surface, and which is frequently the case with aggregate rocks in all the south of India. This greatly facilitates the cutting of stones for building; as wedges readily cut off large masses, by being driven in at right angles to the fissures.

7th December. — We went a short stage to Shelacary. The road leads through a most beautiful country. The rice grounds are narrow valleys, but are extremely well watered by small perennial streams, that enable them annually to produce two crops. Very little of the high ground is cultivated. I observed, however, some fields, that contained the Cytisus Cajan, more luxuriant than I ever before saw. The houses of the natives are buried in the groves of palms, mangoes, jacks, and plantains, that skirt the bottoms of the little hills. Above these are woods of forest trees, which, though not quite so stately as those of Chittagong, are still very fine, and are pleasant to walk in, being free from rattans and other climbers. The teak, and viti, or black-wood, abound in these woods, but all the large trees have been cut; and no care is used to encourage their growth, or to check that of useless timber.

We were escorted by many of the Rája's Nairs, and were met by one of his officers of cavalry, well dressed in a blue uniform with white facings, and attended by two orderlies in a similar dress. They wore boots and helmets, and the officer had a gorget, the whole exactly after the European fashion. He informed us that the Rájá had been very desirous of meeting us, but that at present he was so unwell, that he could not stand without support. This information, I believe, was merely complimentary. The Rájá has made tolerable roads through the hilly parts of the country all the way we have come, and for our accommodation they had been

2 repaired;

repaired; but we were always much obstructed when we came to a valley, as the roads have not been continued through the rice fields. In fact, the road has been made from ostentation alone, and not from any rational view of facilitating commerce or social intercourse. There are no shops at Shelacary, but people were sent by the Rájá to supply our wants. Indeed, nothing can be more polite or attentive than the whole of his conduct.

Near our tents was a Colgum, or house belonging to the Rájá. It is a large square building, composed partly of stone, and partly of mud. The greater part of it is only one story in height; but in some places there is an upper floor. It is roofed with tiles, aud totally destitute of elegance or neatness, but is looked upon by the natives as a prodigy. Like the other houses of the country, it is surrounded by a grove of fruit trees. Some sepoys were here on duty, the mud-walls surrounding the house being considered as a fort.

8th December. — We went a long stage to Nellaway, through a country similar to that which we passed yesterday, but the hills are higher, and much of the road is very bad. From the people of the Rájá we continue to receive every possible attention. Nellaway has a small temple, but no shops.

9th December. — In the morning we went a short stage to Cacadu, through a country differing from that seen on the two preceding days, by its hills being much lower, and covered with grass in place of forest trees. Although the soil of these hills appears to be good, yet scarcely any part of them is cultivated; but the pasture seems to be tolerable, the cattle, though remarkably small, being in good condition. The country is very beautiful its round hills covered with grass are separated by fine verdant fields of corn, skirted by the houses of the inhabitants, which are shaded by groves of fruit-trees.

Opposite to our encampment was a Nazaren, or Christian village, named Cunnung colung curry Angady, which looks very well, being seated on a rising ground amid fine groves of the betel-nut palm. The papa or priest waited on us. He was attended by a pupil, who behaved to his superior with the utmost deference. The papa was very well dressed in a blue robe, and, though his ancestors have been settled in the country for many generations, he was very fair, with high Jewish features. The greater part of the sect, however, entirely resemble the aborigines of the country, from whom indeed they are descended.

The papa informed me, that his sect are dependent on the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, but that they have a metropolitan, who resides in the dominions of Travancore, and who is sent by the patriarch on the death of his predecessor. None of the papas, or inferior clergy, go to Antioch for their education, and all of them have been born in the country. My visitor understood no languages but the Syriac, and that of Malayala. He preaches in the latter, but all the ceremonies of the church are performed in the Syriac. In their churches they have neither images nor pictures, but the Nazarens worship the cross. Their clergy are allowed to marry, my visitor, however, seemed to be not a little proud of his observing celibacy, and a total abstinence from animal food. He said, that, so far as he remembers, the number of the sect seems neither to be increasing nor diminishing. Converts, however, are occasionally made of both Nairs and Shanars, but no instance occurs of a Moplay having been converted, nor of a Namburi, unless he had previously lost cast.

The papa says, that the Nazarens were introduced, 1740 years ago, by a certain saint named Thomas, who, landing at Melia-pura, took up his residence on a hill near Madras, and which is now called after his name. He afterwards made a voyage

to

to Cochin, and in that neighbourhood settled a church, which is now the metropolitan, as the Portuguese drove all the Nazarens from the eastern coast. St. Thomas afterwards returned to Meila-pura, where he died. At that time Malayala belonged to the Brahmans, who were governed by a Rajá sent by Sholun Permal, the sovereign King of the south. The papa then related the history of Cheruman Permal, nearly as I have given it on the authority of the Namburis, only he says, that this traitor, after having divided his usurped dominions, died before he reached Mecca. It was in his reign that the Mussulmans first arrived in India. They landed at Challiem, a place near Vaypura. The papa says, that the metropolitan has an account of all his predecessors, from the time of Saint Thomas, with a history of the various persecutions that they have been subjected to by the governing powers, the worst of which would appear to have been that inflicted by the Portuguese. He promised to send me a copy of this kind of chronicle, but has not been so good as his word.

A Brahman of the place says, that when any slaves are converted by the Nazarens, these people bestow on them their liberty, and give them daily or monthly wages. He said also, that the Nazarens are a very orderly, industrious people, who live chiefly by trade and agriculture.

In the afternoon we went to the Nazareny village, which contains many houses regularly disposed, and full of people. For an Indian town it is well built, and comparatively clean. It has a new church of considerable size. An old church is situated at some distance on a beautiful rising ground. It is now unroofed, but the walls, although built of indurated clay only, continue very fresh and strong. The altar is arched over with the same materials, and possesses some degree of elegance. The burying ground is at the west end of the church, where the principal door is placed. From its being very small, the graves must be opened long before the bones are consumed. As the graves are opened for new bodies, the old bones are collected, and thrown into an open pit near the corner of the church, where they are exposed to the view of all passengers.

From thence we went to Chowgaut, where we embarked in a canoe, and went to the house of Mr. Drummond, the collector, who resided then at the place called by us Chitwa, but by the natives Shetuwai.

10th and 11th December.—I remained with Mr. Drummond at Chitwa. This place is situated in an island, which is twenty-seven miles long, and in some places five miles wide, and which by Europeans is commonly called the island of Chitwa, but its proper name is Mana-puram.

I here had a conversation with one of the carigars, or ministers of the Tamuri Rajá, the person who manages the affairs of that chief. He says, that all the males of the family of the Tamuri are called Tamburans, and all the ladies are called Tamburettis, all the children of every Tamburetti are entitled to these appellations; and, according to seniority, rise to the highest dignities which belong to the family. These ladies are generally impregnated by Namburis; although, if they choose, they may employ the higher ranks of Nairs, but the sacred character of the Namburis almost always procures them a preference. The ladies live in the houses of their brothers, for any amorous intercourse between them and their husbands would be reckoned scandalous. The eldest man of the family is the Tamuri Rájá, called by Europeans the Zamorin. He is also called Mana Vicrama Samudri Rája, and is crowned. The second male of the family is called Eralpata, the third Munalpata, the fourth Edatara Patana Rájá, the fifth Nirirupa Muta Eraleradi Tirumulpata Rájá, and the sixth Ellearadi Tirumulpata Rájá. The younger Tamburans are not distinguished

guiſhed by any particular title. If the eldeſt Tamburetti happen to be older than the Tamuri, ſhe is conſidered as of higher rank. The Tamuri pretends to be of a higher rank than the Bráhmans, and to be inferior only to the inviſible gods, a pretenſion that was acknowledged by his ſubjects, but which is held as abſurd and abominable by the Bráhmans, by whom he is only treated as a Sudra.

During the government of the Tamuris, the buſineſs of the ſtate was conducted, under his authority, by four Savadi Carigars, whoſe offices were hereditary, and by certain inferior Carigars, appointed and removed at the pleaſure of the ſovereign. The Savadi Carigars are, 1ſt. Mangutachan, a Nair of the tribe called Sudra, 2d. Tenancheri Elliadi, a Bráhman, 3d Bermamuta Panycary, alſo a Sudra Nair, and 4th. Paranambi, a Nair of the kind called Nambichan. The inferior Carigars managed the private eſtates, or cherical lands, of the Tamuri, and collected the revenues. Theſe conſiſted of the cuſtoms, of a fifth part of all the moveable eſtates of every perſon that died, and of fines, of courſe, the Carigars were the adminiſtrators of juſtice, or rather of what was called law. They were always aſſiſted by four aſſeſſors, but, the ſelection of theſe being left to themſelves, this proviſion gave little ſecurity to the ſubject. Eight tenths of all fines went to the Tamuri, and two tenths to the judge. For capital puniſhments, the mandate of the Tamuri was required. The defence of the country reſted entirely on ſuch of the Nairs as received arms from the Tamuri. Theſe were under the orders of Nadawais, who commanded from 200 to 3000 men, and who held their authority by hereditary deſcent. The Carigar ſays, that theſe Nadawais had lands given them, in proportion to the number of men that each commanded, but how that could be, when the whole lands belonged to Nambun landlords, I do not underſtand. The ſoldiers, when on actual ſervice, received a certain ſmall ſubſiſtence.

In caſes of emergency, certain tributary or dependent chiefs were alſo ſummoned to bring their men into the field. Theſe chiefs, ſuch as Punetur, Talapuli, Manacollati, Ayencutil, Inumanachery, and many others, acknowledged the Tamuri as their ſuperior, but they aſſumed the title of Rajá, and in their reſpective territories poſſeſſed full juriſdiction. They were merely bound to aſſiſt the Tamuri with military ſervice. He never beſtowed on any of them the title of Rajá, either in writing or converſation, and treated with contempt their pretenſion to ſuch a dignity. The principal Colgum of the Tamuri is near the fort at Chowgaut, but at preſent he is abſent on buſineſs at Calicut.

The Nazareny prieſt (papa) of Chowgaut waited on us, to inform me, that my wiſhes for procuring the hiſtory of the ſect in India had been communicated to the metropolitan, who deſired him to ſay, that a copy of the chronicle would be ſent to me through Mr Drummond. Unfortunately, I have not received any account from that quarter. The papa denied that the Nazarens give liberty to ſuch of their ſlaves as are converted, probably thinking that the converſion might be attributed to this circumſtance, more than to the apoſtolical virtues of his brethren. He alſo maintained, that the ſect was rapidly increaſing in numbers, and daily gaining proſelytes. In theſe points he differed in his account from the papa whom I had before ſeen.

Having aſſembled the moſt reſpectable of the Nairs in this neighbourhood, they gave me the following account of their cuſtoms.

The Nair, or in the plural the Naimar, are the pure Súdras of Malayala, and all pretend to be born ſoldiers, but they are of various ranks and profeſſions. The higheſt in rank are the Kirum, or Kirit Nairs. On all public occaſions theſe act as cooks, which among Hindus is a ſure mark of tranſcendent rank; for every perſon

can

can eat the food prepared by a person of higher birth than himself. In all disputes among the inferior orders, an assembly of four Kirums, with some of the lower orders, endeavour to adjust the business. If they cannot accomplish this good end, the matter ought to be referred to the Namburis. The Kirit Naimar support themselves by agriculture, or by acting as officers of government, or accomptants. They never marry a woman of any of the lower Nairs, except those of the Súdras or Charnadu, and these very rarely. The second rank of the Nairs are called Súdra, although the whole are allowed, and acknowledge themselves to be of a pure Súdra origin. These Súdra Nairs are farmers, officers of government, and accomptants. They never marry any girls but those of their own rank; but their women may cohabit with any of the low people, without losing cast, or their children being disgraced. The third rank of Nairs are the Charnadu, who follow the same professions with their superiors. The fourth are the Villium, or Villiit Naimar, who carry the palanquins of the Namburis, of the Rájás, and of the persons on whom these chiefs have bestowed the privilege of using this kind of conveyance: they are also farmers. The fifth rank of Nairs are the Wattacata or oil-makers, who are likewise farmers. The sixth rank, called Atticourchis, are rather a low class of people. When a Nair dies, his relations, as usual among the Hindus, are for fifteen days considered unclean, and no one approaches them but the Attacourchis, who come on the fifth, tenth, and fifteenth days, and purify them by pouring over their heads a mixture of water, milk, and cow's urine: the Attacourchis are also cultivators The seventh in rank are the Wullacutra, who are properly barbers; but some of these also cultivate the ground. The eighth rank are the Wallaterata, or washermen, of whom a few are farmers. The ninth rank is formed of Tunar Naimar, or tailors. The tenth are the Andora, or pot-makers. The eleventh and lowest rank are the Taragon, or weavers; and their title to be considered as Naimar is doubtful, even a pot-maker is obliged to wash his head, and purify himself by prayer, if he be touched by a weaver.

The men of the three higher classes are allowed to eat in company, but their women, and both sexes of all the lower ranks, must eat only with those of their own rank.

Among the two highest classes are certain persons of a superior dignity, called Nambirs. These were originally the head men of Désams, or villages, who received this title from an assembly of Namburis and Tamburans, or of priests and princes, but all the children of Nambirs sisters are called by that title, and are considered as of a rank higher than common.

The whole of these Nairs formed the militia of Malayala, directed by the Namburis, and governed by the Rajas. Their chief delight is in arms; but they are more inclined to use them for assassination, or surprise, than in the open field. Their submission to their superiors was great; but they exacted deference from those under them with a cruelty, and arrogance, rarely practised, but among Hindus in their state of independence. A Nair was expected instantly to cut down a tiar, or mucua, who presumed to defile him by touching his person; and a similar fate awaited a slave, who did not turn out of the road as a Nair passed.

The Nairs have no purôhitas; but at all their ceremonies the Elleadu, or lowest of the Namburis, attend for charity (dharma), although on such occasions they do not read prayers (mantrams) nor portions of scripture (sástrams). The Namburi Bráhmans are the Putteris or Gurus of the Naimar, and bestow on them holy water, and ashes, and receive their dána, and other kinds of charity.

The

The proper deity of the Naimar cast is Vishnu; but they wear on their foreheads the mark of Siva. They offer frequent bloody sacrifices to Mariamma, and the other Saktis, in whose temples the Namburis disdain not to act as priests (pújaris), but they perform no part of the sacrifices, and decline being present at the shedding of blood. The Nairs can very generally read and write. They never presume to read portions of the writings held sacred (Sastrams); but have several legends in the vulgar language. They burn the dead, and suppose that good men after death go to heaven, while bad men will suffer transmigration. Those, who have been charitable, that is to say, have given money to religious mendicants, will be born men, while those, who have neglected this greatest of Hindu virtues, will be born as lower animals. The proper road to heaven they describe as follows.—The votary must go to Kasi, and then perform the ceremony in commemoration of his ancestors at Gya. He is then to take up some water from the Bhagirathi, or Ganges, and pour it on the image of Siva at Raméswara. After this he must visit the principal Kshétras and Tirthas, or places of pilgrimage, such as Jiramala, and Tripathy, and there he must wash in the Puscarunny, or pool of water that sprung forth at the actual presence of the god. He must always speak truth, and give much charity to learned and poor Brahmans. He must have no carnal knowledge of any woman but his wife, which with a Nair confines him to a total abstinence from the sex. And lastly, in order to obtain a place in heaven, the votary must very frequently fast and pray.

The Nairs marry before they are ten years of age, in order that the girl may not be deflowered by the regular operations of nature; but the husband never afterwards cohabits with his wife. Such a circumstance, indeed, would be considered as very indecent. He allows her oil, clothing, ornaments, and food; but she lives in her mother's house, or, after her parents' death, with her brothers, and cohabits with any person that she chooses of an equal or higher rank than her own. If detected in bestowing her favours on any low man, she becomes an outcast. It is no kind of reflection on a woman's character to say, that she has formed the closest intimacy with many persons; on the contrary, the Nair women are proud of reckoning among their favoured lovers many Bráhmans, Rájás, or other persons of high birth. It would not appear, however, that this want of restraint has been injurious to population. When a lover receives admission into a house, he commonly gives his mistress some ornaments, and her mother a piece of cloth; but these presents are never of such value as to give room for supposing that the women bestow their favours from mercenary motives. To this extraordinary manner of conducting the intercourse between the sexes in Malayala, may perhaps be attributed the total want among its inhabitants of that penurious disposition so common among other Hindus. All the young people vie with each other, who shall look best, and who shall secure the greatest share of favour from the other sex; and an extraordinary thoughtlessness concerning the future means of subsistence is very prevalent. A Nair man, who is detected in fornication with a Shanar woman, is put to death, and the woman is sold to the Moplays. If he have connection with a slave girl, both are put to death; a most shocking injustice to the female, who, in case of refusal to her Lord, would be subject to all the violence of an enraged and despised master.

In consequence of this strange manner of propagating the species, no Nair knows his father; and every man looks upon his sisters' children as his heirs. He, indeed, looks upon them with the same fondness that fathers in other parts of the world have for their own children; and he would be considered as an unnatural monster were he to show such signs of grief at the death of a child, which, from long cohabitation and love with its mother, he might suppose to be his own, as he did at the death of

a child of his ſiſter. A man's mother manages his family, and after her death his eldeſt ſiſter aſſumes the direction. Brothers almoſt always live under the ſame roof; but, if one of the family ſeparates from the reſt, he is always accompanied by his favourite ſiſter. Even couſins, to the moſt remote degree of kindred, in the female line generally live together in great harmony, for in this part of the country, love, jealouſy, or diſguſt, never can diſturb the peace of a Nair family. A man's moveable property, after his death, is divided equally among the ſons and daughters of all his ſiſters. His landed eſtate is managed by the eldeſt male of the family; but each individual has a right to a ſhare of the income In caſe of the eldeſt male being unable, from infirmity or incapacity, to manage the affairs of the family, the next in rank does it in the name of his ſenior.

The Naimar are exceſſively addicted to intoxicating liquors, and are permitted to eat veniſon, goats, fowls, and fiſh.

13th December.—Having taken leave of my kind friends, Meſſrs. Waddel and Drummond, I went about twelve miles to Valiencodu, which in our maps is called Billiancotta. The road paſſes over ſandy downs near the ſea, and on each ſide has a row of banyan trees (*Ficus Bengalenſis*), but in ſuch ſituations they do not thrive. To the right were large plantations of cocoa-nut trees and rice fields. Towards the ſea were ſcattered a few groves of palms. The appearance of the country is very inferior to that of the inland parts of the province.

Valiencodu is a ſmall open village, containing about 45 houſes, and a few ſhops. Near it is a ruinous fort. It is ſituated in a diſtrict called Vaneri Nadu which belonged to the Peneturu Rajá, one of thoſe who were dependent on the Tamuri, and who now receives from the Company a fifth part of the revenue. Being a man of ſome abilities, he is entruſted, under the authority of the collector, with the management of the revenue. I was viſited by a relation of his, called the Manacalatu Rajá, who came with a Namburi, and eight or ten Nairs, following his palanquin. He was a poor looking old man, ſtupified with drink. He ſaid, that one-half of his own country, and that of his kinſman, had been ſituated in the Cochi Rájá's dominions, and that they had been entirely ſtripped of this ſhare ever ſince they fled to Travancore, to avoid Tippoo's bigoted perſecution. He afterwards began to talk as if the Company had taken from him the remainder; but he became ſenſible of his error, on being aſked what he poſſeſſed when the Company conquered Malabar.

The province of Malabar has no very large temples; and even thoſe which are dedicated to the great gods are of very miſerable ſtructure. Thoſe dedicated to the Saktis are few in number, and are not ornamented with images of potter's work, like thoſe of Coimbetore. There are no buildings for the accommodation of travellers. Near the ſea coaſt are many meſhids, or moſques, built by the Moplays. Theſe are poor edifices with pent roofs.

The Niadis are an outcaſt tribe common in Malabar, but not numerous. They are reckoned ſo very impure, that even a ſlave will not touch them. They ſpeak a very bad dialect, and have acquired a prodigious ſtrength of voice, by being conſtantly neceſſitated to bawl aloud to thoſe with whom they wiſh to ſpeak. They abſolutely refuſe to perform any kind of labour; and almoſt the only means that they employ to procure a ſubſiſtence is by watching the crops, to drive away wild hogs and birds. Hunters alſo employ them to rouſe game; and the Achumars, who hunt by profeſſion, give the Niadis one-fourth part of what they kill. They gather a few wild roots, but can neither catch fiſh, nor any kind of game. They ſometimes procure a tortoiſe, and are able, by means of hooks, to kill a crocodile. Both of theſe amphibious animals they reckon delicious food. All theſe reſources, however, are very inadequate to their

their support, and they subsist chiefly by begging. They have scarcely any clothing, and every thing about them discloses want and misery. They have some wretched huts built under trees in remote places, but they generally wander about in companies of ten or twelve persons, keeping at a little distance from the roads, and when they see any passenger, they set up a howl, like so many hungry dogs. Those who are moved by compassion lay down what they are inclined to bestow, and go away. The Niadis then put what has been left for them in the baskets, which they always carry about. The Niadis worship a female deity called Maladeiva, and sacrifice fowls to her in March. When a person dies, all those in the neighbourhood assemble and bury the body. They have no marriage ceremony, but one man and one woman always cohabit together, and among them infidelity, they say, is utterly unknown.

A wretched tribe of this kind, buffeted and abused by every one, and subsisting on the labour of the industrious, is a disgrace to any country; and both compassion and justice seem to require, that they should be compelled to gain a livelihood by honest industry, and be elevated somewhat more nearly to the rank of men. Perhaps Moravian missionaries might be employed with great success, and at little expence, in civilizing and rendering industrious the rude and ignorant tribes that frequent the woods and hills of the peninsula of India? In the execution of such a plan, it would be necessary to transport the Niadis to some country east from Malabar, in order to remove them from the contempt in which they will always be held by the higher ranks of that country.

The Shanar, who in the dialect of Malayala are properly called Tiar, are in Malabar a very numerous tribe, and a stout, handsome, industrious race. They do not pretend to be of Súdra origin, and acknowledge themselves to be of the impure race called Panchamas, but still they retain all the pride of cast, and a Tiati, or female of this cast, although reduced to prostitution, has been known to refuse going into a gentleman's palanquin, because the bearers were Mucuar, or fishermen, a still lower class of people. All Tiars can eat together, and intermarry. The proper duty of the cast is to extract the juice from palm trees, to boil it down to jagory, and to distil it into spirituous liquors, but they are also very diligent as cultivators, porters, and cutters of firewood. They have no hereditary chiefs, and all disputes among them are referred to the Tamburan, or officers of government. In every Désam certain Tiars were formerly appointed to a low office, called Tondan, which gave them powers similar to those enjoyed by the Totis above the Ghats. At present, the duties of these officers are confined to an attendance at marriages and funerals, where they receive some trifling dues. The Tiars have certain families among them, who are called Panikin. These can read and write, and instruct the laity so far as to enable some of them to keep accompts. They are the only Gurus received by this cast; and are supposed to dedicate their time to prayer and religious duties, on which account they receive charity. The Panikin intermarry with the laity. The deities of the cast are a male named Mundien, and a female named Bagawutty. On holy days these are represented by two rude stones, taken up for the occasion, and, during the ceremony, placed under a shed, but afterwards thrown away, or neglected. At these ceremonies a fowl is offered up as a sacrifice, and a Nair is employed to kill it before the idols. The same Nair acts as pújári for the god Mundien, adorns the stone with flowers, anoints it with oil, and presents it with fruit. A Namburi is employed to be pújári to Bagawutty, and this is the only occasion on which the Tiars give that class of men any employment. The Panikins attend at marriages, but do not

read any thing on theſe occaſions. The Tiars ſeem to be entirely ignorant of a ſtate of exiſtence after death. Some of them burn, and ſome of them bury the dead. They are permitted to eat ſwine, goats, fowls, and fiſh, and have no objection to eat animals that have died a natural death. They may alſo drink diſtilled liquors, but not palm wine. In fact, they are not ſo much addicted to intoxication as the Nairs. In wealthy families, each man takes a wife; but this being conſidered as expenſive, in poor families the brothers marry one wife in common, and ſleep with her by turns. If either of the brothers becomes diſcontented, he may marry another woman. The whole family lives in the ſame houſe, even ſhould it contain two women, and it is reckoned a proof of a very bad temper, where two brothers live in ſeparate houſes. It muſt be obſerved, that in Malabar a family of children are not reckoned burthenſome, ſo that the Tiars are induced to adopt this uncommon kind of wedlock, merely to ſave the trifling expenſe of ſeveral marriages, the whole amount of one of which is as follows. Ten fanams (2s.) given to the girl's parents, a piece of cloth given to herſelf, and a feaſt given to the relations. Many of the women are thus unprovided with huſbands, a thing very uncommon in India; and, their remarkable beauty expoſing them to much temptation, a great many Tiars in the ſeaport towns are reduced to proſtitution. Women continue to be marriageable after the age of puberty, and after the death of a former huſband. Adultereſſes are flogged, but not divorced, unleſs the crime has been committed with a man of another caſt. A Namburi, who condeſcended to commit fornication with a Tiar, would formerly have been deprived of his eyes, and the girl and all her relations would either have been put to death, or ſold as ſlaves to the Moplays, who ſent them beyond the ſea, a baniſhment dreadful to every Hindu, and ſtill more ſo to a native of Malabar, who is more attached to his native ſpot than any other perſon that I know.

Chap. XII.—*Route from Valiencodu to Colawully, through Panyani and the central Parts of Malabar.*

DECEMBER 14th.—I went a ſhort ſtage to Panyani. Soon after leaving Valiencodu, I croſſed the mouth of a ſmall river, which, by the influx of ſalt water as it approaches the ſea, is extended to a great width. I was ferried over it by means of two canoes laſhed together, which forms a very ſafe conveyance for baggage, or foot paſſengers, but is not adapted for cattle, the latter being forced to ſwim. Orders have been iſſued by the commiſſioners to conſtruct proper ſtages on canoes at every ferry, ſo that cattle, and even artillery, may be tranſported with ſafety. The canoes in this part of Malabar are among the beſt and handſomeſt that I have ever ſeen.

15th December.—I went a long ſtage to Adanad. The country between Panyáni and Ternavay, although higher than the ſea-ſhore, is level, and conſiſts entirely of rice-grounds, which annually produce only one crop, and of which a great part ſeems to be waſte. On leaving the ſea-coaſt, the number of trees, eſpecially of cocoa-nut palms, decreaſes faſt. I croſſed the Panyani river at Ternavay, where there is a ſmall temple, but no town. The channel of the river is very wide, but at this ſeaſon moſt of it is occupied by dry ſands. The water is clear, and the ſtream gentle; the fords are, however, bad, owing to the depth of water, which in moſt parts is four feet, and no where leſs than three. Cattle in croſſing it muſt therefore be unloaded, and the baggage carried to the other ſide by the drivers. This river in the rainy ſeaſon is navigable for canoes almoſt up to Pali-ghat.

16th December. — I went to Tritalay, a small market (bazar) of 40 or 50 houses, situated on the south bank of the river.

18th December. — After crossing the river about a mile above Tritalay, I went a long stage to Cherupalchery, which was the residence of the superintendant of the southern division of Malabar, while that office existed.

It must be observed, that in Malabar no river has any peculiar appellation, but each portion is called by the name of the most remarkable place near which it flows.

19th December. — I went about nine miles to Angada-puram, having crossed a fine little river, a branch of that which falls into the sea at Panyani. The low rice-fields seem to occupy but a small proportion of the country. The roads are very bad, but Mr Wye, the collector, has lately obtained leave to lay out on their repair a small revenue, the produce of some ferries. Although the sum is small, yet it will have a considerable effect in a country, where the soil is in general favourable, and where there are no carriages. In Malabar even cattle are little used for the transportation of goods, which are generally carried by porters. Angada-puram, by Europeans commonly written Angrypar, is at present a military station, the troops being in cantonments at some distance from the old fort. The situation is very pleasant, and many camp followers, and traders from Coimbetore, having settled shops (bazars), have been the means of introducing many conveniences that are not commonly to be found in the inner parts of Malabar.

What I have called indurated clay is not the mineral so called by Mr Kirwan, who has not described this of which I am now writing. It seems to be the Argilla lapidea of Wallerius, I. 395, and is one of the most valuable materials for building. It is diffused in immense masses, without any appearance of stratification, and is placed over the granite that forms the basis of Malayala. It is full of cavities and pores, and contains a very large quantity of iron in the form of red and yellow ochres. In the mass, while excluded from the air, it is so soft, that any iron instrument readily cuts it, and is dug up in square masses with a pick-axe, and immediately cut into the shape wanted with a trowel, or large knife. It very soon after becomes as hard as brick, and resists the air and water much better than any bricks that I have seen in India. I have never observed any animal or vegetable exuviæ contained in it, but I have heard that such have been found immersed in its substance. As it is usually cut into the form of bricks for building, in several of the native dialects it is called the brick stone (Itica callu). Where, however, by the washing away of the soil part of it has been exposed to the air, and has hardened into a rock, its colour becomes black, and its pores and inequalities give it a sort of resemblance to the skin of a person affected with cutaneous disorders, hence in the Tamul language it is called Shori cull, or itch-stone. The most proper English name would be Laterite, from Lateritis, the appellation that may be given to it in science.

In the Ernada district, gold dust is collected in the river which passes Nilambur in the Mangery Taluc. A Nair has an exclusive privilege of the collection, and on that account pays a small annual tribute. I was very desirous to have visited the place; but the district being in extreme confusion, I could not with prudence enter it, especially on such an errand. The Nelambur river is a branch of that which falls into the sea north from Parupa-nada.

22d December. — In the morning I went a long stage to Vencatacotay. The road, most of the way, passes along the ridge of a low hill, whence narrow vallies go off towards both sides, and are separated from each other by branches of the

the hill. These vallies are very beautiful; but the rest of the country, at this season, looks ill.

23d December.—I went a short journey to Tiruvana Angady, and passed through a country similar to that which I saw yesterday. Tiruvana-Angady is a small Moplay town on the southern bank of a river which comes from Irnada, and in the rainy season is navigable with canoes for 32 miles upwards. It has no communication with the Baypour (Vaypura) river, as represented in Major Rennell's map. Tiruvana-Angady is the place which in our maps is called Tervanagary, and is remarkable for the decisive victory which in the year 1790 Colonel Hartley gained in its neighbourhood over the forces of Tippoo. Near the angady, or market, there is a small fort, which was erected by the Sultan round a colgum, or palace, belonging to the Tamuri Rájá. Both have now fallen into ruins; and the Tamuri, since his return from exile, has not visited the place.

24th December.—I set out with an intention of stopping at Parupa-nada, which in our maps is called Perperengarde; but, owing to the untowardness of my guides, I found, on my arrival there, that my tents had been carried on to Vay-pura. I was of course obliged to follow, but much of my baggage did not arrive until four in the afternoon, and the cattle were worn out with fatigue.

25th December.—I went a short journey to Calicut, and had a good road. By the way I crossed a river, much inferior to that at Vay-pura, but provided with excellent ferry-boats, composed of two canoes connected by a stage.

The proper name of the place is Colicodu. When Cheruman Permal had divided Malabar among his nobles, and had no principality remaining to bestow on the ancestor of the Tamuri, he gave that chief his sword, with all the territory in which a cock crowing at a small temple here could be heard. This formed the original dominions of the Tamuri, and was called Colicodu, or the cock-crowing. This place continued to be the chief residence of the Tamuri Rajás until the Mussulman invasion, and became a very flourishing city, owing to the success that its lords had in war, and the encouragement which they gave to commerce. Tippoo destroyed the town, and removed its inhabitants to Nelluru, the name of which he changed to Furruck-ábád, for, like all the Mussulmans of India, he was a mighty changer of old Pagan names. Fifteen months after this forced emigration, the English conquered the province, and the inhabitants returned with great joy to their old place of residence. The town now contains about five thousand houses, and is fast recovering. Before its destruction by Tippoo its houses amounted to between six and seven thousand. Most of its inhabitants are Moplays.

The people here say, that the whole country between Cape Comorin and Surat is, in their books, divided into Kéralam and Kankánam, both of which were created by Parasu-ráma, and therefore ought not to be included in the fifty-six désams of Bharata-khanda. Of their country the people here have a history, which is called Kérala Ulpati, and is written in a pure and old dialect of the Ellacanum, or poetical language. It is understood with great difficulty; many passages are interpreted in different ways; and some of the copies are said to differ essentially from others. The author is supposed to have been Sankara Achárya.

Chap. XIII.—*Journey through the Northern part of Malabar.*

JANUARY 1st, 1801.—In the morning I went nine miles to Tamarachery. The country resembles that which I came through yesterday, but much of it is waste.

I here

I here procured a ring, in which is set a gold fanam, said to have been struck by Parasu Ráma when he created Kérala. Such fanams are procurable with some difficulty, for they are considered as relics. All other coins fall very short of this in pretensions to antiquity, as, according to the fables of the Bráhmans, Parasu-ráma created Kérala above 800,000 years ago.

Having procured some of the principal Nairs that attended on the Rájá in a visit which he made to Captain Osburne, and a sensible Namburi, who seemed to be much in favour with that chief, I consulted them on the differences that obtain in the customs of the Nairs who live north from the Vay-pura river, from those that are observed in the southern parts of Malayala. The female Nairs, while children, go through the ceremony of marriage, both with Namburis and Nairs; but here, as well as in the south, the man and wife never cohabit. When the girl has come to maturity, she is taken to live in the house of some Namburi or Nair; and after she has given her consent to do so, she cannot leave her keeper; but, in case of infidelity to his bed, may be punished with death. If her keeper have in his family no mother nor sister, his mistress manages the household affairs. The keeper, whenever he pleases, may send his mistress back to her mother's house; but then, if she can, she may procure another lover. A man's house is managed by his mother so long as she lives. When she dies, his sister comes for the fifteen days of mourning. She afterwards returns to her lover, and remains with him until he either dies or turns her away. In either case, she returns to her brother's house, of which she resumes the management, and brings with her all her children, who are her brother's heirs. A Nair here is not astonished when you ask him who his father was, and a man has as much certainty that the children born in his house are his own, as an European husband has, while these children are rendered dear to him by their own caresses, and those of their mother, who is always beloved, for otherwise she would be immediately dismissed; yet such is the perversity of custom, that a man would be considered as unnatural, were he to have as much affection for his own children, as for those of his sister, which he may perhaps never have seen. Of all known manners of conducting the intercourse between the sexes, this seems to be the most absurd and inconvenient. That prevailing in the southern parts of Malayala avoids all the domestic unhappiness arising from jealousy, or want of continued affection; but that here, while it has none of the benefits of marriage, is attended with all its evils. The division of Nairs here is also different from that in the south. There are here six tribes, who by birth are all properly soldiers. The first in rank are the Adiodi, the next are the Nambirs; and then follow four tribes of equal dignity, the Shelatun, the Cureuru, the Nalavan, and the Venapulun. After these, as in the south, follow the different tribes of traders or artists, who, although allowed to be Nairs, and true Súdras, are not entitled to the dignity of bearing arms.

6th January. — I accompanied Captain Osburne to his house at Vadacurray, which by Europeans is commonly called Barragurry. The road, although not quite so bad as that through which I came yesterday, was very inconvenient for a palanquin, or loaded cattle. The country resembles the other interior parts of Malabar, and the little hills and narrow vallies extend close to the sea-side.

For some days back, when I passed through among the gardens near houses, I have observed the women squatting down behind the mud walls, in order to satisfy their curiosity by viewing a stranger. When they thought that I observed them, they ran away in a fright. This does not arise from the rules of cast in Malabar requiring the Hindu women to be confined, for that is by no means the case; but in the interior

parts

parts of North Malabar, the Nairs, being at enmity with Europeans, have persuaded the women, that we are a kind of hobgoblins who have long tails, in order to conceal which we wear breeches (*et qui insuper ut canes in coitu cum feminis cohærent*). The women and children therefore are much afraid whenever a European appears, which indeed seldom happens. In the southern division, and on the sea coast, we are too well known to occasion any alarm.

7th January.—In the morning I went about seven miles to Mahé, which formerly belonged to the French. It is finely situated on a high ground, on the south side of a river where that enters the sea. The river is navigable with boats for a considerable way inland; and, in fair weather, small craft can with great safety pass over the bar. The place has been neat, and many of the houses are good. Although the situation is certainly better than that of Tellichery, yet I think it has not been judicious to remove the commercial resident from that place, while a possibility remains of Mahe being restored to the French. In the mean time Tellichery will suffer greatly, and I know, from having been there formerly, that during all the fair monsoon, goods may be landed and shipped there with great facility.

Having been disappointed in not finding the commercial resident at home, in the afternoon I went about four miles to Tellichery, and was most hospitably received by my friend Mr. Waddel, who had lately come to reside in the fort, or factory.

After entering the lines, within which the natives have long enjoyed the protection of an English government, a wonderful change for the better appears in the face of the country; and the thriving state of the plantations, on the sandy grounds near the sea, show how capable of improvement all the land of that kind in the province really is. The low hills, however, all the way between Vadacurry and Tellichery, approach very near the sea, and leave for plantations a much narrower level than is found in the southern parts of the province.

8th—10th January.—I remained at Tellichery, taking an account of the neighbouring country. This having been long the chief settlement of the English on the coast of Malabar, and having been now deserted by the Company's commerce, has been rather on the decline, but still the richest natives on the coast reside here, and the inhabitants are by far more civilized than in any other part of the province. They enjoy some particular privileges, especially that of being more moderately taxed than their neighbours.

The Portuguese inhabitants who found here an asylum, when by the violence of the Sultan they were driven from the rest of the province, have for twelve or fourteen days been embodied as a militia. They seem to be very fond of military parade, and have already made some progress in their exercises. It appears to me, that they would look very well, and soon become good soldiers, had they decent clothing and accoutrements, but nothing can be more motley or ridiculous than their present undress, for clothing it cannot be called.

12th January.—I went about ten miles to Cananore, where I met Mr. Hodgson, the collector of the northern district of Malabar. The roads were execrable. The country through which I passed consists, as usual, of low hills and narrow vallies. The hills inland are covered with bushes, and beautifully skirted with plantations. The rice grounds are extensive, well drained, carefully supplied with water, and few of them are waste. Near the sea, the hills are bare; and, wherever the rock would admit the use of the plough, they have formerly been cultivated. At present there is a scarcity of inhabitants.

The proper name of Cananore is Canura. It was purchased from the Dutch by the

the ancestors of the Biby, who is a Moplay. Previous to this the family were of very little consequence, and entirely dependent on the Chercal Rájás, but having got a fortress, considered by the Nairs as impregnable, they became powerful, and were looked up to as the head of all the Mussulmans of Malayála. Various contradictory accounts are given, concerning the manner in which a Mussulman family came to be possessed of a sovereignty in Malabar. The most probable is, that they were originally petty Nair chiefs, who obtained a grant of this territory from Cheruman Permal; and that they afterwards were converted, owing to a young lady's having fallen in love with a Mussulman. The children which she had by him were of course outcasts from the Hindus, but being heirs to the family, it was judged prudent for the whole to embrace the faith of Mahomet, in order to prevent the estate from reverting to the Chercal Rájá on the failure of heirs. The only male at present in the family is a lad, son of the Biby or lady of Cananore, who manages the affairs of the family during his minority. The succession goes in the female line, as usual in Malabar the children of the son will have no claim to it, and he will be succeeded by the son of his niece, who is the daughter of his sister. This young lady has lately been married, and in the evening I was conducted by Mr. Hodgson to a grand dinner which was given, on the occasion, to all the European ladies and gentlemen in the place We were received by the Biby in her bed-room, and the ladies were admitted into the chamber of her grand daughter. The dining-room was very large, and well lighted, and the dinner was entirely after the English fashion. The quantity of meat put on the table, as usual in India, was enormous, and the wines and liquors were very good. The young chief, with the father and husband of the young lady, who have no kind of authority, received the company in the dining-room, but did not sit at table. When dinner was served, they retired to a couch at one end of the hall, and smoked hookas, until the company rose to dance. Appropriate toasts were given, and these were honoured by salutes of guns from the Biby's ships. Many fireworks were displayed, and there was music both European and native. The house of the Biby is very large, and though not so showy as some of the Sultan's palaces, is by far more comfortable, and is in fact by much the best native house that I have seen.

Cananore is situated at the bottom of a small bay, which is one of the best on the coast. It contains several very good houses that belong to Mussulman merchants. Although the disturbances of Cotioté have diminished the exports, the trade of the place is still flourishing. The people here have no communication with the Maldives, although the Sultan and inhabitants of these islands are Moplays.

Cananore is defended by a fortress situated on the point which forms the bay. Since the province has been ceded to the Company, it has been strengthened with works after the European fashion, and is the head quarters of the province, for which it seems excellently adapted.

13th January.—I went ten miles to Matmul, situated at the mouth of a river, which derives its name from a town called Valya-pattanam, or the increasing city. The river at the mouth is very wide, and immediately within the bar divides into two branches, both navigable in boats to a considerable distance.

14th January.—I went about ten miles to Aritta Parumba, which by the English is commonly called Artelle.

15th January.—I went about ten miles to Cavai, on the north side of Mount Dilla. The road at first conducted me over uncultivated hilly land. About three miles from Cavai I entered a plain extending to the sea, and, like most others on the coast of Malabar, much intersected by salt water creeks, that are a great interruption to travelling, even where they are fordable. I was under the necessity of being ferried over

one salt water river. The whole of the plain consists of rice ground called vaylu, and the soil is very poor. Near the sea shore the ground is somewhat higher, is called Parumba, and is fit for the cultivation of the cocoa-nut. A very small part of this is planted, the remainder is quite waste.

Malabar province, which I am now about to quit, may be divided into two portions. By far the most extensive part consists of low hills, separated by narrow vallies, and from the Ghats this always extends a considerable distance to the westward, and sometimes even to the sea. These hills, when cleared, are called parum, or parumba; and when covered with trees, which are only cut down once in ten or twelve years, they are called ponna or ponnum. They are seldom of any considerable height, but in general have steep sides and level summits. The sides possess the best soil; and in Parum land, in order to prevent the soil from being washed away by the rain, are formed into terraces. The summits in many places are bare; and, especially towards the north, expose to the view large surfaces of naked rock. The vallies, called candum or paddum land, contain in general rivulets that convey away the superfluous water; but in some places, the level is not sufficient; and in the rainy season the grounds are much overflowed. The soil in these vallies is extremely fertile.

The other portion of Malabar consists of a poor sandy soil, and is confined to the plains on the sea coast, seldom above three miles wide, and in general not so much. Near the low hills, these plains are in general the most level, and best fitted for the cultivation of rice. Nearer the sea, they are more unequal in their surface, and rise into low downs, which form a kind of parum land admirably adapted for the cocoa-nut palm. This division of the country is wonderfully intersected by inlets from the sea, which often run for great lengths parallel to the coast, receiving the various mountain streams, and communicating with the ocean by different narrow and shallow openings. In other places, where there are none of these salt inlets, the low land within the downs on the coast is in the rainy season totally overflowed, for the fresh water has then no vent, and must therefore stagnate until it is gradually evaporated. As it dries up, it leaves the ground fit for some particular kinds of rice; and it is probably owing to this cultivation, that these stagnant waters do not impair the salubrity of the air. All Malabar may indeed be considered as a healthy country, and one upon which nature has bestowed uncommon advantages.

CHAP. XIV. — *Journey through the Southern Parts of Canara.*

JANUARY 16th, 1801. — I went about two miles, said to be two cosses and a half, to a place called Urigara, or the bank. Immediately beyond Cavai I was ferried over a very wide inlet of the sea, which separates the province of Malabar from that of Canara, but the country called Malayala by the natives extends a considerable way farther north. My road all the way led along a narrow bank of sand, between the sea and the inlet. The surf, although larger than any that I have seen on this coast, is by no means so violent as at Madras, and small fishing canoes go through it with ease. At Urigara the sand-bank increases in width, and admits of some rice-fields, and plantations of cocoa-nut trees. There is here no village, but there are a few huts inhabited by Moplays, who now possess the sea coast of this part of Malayala, as the Nairs do the interior. On the side of the inlet, opposite from Urigara, is Nileswara, now a Moplay village, but formerly the residence of a Rájá, who derived his title from the place, which is called after one of the names of the god Siva. Although the Nairs are still more numerous than the Moplays, yet during Tippoo's authority, while not protected by government, the Hindus were forced to skulk in the woods, and all such as could

could be caught were circumcised. It must be observed, that however involuntary this conversion may be, it is perfectly effectual, and the convert immediately becomes a good Mussulman, as otherwise he would have no cast at all, and, although the doctrine of cast be no part of the faith of Muhammed, it has in India been fully adopted by the low ranks of Mussulmans. On entering Canara, an immediate change in the police takes place. No person is here permitted to swagger about with arms, these may be kept in the house for protection against thieves; but they must not be brought into public, for the encouragement of assassination.

17th January.—I went about ten miles to Hosso-durga, or Pungal-cotay; both of which signify the new fort, the former in the dialect of Karnáta, and the latter in the Malayala language. The country near the sea, most of the way that I came to-day, is low and sandy, but much of it is rice-land, intermixed with which is much sandy land, too poor, the natives say, to produce cocoa-nut palms. The whole appears to be much neglected, owing to a want of inhabitants.

Towards Hosso-durga, the dry-field rises into gentle swells; yet it is too hard and dry for plantations. It is now waste; but, when there were plenty of people, it was cultivated for ragy (*Cynosurus coraconus*), horse-gram (*Dolichos biflorus*), sesamum, and different pulses. The hill-rice is here unknown, the soil, however, is exactly the same as that which is used to the southward for this grain

The fort is large, and well built of the laterite, common all over Malayala The bastions being round, it is more capable of defence than the native forts in general, in which the defences are usually square. It occupies a fine rising ground, looks well at a distance, and commands a noble prospect. The only inhabitants are a few Puttar Bráhmans, who serve a temple, and whose ancestors were placed there by the Ikeri Rájá, who built the fort.

18th January.—I went an easy stage to Beacul.

19th January.—I went to a temple dedicated to Iswara, at a place called Pulla.

20th January.—I went about ten miles to Kanya-pura, and about half way crossed a river of considerable width; yet at low water it is shallow.

21st January.—I ferried over the lake to the peninsula on which Cumly stands, and which was formerly joined to Kanya-pura by a bridge. The situation of the fort is very fine, and the town has formerly been pretty considerable. The two rivers leave a narrow isthmus of rice-fields.

22d January—I went a short stage to Ulala, a large town on the south side of the lake of Mangalore, and formerly the residence of a petty prince. I first passed through Harawuriy Manjéswara, which is immediately north from the Manjéswara that belonged to the Vitly Rájá, but it is situated in the district surrounding Mangalore, which was not divided among the petty Rajás, but was immediately under the government of the lieutenant of the Ikeri Rája who commanded at Mangalore.

I afterwards crossed over the lake to the town, where I remained until the 29th. The lake is a fine body of salt water, separated from the sea by a beach of sand. In this, formerly, there was one opening; the depth of water in which was such, that ships of a considerable burthen, after their cargo had been removed, could enter the lake. Last year a new opening formed in the beach, which has proved very injurious to the harbour. The depth of the old opening has diminished, and that of the new one has never become great, so that now even at high water, and in easy weather, vessels drawing more than ten feet cannot enter.

For a native place of strength, the fort of Mangalore was well constructed; but was destroyed by Tippoo, after he had found how little his fortresses were calculated to resist

resist European soldiers, and with what difficulty he could retake any of them, that were garrisoned by a few British troops. The town, called also Codeal Bundar, is large, and is built round the sides of the peninsula, in the elevated center of which the fort was placed. The lake, by which the peninsula is formed, is a most beautiful piece of salt water. The boats that ply on it are execrable, and the fishermen by whom they are managed are a very indolent drunken race.

The Princes of the house of Ikeri had given great encouragement to the Christians, and had induced 80,000 of them to settle in Tulava. They are all of Kankána descent, and retained the language, dress, and manners of the people of that country. The clergy, it is true, adopted the dress of the order to which they belonged, but they are all natives descended from Kankana families, and were purposely educated in a seminary at Goa, where they were instructed in the Portuguese and Latin languages, and in the doctrines of the church of Rome. In Tulava they had 27 churches, each provided with a vicar, and the whole under the controul of a vicar general, subject to the authority of the archbishop of Goa. Tippoo threw the priests into dungeons, forcibly converted to Islámism the laity, and destroyed all the churches. As the Christian religion does not prevent the re-admission into the church of such delinquents, these involuntary Mussulmans have in general reconciled themselves with the clergy, who now of course are at liberty, and 15,000 have already returned to Mangalore and its vicinity, 10,000 made their escape to Malabar, from whence they are returning home as quickly as their poverty will admit. The clergy are now busy with their flocks, whose poverty, however, has hitherto prevented them from rebuilding any of their churches. During the government of Hyder, these Christians were possessed of considerable estates in land, all of which were confiscated by Tippoo, and immediately bestowed on persons of other casts, from whom it would be difficult to resume them. These poor people have none of the vices usually attributed to the native Portuguese, and their superior industry is more readily acknowledged by the neighbouring Hindus, than avowed by themselves. The vicar-general was long confined in Jamál-abád. He speaks Latin neither correctly, nor with fluency, and seems very desirous of obtaining what he calls a domineering power over the sect, that his authority may be equal to that of the native Gurus; so as to keep his flock in good order, not only by the spiritual means of excommunication, but also by the temporal expedients of fine and corporal punishment.

Chap. XV. — *Journey from Mangalore to Beiduru.*

JANUARY 29th. — I went about ten miles to Arcola, which is also called Feringypetta, having formerly been chiefly inhabited by the Christians of Kankána, invited to reside here by the Princes of the house of Ikeri. Its situation, on the northern bank of the southern Mangalore river, is very fine, and it was formerly a large town. After Tippoo had taken General Matthews, he destroyed the town, and carried away its inhabitants. One end only of the church remains, which however shows that it has been a neat building. Its situation is remarkably fine.

Even now the river contains a great deal of water, and in the rainy season it is very large. Its banks, like those of the Panyani river, are very beautiful and rich. Indeed the whole country entirely resembles Malabar, only the sides of the hills have been formed into terraces with less industry. As no hill-rice is cultivated in this vicinity, the terraces are formed at the roots of the hills only, where the gardens in Malabar are situated. According to the report of the natives, not one-fourth part of the ground fit for gardens is now planted. They say, that Tippoo, in order to remove every

every inducement for Europeans to frequent the country, destroyed all the pepper vines, and all the trees on which these were supported. Much of the rice-land is so well watered by springs and rivulets, that it produces a constant succession of crops of that grain; one crop being sown as soon as the preceding one has been cut. Although here the steep sides of the hills are not formed into terraces, as in Malabar, yet the gently sloping lands are formed into rice-fields that are cultivated once a year. In Malabar they would be either planted, or reserved for the cultivation of hill-rice, sesamum, or the like; and would yield a crop once only in three years.

30th January. — Yesterday a considerable part of my baggage lost its way; and although accompanied by two guides, and travelling on the most public road in Canara, I did not discover my tents until two o'clock this morning. The guides and attendants in excuse for their stupidity, alledged, that they were misled by the reports of the natives, who had informed them of my having passed places which I never had been near. The cattle were so much fatigued that I would not proceed, so I employed the day in collecting plants.

31st January — In the morning I went three Sultany cosses to Nagara Agrarum.

1st February — I went three cosses to Cavila-cutty The hills are much higher than those to the westward, and some of them are covered with tall thick forests, in which are found teak (*Thcka*) and wild mango (*Mangifera*) trees, and the palm, which Linnæus called caryota. These hills abound with tigers, which have of late killed several passengers. The road all the way is tolerably well formed, but the engineer has paid no attention to avoid hills, some parts of it are excessively steep I passed many oxen, loaded with salt, going to the Mysore dominions, and met many coming from thence loaded with iron.

In the temples of Tulava there prevails a very singular custom, which has given origin to a cast named Movlar. Any woman of the four pure casts, Bráhman, Kshatri, Vaisya, or Súdra, who is tired of her husband, or who (being a widow, and consequently incapable of marriage.) is tired of a life of celibacy, goes to a temple, and eats some of the rice that is offered to the idol She is then taken before the officers of government, who assemble some people of her cast to inquire into the cause of her resolution, and, if she be of the Bráhman cast, to give her an option, of living either in the temple or out of its precincts. If she choose the former, she gets a daily allowance of rice, and annually a piece of cloth. She must sweep the temple, fan the idol with a Tibet cow's tail (*Bos grunnis*), and confine her amours to the Bráhmans In fact, she generally becomes a concubine to some officer of revenue, who gives her a trifle in addition to her public allowance, and who will flog her severely if she grant favours to any other person The male children of these women are called Moylar, but are fond of assuming the title of Stanika, and wear the Brahmanical thread. As many of them as can procure employment live about the temples, sweep the areas, sprinkle them with an infusion of cow-dung, carry flambeaus before the gods, and perform other similar low offices The others are reduced to betake themselves to agriculture, or some honest employment. The daughters are partly brought up to live like their mothers, and the remainder are given in marriage to the Stanikas.

The Bráhmany women who do not choose to live in the temple; and the women of the three lower casts, cohabit with any man of pure descent that they please, but they must pay annually to the temple from one-sixteenth to half a pagoda. Their children also are called Moylar, those descended from Bráhmany women can marry the daughters of the Moylar who live in the temples, but neither of them ever intermarry with persons descended from a woman of inferior cast. It is remarkable in this

cast,

cast, where, from the corrupt example of their mothers, the chastity of the women might be considered as doubtful, that a man's children are his heirs; while in most other casts the custom of Tulava requires a man's sister's children, by way of securing the succession in the family. The Moylar differ much in their customs, each endeavouring to follow those of the cast from which his mother derived her origin. Thus the descendants of a Bráhmany prostitute wear the thread, eat no animal food, drink no spirituous liquors, and make marks on their faces and bodies similar to those which are used by the sacred cast. They are not, however, permitted to read the Védas, nor the eighteen Puránas. Indeed but very few of them learn to keep accompts, or to read songs written in the vulgar language. Contrary to the custom of the Bráhmans, a widow is permitted to marry. They burn the dead, and believe in the transmigration of souls, but seem to have very crude notions on this subject. They are, indeed, very ignorant of the doctrine of the Bráhmans, who utterly despise them, and will not act as their Gurus to give them upadesa. They will attend, however, at the ceremonies of the Moylar, and read the services proper on the occasion, and will accept from them both dhana and dharma.

The strata of Tulava, near the sea-coast, resemble entirely those of Malayala, and consist of laterite or brickstone, with a very few rocks of granite interspersed. This granite is covered with a dark black crust, and is totally free from veins of quartz, or of felspar. In many places large masses of the granite immersed in the laterite are in a state of decay, the black mica has entirely disappeared, and the white felspar has crumbled into powder, leaving the quartz in angular masses. These sometimes form so large a share of the whole rock, that, after the decay of the other component parts of the granite, they firmly adhere.

On arriving in the Cavila district, the granite shows itself more abundantly, and among that which, as usual, has no strata, I observed some disposed in strata running east and west, and which were truncated at the end, like much of that which is found above the Ghats. Even this was free from veins of quartz.

2d February.—I went three Sultany cosses to Bellata Angady, or the white market; a place very improperly named, as it contains only one shop, and in that nothing but betel is sold.

3d February.—I went a short journey to Jamál-ábád, which originally was called Narasingha Angady.

4th February.—I returned by the same road to the Jain temple at Bellata Angady, and then turned towards the north, and came to Padanguddy in a district named Majura, which formerly belonged to the Bungar Rájás.

5th February.—I went three cosses to Sopina Angady. From Padanguddy, to the banks of the northern branch of the Mangalore river at Emuru, the country is much like what I saw yesterday, but more woody. Between the river and Sopina Angady, the hills are steeper, and consequently the road is very bad.

Emuru is a small town, containing eight temples belonging to the Jain, and one to the Siva Brahmans. The former have an annual allowance of 14 pagodas, and the latter one of 10 pagodas. As in this country the worshippers of Jain are more numerous than those of Siva, the temples of the former ought to have the best endowments; but while the native officers of government are mostly Brahmans, pretences will never be wanting for depressing these heretical temples.

At Emuru is an immense colossal image of one of the gods worshipped by the Jain. It is formed of one solid piece of granite and stands in the open air.

6th February.—I went two cosses to Mudu, or East Biddery, and by the way crossed

crossed a branch of the northern Mangalore river, which descends from the Ghats. On the way, two tigers were seen by some of my people. Although the country is well cleared, it contains very little rice ground; and, as the hills are considered as totally useless, this is in fact one of the poorest countries that I have ever seen.

7th February — I went three cosses to Carculla.

Carculla is an open town, containing about 200 houses, which mostly belong to shopkeepers. Near it are the ruins of the palace of the Byrasu Wodears, the most powerful of the Jain Rájás of Tulava. The Jain, who are the chief inhabitants of the place, do not pretend that their Prince had any authority over the Rájas of the south; the whole tradition, therefore, at Hosso-betta seems to be erroneous. That place, however, may have belonged to the Byrasu Wodears; as the territories of the Rájas of Tulava were probably as much intermixed as those of the chiefs of Malayala. The revenues of this family, it is said, amounted to 17,000 pagodas, or 6850l. 4s. 7½d.

The most judicious old men that I could find here gave me the following account of the weather. Between the 13th of March and the 13th of May they have slight showers, lasting three or four hours a day. These come three or four days successively, with equal intervals of dry weather, and accompany easterly winds. In the first month the winds night and day are easterly, in the latter part of this time the winds are from the southward, and in the west there is much thunder. Between the 14th of May and the 16th of August there come from the west strong winds, and heavy rains. The land winds are not at all perceptible. Between the 17th of August and the 15th of October there are gentle showers from the eastward. Except when it rains, the winds are westerly. From the 16th of October to the 13th of November there are slight showers from the eastward. The rain is sometimes, however, so heavy as to injure the crops. Except when it rains, the winds are variable. In the four following months there is no rain, and the air is reckoned cold by the natives. At present, the days are hot and the nights cool. The winds in the day come from the sea, and in the night from the land.

9th February. — I went three cosses to Beiluru, a place where there were a few houses of cultivators, but no shops nor market. There is a small temple of Siva there, with an annual allowance to the pújári of six pagodas The country is rather woody, and little rice-ground can be seen from the road. The granite rocks make a conspicuous figure on the high lands.

10th February. — I went three cosses to Haryadika.

11th February. — In the morning I went three cosses to Udipu. The country, to the vicinity of this place, is similar to that which I passed through on the two preceding days. The strata of granite, however, are mostly covered by the laterite. The roads are execrable, but, like many of those in Canara, are shaded by fine rows of trees, especially of the vateria indica, which, being now in full blossom, makes the most beautiful avenues that I have ever seen

On getting within sight of the sea near Udipu, the country becomes more level; and round the town it is finely cultivated, and the rice-fields are beautifully intermixed with palm gardens. Such a delightful situation has been chosen as the chief seat of the Tulava Bráhmans of the Madual sect.

I questioned the Bráhmans concerning the history of the country; and they produced a book called Grama Paditti, which they say is historical. It is written in Sanskrit, and is presumed to have been composed by Vishnu, who assumed a human form, under the name of Vedi Vyasa, and promulgated the Vedas, the eighteen Puránas, the Grama Paditti, and other sacred writings. From this work the Bráhmans

say,

say, that Tulava was created, and given entirely to them, 1 arbuda, 95 crowds, 58 lacs, and 80 thousand of years, before the extinction of the Pándu family. The last of these ended his reign in the year of the Kali-yugam 1036,

or - - - - - -	3,865 years ago
Add 80 thousand - - -	80,000
58 lacs - - - -	5,800,000
95 crowds - - -	950,000,000
1 arbuta - - -	1,000,000,000
	1,955,883,865

1,955,883,865 years since the creation of Tulava, according to the Gráma Paditti. The candid reader will not expect, that in a work comprehending the accounts of such a long duration of time, a few thousand years, earlier or later, in the chronology of these degenerate times can be considered as of any consequence. This having been premised, and the accounts of the Hindu gods and heroes having been left in becoming obscurity, we find from the Gráma Paditti, that 1115 years after the family of the Pándus became extinct, Ananda Ráya governed Tulava. He and his eight brothers (or rather kinsmen in the male line) reigned 200 years, or until the year of the Kali-yugam 2351. Vakia Rájá and his ten sons (descendants) reigned 112 years, till Kali-yugam 2463. Maursushy and his ten sons governed 137 years, till Kali-yugam 2600. Cadumba Ráya 45 years, till Kali-yugam 2645. Myuru Varmá 10 years, till Kali-yugam 2655. Hubushica, chief of the savages, called Coragoru, or Corar, governed 12 years, till Kali-yugam 2657. Lócáditya Ráya, son of Myuru Varma, expelled the Coragoru, and governed Tulava, Malayála, and Haiga 21 years, till Kali-yagam 2678. After his death, eighty-one of his cousins, among whom the chief was Cadumba Ráya of Wudia-nagara, governed 24 years, till Kali-yugam 2702. Balhica Ráya, and twenty-nine other petty princes, governed 46 years, till the Kali-yugam 2748. Abhiri, and ten Rájás governed 99 years, till Kali-yugam 2847. The descendants of Moni Rájá then reigned 200 years, till Kali-yugam 3047, or till 53 years before the birth of Christ. At this time Mahummud Surtala, a Mlécha, who was a spy, visited the whole country as far as Ráméswara. It must be observed, that, according to these Bráhmans, Mlécha properly means an Arab, Turc a Tartar, and Yavana an European; but all the three terms are frequently applied to the nations living toward the north and west of Hindustan, without distinction of country or religion. Nine Belally Ráyas governed six years, till Kali-yugam 3053, or 47 years before the birth of Christ. The Turc then returned, took Anagundi, and governed 540 years, till the Kali-yugam 3593, or A. D. 493. The followers of Vyása here, it must be observed, cut short the government of the Belalla family, who are more detestable than Mléchas, as having been followers of the Arhita or Jain Brahmans. Campi Raya of Penu-conda drove out the Mléchas, and governed 13 years over the whole country south of the Krishna, till the year Kali-yugam 3606, or A. D. 506. This Prince sent an officer named Sankara Déva Ráya to visit Tulava. In his train was a messenger (Peon) named Hucabuca, a Curuba by cast. This fellow having received assistance from the Yavanas, took Anagundi, and having built a city near it, which he called Vijaya-nagara, or the city of victory, he assumed the title of Hari-hara Ráya. This account of the origin of the family of Vijaya-nagara may be attributed to the following circumstance. The Bráhmans of Tulava had hitherto been exempted from taxes, but Hari-hara, on the conquest of the country, imposed an annual tax upon them, to the amount of 12,000 morays of rice. Déva Swámi, a tributary Prince, was ordered to collect this tax; but,

but, his conscience having revolted at the thoughts of exacting tribute from the Bráhmans, he was dismissed, and their tax was increased to 2578 pagodas in money. The history of the Grama Padittí ends with this grievous event, but the Bráhmans say, that thirteen Princes of the family of Hari-hara governed for about 150 years, or from A. D. 493 to 643. Unfortunately for the exactness of this chronology, many inscriptions on stone, made in the reigns of these Princes, are scattered throughout their dominions. Copies of five of these have been delivered to the Bengal government. The date of the first is in the era of Salivahanam 1297, or A. D. 1375, and of the latest E. S. 1400, or A. D 1478. With this correction of about eight centuries and a half, Muhammad Surutala may have been a Mussulman, and probably some of the followers of Muhammad Ghizni. The Yavana dynasty of Anagundi is, however, a matter of great curiosity and not yet well understood.

These Brahmans say, that the celebrated Krishna Ráyalu, of Vijaya-nagara, was not of the family of Hari-hara, but governed the same dominions after the overthrow of the former dynasty. He was descended from the nurse of one of the five Princes called Pándus, who lived at the commencement of the present Kali-yugam. Dharma Ráya, the last of these five brothers, died in the year 36 of that era, or 4865 years ago.

12th February.—I went three cosses to Brahma-wara.

13th February.—I went three cosses to Hirtitty, one of the fourteen small villages that are called by the common name of Cotta. The whole of this almost is occupied by Brahmans, who pretend to be of Parasu Rama's colony, although almost the only language spoken by them is that of Karnáta. Very few of them understand the peculiar dialect of Tulava. It must be observed, however, that, this country having been long subject to Princes residing above the Ghats, all persons of rank speak the language of Karnáta, and from having been subject to these Princes, and from its having been the place where all intercourse between them and Europeans was conducted, the province has got the name of the coast of Canara, a corruption of Karnáta. In the towns on the sea-coast the Mussulman language is more commonly understood, than in any other part of the peninsula that I have visited.

14th February.—I went three cosses to Kunda-pura, where I entered the northern division of Canara.

16th February.—I was obliged to set out without seeing Ramappa Varmika, and after having crossed the lake, I went three cosses to Kira-manéswara, a temple dedicated to Siva. I passed first between the sea and a branch of the Kunda-pura lake, and afterwards my road led along a rising ground near the sea. I saw many plantations of cocoa-nut trees, but, owing to the want of inhabitants, they are very poor.

17th February.—Early in the morning I was joined by the learned Brahman Ramuppa Varmika, who accompanied me to Beiduru, three cosses distant. By the way we crossed three rivers, the first, called the Edamavany, is the most considerable; the second also is not fordable, and is called Angaru; the third is small, and joins the second at some distance to the westward. Its channel is in many places shut up, and converted into places for making salt; for the tide in all the three rivers reaches a considerable way into the country. On this day's route there is much rice-ground, and the crops look well.

Beiduru is an open village, containing about 120 houses. It had once a fort, and was then a large place, which belonged to a Jain Princess, named Byra Dévi. This family was destroyed by the Siva-bhaktars, and the place has ever since been on the decline. The cultivators now are Bráhmans, and Nadavar, who are a kind of Bunts, but they do not speak the language of Tulava. The Jainar are quite extinct. One

One temple of the kind called Busty continued until the time of Hyder; when the pujari, being no longer able to procure a subsistence, left the place.

The temple at present here is one dedicated to Siva. There are about it several inscriptions on stone, that contain the grants of lands with which the temple was endowed. One, which was a good deal defaced, so as not to be wholly legible, is dated in the year of Salivahanam 1445 (A. D. 152$\frac{3}{4}$), in the time of Devarasu Wodear, Rája of Sanghita-pura; and son of Sanga-raya Wodear, who held his Ráyada of Krishna Raya, the chief of Rájás in wealth, a Rájá equal to Paraméswara, a hero greater than the Trivira, &c &c. Sanghitapura, in the vulgar language called Hadwully, is four cosses east from Batuculla, and was formerly the residence of a governor appointed by the Kings of Vijaya-nagara. Devarasu Wodear must either have been one of these, or an ancestor of Byra-Dévi. Krishna Raya is, no doubt, the celebrated Ráyalu of that name.

In another inscription, of which a copy has been presented to the Bengal government, it is stated, that in the year of Salivahanam 1429 (A D. 150$\frac{6}{7}$), and in the reign of Jebila Narasingha Ráya, the great King of Vijaya-nagara, Kedaly Baswappa Arsa Wodear having been appointed to the Ráyada of Barcuru, with orders to restore the lands of the god, and of the Bráhmans, certain merchants of Bideruru (Nagara) founded an inn for the accommodation of six travelling Bráhmans, and for this purpose purchased certain lands, which are specified in the inscription.

Ramuppa Varmika says, that his family have been hereditary Shanabogas, or accomptants of Barcuru district, ever since the time of the Belalla Ráyas; which dynasty, according to him, commenced their reign here in the year 637 of Salivahanam or A. D. 71$\frac{4}{5}$. Ramuppa, however, possesses no revenue accompts previous to the conquest of the country by Hari-hara Ráyalu, in the year of Sal. 1258 (A. D. 133$\frac{5}{6}$).

Chap. XVI. — *Journey through the Northern Parts of Canara.*

FEBRUARY 18th. — I went four cosses to Batuculla, which means the round town.

Batuculla is a large open town, containing 500 houses. It has two mosques; one of which receives from the Company an allowance of 100 pagodas, and the other half as much. These places of worship are situated in a quarter of the town inhabited by Mussulmans alone. Many of these are wealthy, and go on commercial speculations to different parts of the coast; but this is their home, and here they leave their families. In this part of the country there are no Buntar, nor does the language of Tulava extend so far to the north. In fact, Batuculla is properly in a country called Haiga, and the most common farmers are a kind of Brahmans, named Haiga after the country, and a low cast of Hindus called Halepecas. There are here 76 gudies, or temples belonging to the followers of the Vyása.

19th February. — Honawera being too far distant for two days journey with my cattle, I went a short stage of one coss and a half to Shiraly.

20th February. — I went three cosses to Beiluru, which signifies the cleared place, and is a common name in countries where the dialect of Karnáta prevails. My tents were, however, pitched in a very stately grove of the Calophyllum inophyllum, which in this part of the country is much planted near the villages. It grows to a large size, especially in sandy places near the sea. The common lamp oil of the country is expressed from its seed, by means of a mill turned by oxen. It is here called Loingay, the name by which above the Ghats the robinia mitis is known. In Tulava and

and Malayala it is called puna, by us commonly written poon. I suspect that the poon of the eastern islands is different.

From Shiraly to Beiluru the plain, between the sea and the low hills, varies in breadth from half a mile to a mile and a half. Its soil is in general good, and almost the whole of it is cultivated for rice, but few parts yield two crops annually. The sea-shore is skirted with groves of cocoa-nut palms, and the view is very beautiful. This plain is only watered by two small streams, the one of which is a branch of the Shiraly. Among the low hills are said to be, as usual, many narrow rice vallies. About three-quarters of a coss from Beiluru is Murodeswara, a temple standing on a lofty promontory that has been fortified, and at high water is insulated by a narrow channel. To the south of the promontory is a small bay, sheltered by some rocks, which appear above the water, and afford protection to boats. Near this is a small village containing shops (bazars). South-west from the promontory is a peaked island, which I suppose is what our seamen call Hog Island: the natives call it Jaliconda. In the offing from Murodéswara is a very large rock; and still farther west an island, which I suppose is what the seamen call Pigeon Island. It seems to be five or six leagues from the continent, and is pretty high, with a flat top. By the natives it is called Naytrany Guda, which last word signifies a hill. They say, that it has trees, with a small stream of fresh water, and good landing on its western side. Its caves are frequented by many wild pigeons, whence the European name is probably derived. It is frequented also by boats for coral, with which its shores abound; and they likewise supply all the neighbouring continent with quick lime.

To this island many people also go to pray, offer cocoa-nuts, and sacrifice to a stone pillar called Jetiga, which represents a buta, or male devil. As this spirit is supposed to destroy the boats of those who neglect him, he is chiefly worshipped by traders and fishermen. On the continent there is another pillar called Jetiga, but as this devil is less troublesome than the one on the island, he receives fewer marks of attention.

21st February.—I went four cosses to the south side of the Honawera lake, and encamped in a cocoa-nut grove close by the ferry, which is above a mile wide, and without previous notice it is impossible to procure a conveyance capable of transporting cattle. The country from Beiluru to Cassergody, about two miles from the ferry, is one of the most barren that I ever saw. It consists of low hills of laterite, which extend down to the sea, and are almost destitute of soil. In some places a few stunted trees may be seen; but in general the rock is thinly scattered with tufts of grass, or of thorny plants. On the whole route there are only two narrow vallies. In these there are a few inhabitants, and a little good rice-land. On descending to Cassergoda the traveller enters a plain, which after having been in the desert, looks well, but its soil is very poor, and it wants cultivators, especially to plant cocoa-nut palms, for which it is best fitted.

The lake is of great extent, and, like that at Kunda-pura, contains many islands, some of which are cultivated. It reaches almost to the Ghats, and in the dry season is quite salt; but it receives many small streams, which during the rainy monsoon become torrents, and render the whole fresh. By the natives it is commonly called a river, but lake is a more proper term. The lake abounds with fish; but many more are taken in the sea, and, when salted, form a considerable article of commerce with the inland country. Each fishing-boat pays annually to government from four to six rupees.

 22d Feb-

22d February.—I crossed the inlet, or lake, and went two cosses to Hulledy-pura, where the tahsildar of Honawera resides.

24th February.—I went a long journey, called four cosses, and encamped on the south side of a river opposite to Mirzee. About two cosses from Hulledy-pura, I came to a town named Cumty. It seems to have been formerly a place of some note. Its lanes are straight, and fenced with stone walls, and it has many cocoa-nut gardens.

On my return from the pepper hills to Mirzee, I passed a very fine plantation of betel-nut palms, belonging to four Brahmans, and containing many thousand trees. It was placed on the two steep sides of a very narrow valley, well supplied with water from springs. Here I observed the first regular strata since leaving Pali-ghat: they consisted of very soft pot-stone, probably impregnated with hornblende slate, as they seem to be a continuation of the quarries of slaty sienite, from which the temples at Batuculla have been supplied with stone. I have already noticed the affinity that prevails between the hornblende and pot-stone rocks in the dominions of Mysore. The strata at this garden are vertical, and run nearly north and south.

26th February.—I went three cosses to Gaukarna. There was a thick fog, which prevented me from seeing the country, but near the road it was a plain, consisting mostly of rice-fields, many of which, by the breaking down of the bank, had been inundated with salt water. At the western extremity of this plain is a ridge of low barren hills, which bend round to the sea, and separate the plain on the banks of the river from that on which Gaukarna stands, about a coss north from the mouth of the river. The plain of Gaukarna is well cultivated, and consists of rice-fields intermixed with cocoa-nut gardens.

Gaukarna, or the cow's horn, is a place of great note among the Bráhmans, owing to a celebrated image of Siva, called Mahaboleswara. The image is said to have been brought from the mountain Coila by Ravana, King of Lanca. He wished to carry it to his capital, but having put it down here, the idol became fixed in the place, where it stands to this day. The building, by which the idol is at present covered, is very mean. Gaukarna is a scattered place, buried among cocoa-nut plams, but enjoys some commerce, and contains 500 houses, of which Bráhmans occupy one-half.

On my return, I met with an itinerant image of Hanumanta. He was in a palanquin, attended by a pújari, and many vairagis, and had tents, flags, thibet-tails, and all other insignia of honour. He was on an expedition to collect the money that individuals in distress had vowed to his master Vencata Ramanya, the idol at Tripathi, and from his style of travelling seemed to have been successful. Many such collectors are constantly travelling about the peninsula. Out of the contributions the pújari (priest) defrays all the expences of the party, and pays the balance into the treasury at Tripathi, which is one of the richest that the Hindus now possess.

At the temples here dancing girls are kept, which is not done any where on the coast toward the south; for in Tulava and Malayala many of the finest women are at all times devoted to the service of the Bráhmans.

28th February.—I went three cosses to Ancola. Midway is the Gangawali, an inlet of salt water that separates Haiga, or Haiva, from Kankana. Its mouth toward the sea is narrow; but inwards it forms a lake, which is from one mile to half that extent in width, except at the ferry, where it contracts to four or five hundred yards. Boats of a considerable size (patemars) can come over the bar, and ascend the river for three cosses. Canoes can go three cosses farther, to the foot of the Ghats. The boats of Haiga are the rudest of any that I have ever seen, and no where worse than on this river,

river," which possesses no trade; and the country on its banks, although very beautiful, seems rather barren.

1st March.—I went five cosses to Chandya.

In this part of Kankana, a little cut, catechu, or terra japonica, is made by some poor people, who gave me the following account of the process. The tree, or mimosa catechu, is called here keiri, and grows spontaneously on all the hills of Kankana, but no where else in the peninsula that I observed. It is felled at any season; and, the white wood being removed, the heart is cut into small bits, and put with one-half the quantity of water by measure, into a round-bellied earthen pot. It is then boiled for about three hours; and when the decoction has become ropy, it is decanted. The same quantity of water is again added, and boiled, until it becomes ropy, when it is decanted, and a third water also is given. This extracts all the substance from the wood. The three decoctions are then mixed, and next morning boiled in small pots, until the extract becomes thick, like tar. It is afterwards allowed to remain in the pots for two days, and then has become so hard, that it will not run. Some husks of rice are then spread on the ground, and the inspissated juice is formed into balls, about the size of oranges, which are placed on the husks, or on leaves, and dried seven days in the sun. For two months afterwards they are spread out in the shade to dry, or in the rainy season for twice that length of time, and are then fit for sale. Merchants who live about the Ghats advance the whole price four months before the time of delivery, and give 2 rupees for a maund of 40 cutcha seers of 24 rupees weight; that is for a hundred-weight $9\frac{1}{3}\frac{9}{0}$ rupees, or nearly 1l. sterling. The merchants who purchase reside chiefly at Darwara Shanore, and other parts in that neighbourhood, and are those who supply the greater part of the peninsula with this article, which among the natives is in universal use. Their greatest supply comes from that part of Kankana which is subject to the Marattahs. The encouragement of this manufacture in British Kankana seems to merit attention. The tree is exactly the same with what I found used for the like purpose in the dominions of Ava, and does not agree very well with the descriptions in the Supplementum Plantarum of the younger Linnæus, nor in Dr Roxburgh's manuscripts.

2d March.—I went three cosses to Sedasiva-ghur.

4th March.—I went three cosses to Gopi-chitty.

5th March.—I went four cosses to Caderi, and did not see a house the whole way; but the heads of some cultivated vallies approach near the road, and extend from thence towards the river.

6th March.—I went four cosses to Avila-gotna, without having seen the smallest trace of cultivation, or of inhabitants. The country is not, however, entirely a desert. Small villages are scattered through the forests, and hidden in its recesses.

7th March.—Although before leaving Sedásiva-ghur, I had collected the persons who were said to be best informed concerning the road, and had procured from them a list of stages said to be distant from each other three or four cosses, that is, about ten or thirteen miles; yet to-day I came to my stage at Déva-kara, after less than an hour's journey.

CHAP. XVII.—*Journey from the Entrance into Karnata to Hyder-nagara, through the Principalities of Soonda and Ikeri.*

MARCH 8th, 1801.—On leaving Déva-kára, the valley watered by the Bidháti becomes very narrow, and you enter Karnata Désam, which extends below the Ghats, and occupies all the defiles leading up to the mountains. Karnata has been corrupted into Canara, and the coasts of Tulava and Haiga, with the adjacent parts of Malayála and Kankana, as belonging to Princes residing in Karnata, have been called the coast of

of Canara. The language and people of this Désam being called Karnataca, the Musfulmans, on conquering the peninsula, applied this name, changed into Carnatic, to the whole country subject to its Princes, and talked of a Carnatic above the Ghats, and one below these mountains; although no part of this last division belonged to the Karnata of the Hindus. Europeans for a long time considered the country below the eastern Ghats as the proper Carnatic; and, when going to leave Dravada and enter the real Karnata, they talked of going up from the Carnatic to Myfore.

9th March.—I went what was called two Sultany cosses, to Cutaki; but this estimate is formed more from the difficulty of the road than the actual distance, which cannot be above five or six miles. At first I ascended close to the river, with a high hill immediately on my right. Soon after I came to the foot of the Ghat, where a fine stream enters from the south through some ground fit for cultivation; but of this no traces can be observed. I then ascended a very long and steep hill, sloping up by the sides of deep glens; and having gone a little way on a level ridge, I descended a considerable way into a valley, where there is a fine perennial stream. On the banks of this are some rice-ground, and a wood which spontaneously produces pepper, and which is totally neglected. I then ascended a mountain, still longer and steeper than the first; and after a very short descent came to a small lake, and a building for the accommodation of travellers. Another short ascent brought me to a plain country above the Ghats, and immediately afterwards I came to Cutaki.

Here the western Ghats assume an appearance very different from that at Pedda Náyakaná Durga, or Kaveri-pura. The hills, although steep and stony, are by no means rugged, or broken with rocks; on the contrary, the stones are buried in a rich mould, and in many places are not to be seen without digging. Instead, therefore, of the naked, sun-burnt, rocky peaks, so common in the eastern Ghats, we here have fine mountains clothed with the most stately forests. I have no where seen finer trees, nor any bamboos that could be compared with those which I this day observed. The bamboos compose a large part of the forest, grow in detached clumps, with open spaces between, and equal in height the caryota urens, one of the most stately palms, of which also there is great plenty. There is no underwood nor creepers to interrupt the traveller who might choose to wander in any direction through these woods; but the numerous tigers, and the unhealthiness of the climate, would render any long stay very uncomfortable. About midway up the Ghats the teak becomes common; but it is very inferior in size to the following trees, which unfortunately are of less value.

Tari, Myrobalanus Taria, *Buch. MSS.*

Jamba, Mimosa xylocarpon, *Roxb.*

Nandy, foliis oppositis, non stipulaceis, integerrimis, subtus tomentosis.—This is reckoned to make good planks and beams.

Unda Muraga, foliis oppositis, integerrimis stipulis inter folia ut in Rubiaçeis positis.—Also reckoned good for planks and beams.

Mutti, Chuncoa Muttia, *Buch. MSS.*—Good timber.

Sampigy, Michelia Champaca.—The wood used for drums.

Shaguddy. Shaguda, *Buch. MSS.* A strong timber.

Wontay. Artocarpus Bengalensis, *Roxb. MSS.*—The fruit is about the size of an orange, and is preserved with salt. Here it is used by the natives in place of tamarinds, which are much employed by the Hindu cooks.

Hónnay. Pterocarpus santalinus, *Willd.*—The teak in some parts of this district of Yella-pura is abundant, and in the rainy season may be floated down the river.

Below the Ghats the country consists of the laterite, or brickstone, so often mentioned;

tioned; but it is much intermixed with granites, and talcose argilite, which seems to be nothing more than the pot-stone impregnated with more argill than usual, and assuming a slaty form.

The strata on the Ghats are much covered with the soil; so that it is in a few places only that they are to be seen. Having no compass, I could not ascertain their course, but, so far as I could judge from the sun in a country so hilly, they appeared to run north and south, with a dip to the east of about 30 degrees. Wherever it appears on the surface, the rock, although extremely hard or tough, is in a state of decay, and owing to this decay, its stratified nature is very evident. The plates, indeed, of which the strata consist, are in general under a foot in thickness, and are subdivided into rhomboidal fragments by fissures which have a smooth surface. It is properly an aggregate stone, composed of quartz impregnated with hornblende. From this last it acquires its great toughness. In decay, the hornblende in some plates seems to waste faster than in others, and thus leaves the stone divided into zones, which are alternately porous and white. I am inclined to think, that all mountains of a hornblende nature are less rugged than those of granite, owing to their being more easily decomposed by the action of the air. This rock contains many small crystallized particles, apparently of iron.

From the summit of the Ghats to Cutaki the whole country is level enough for the plough, and the soil is apparently good; yet, except in some low narrow spaces used for rice-ground and betel-nut gardens, there is no cultivation. Cutaki is a poor little village, with seven houses.

I perceive no difference in the temperature of air, on coming from the country below the Ghats, and, in fact, do not think that I have to-day ascended more than a thousand feet perpendicular height. This is perhaps the very lowest part of the mountains, but the country is said to rise rapidly all the way to the Marattah frontier.

10th March.—I went four cosses to Yella-pura.

11th March.—I went four cosses to Caray Hosso-hully; that is, the new village at the tank.

12th March.—I went three cosses to Sancada-gonda.

13th March.—I went three cosses to the place which Europeans and Mussulmans call Soonda. In the vulgar language of Karnata it is called Sudha, which is a corruption from Sudha-pura, the Sanskrit appellation. The road was very circuitous; as I went first about south-west, and afterwards almost east.

14th March.—I went four Sultany cosses to Sersi. The outermost wall of Sudha was at least six miles from where I had encamped, and is said by the natives to be sixteen cosses, or at least forty-eight miles, in circumference. There are three lines of fortification round the town. The extent of the first, as I have already observed, was estimated by the natives at three miles square, and the whole space that it contained was closely occupied by houses. In the two spaces surrounded by the outer lines, the houses were formerly scattered in small clumps, with gardens between them.

From the outer gate of Sudha, till I reached Sersi, I saw neither houses nor cultivation, but it was said, that there were villages in the vicinity of the road. The country is more level than that through which I came yesterday. In two places the trees of the forest were covered with pepper-vines, but these were entirely neglected. Sersi is a small village, but it is the residence of the Tahsildar under whom Sudha is placed. It is not central for the district, but is chosen on account of its being a

 great

great thoroughfare, and as having a very considerable custom-house. It has a small mud fort, in which nobody resides, although robbers are still troublesome; but to live in forts is not the custom of Sudha. Near it are the ruins of a fortress, which was built by Ram Chandra Nayaka, the second Prince of the last dynasty. It is called Chinna-pattana, the same name with that of the city which we call Madras.

From a garden on the west side of Sersi, the Sálamala, or Gangawali river takes its rise, and on its east side, from a tank called Aganasini, issues a river of the same name, which in the lower part of its course is called the Tari-holay.

16th March.—Having been employed all the 15th in taking the foregoing account, I to-day went five cosses to Banawasi. A great deal of the country through which I passed has been formerly cleared; and the greater part, although now waste, has not yet been overgrown with trees.

18th March.—I entered the territory of the Mysore Rájá, and went to Chandra-gupti. The country through which I passed is level, and would appear to have been at one time almost entirely cultivated. A great part of it is now overgrown with trees, which have not yet had time to arrive at a great height. Chandra-gupti or Chandra-guti, is also called simply Guti, care must therefore be taken to distinguish it from Gutti, a place of some note situated at a distance towards the north. It formed one of the first acquisitions of the house of Ikeri, and has a fort, which stands on a high peaked hill. The fable of the natives says, that this hill was formerly of an immense height, and prevented the moon from going round in her due course; whence the name of the place is derived. When the Racsha Jellasunda had defeated Krishna, that incarnation of the deity hid himself among the rocks of this hill. The enraged demon, not being able to discover the god, consumed the hill to its present size, very much to the satisfaction of the moon. It may perhaps be thought, that this fable may have arisen from a tradition of the hill having been formerly a volcano. For my own part, I think that these stories are so monstrous, that nothing can be drawn from them, but a commiseration for the credulity of mankind.

About a coss north from Chandra-gupti is a hill producing iron ore, which is wrought to some extent. It is found in veins intermixed with laterite, like the ore of Angada-puram in Malabar. The ore is of the same nature with what is usually smelted in the peninsula; that is to say, it is a black sand ore, which here is conglutinated by clay into a mass, and contains less extraneous matter than common. It is broken into small pieces, and the little masses of iron are picked out of the clay. Every man employed in the work pays to government two rupees or about 4s., and they all have an equal share of the produce. There being no tax on the forges, is perhaps the reason why none are mentioned in the public accompts of this Ráyada, in which much iron is smelted. The workmen say, that in Billighy and Sudha, there is abundance of ore; but in these districts there are no people who understand the process

The rock on which the fort is built is a white granite without observable strata, exactly like that of Jamal-ábád, and which is common throughout Haiga. The nature of the minerals there and here is indeed quite similar.

19th March—I went three cosses to Sunticopa, or dry-ginger-village.

20th March.—I went three cosses to Kilidi.

21st March.—I went three cosses to Ikeri, through a country entirely like that which I saw yesterday. Near Ikeri is a well-built town, named Ságar, which at present is the residence of the chief of the district (amildar). It stands on the southern bank of the Varadá, which is here a very small stream, as being near its source.

Sāgar has some merchants of property, who export to a considerable distance the produce of the country.

During the time Ikeri was the residence of the Princes descended from Sedāsiva, it was a very large place, and by the natives is said, in round numbers, and with the usual exaggeration, to have contained 100,000 houses. Like Sudha, its walls are of very great extent, and form three concentric enclosures, rather than fortifications. It had also a citadel, but of no great strength, which, until eight or ten years ago, continued to be garrisoned. Within it was the palace of the Rajá, constructed of mud and timber, like those of Tippoo, and by no means a large building. The wooden work has been neatly carved, and covered with false gilding. The temple of Siva, where the town stood, is a large edifice, and is formed of stone brought from a great distance; but, as usual, it is destitute of either elegance or grandeur. It is now repairing, and workmen have been brought from Goa for the purpose; even the Portuguese of India being more skilful artists than any that can be procured in this country. At Ikeri there remains no town, but the devastation has not been occasioned by any calamity. When the court removed to Bidderuru, the inhabitants willingly followed. Ikeri continued, however, to be the nominal capital; the Rájás were called by its name, and the coins were supposed to be struck there, although in fact the mint was removed.

22d March. — I went three cosses to Ghenasu-guli.

23d March. — I went three cosses to Duma, or Dumam.

24th March. — Although I had desired the guides to divide the road into tolerably equal stages, I found this day's journey to Fatahpetta very short. It was called two Sultany cosses. The country is rather opener than what we passed through on the two preceding days; but a large proportion of the small quantity of rice-ground is waste.

25th March. — I went two cosses to the centre of Hyder Nagara, through a fog so thick that I could see little of the country. It is extremely hilly, and overgrown with woods, in which there are many fortified defiles and passes, that are guarded by armed men in the service of the Mysore Rájá.

CHAP. XVIII. — *Journey from Hyder-nagara to Heriuru, through the Principalities of Ikeri and Chatrakal.*

MARCH 29th. — I went to Cowldurga, which is said to be four cosses from Nagara; but the stage proved very long, as the gate was at least four miles from where my tents had been pitched. The road the whole way is exceedingly rough and hilly. The hills are all covered with woods, most of which produce the wild pepper vine: but these are quite neglected; and as they are not cultivated, although the village people collect a little pepper, they pay no revenue. The want of the stimulus of rent seems to produce the neglect. I passed through a good many narrow vallies fit for the cultivation of rice, several of which were entirely waste. All the streams of these vallies fall into the river of Honawera.

30th March. — I went four cosses to Hodalla.

31st March. — I went to Tuduru. The stage seemed to be short, but it is called four cosses. The road passes near a village called Maluru, but on the whole way I did not see a house. By far the greater part of the country is covered with stunted woods; and as the roads generally follow the low hills, these hide from the view of the traveller the greater part of what is cultivated.

1st April. — I went four cosses to Barkshavāni Mata. The road is near the left bank of the Tunga.

2d April. — I went a long stage, called five cosses, to Shiva-mogay. The first two cosses of this road are in a forest of very fine trees, many of which are teak. On leaving

this, I entered an open country extending very far to the eastward. The greater part of it seems to be fit for cultivation; but at present a want of inhabitants renders the greatest part of it a waste. One coss from the forest is Gajunuru, a fort and village on the left bank of the Tunga.

At the entrance into the open country, the laterite seems to stop. The last that I have seen was at Bakshavani Mata. Between that place and Shiva-mogay the strata are not very observable. In some places they appear to run east and west, in others the rock seems not to be stratified. In one place only, since I came up to Karnata, have I observed the large veins of quartz so common to the eastward, and I saw none in any place below the western Ghats.

4th April.—I went four cosses to Kudali. The country all the way is plain; but it contains many detached hills, some of which, towards the north, are pretty high. The whole country is bare, and almost entirely waste.

Midway I came to a village, where the inhospitable disposition of the natives fully manifested itself. Near this village, I overtook a sepoy lying in the uttermost agony from a rupture. Having with some difficulty reduced it, the pain in his groin was succeeded by a violent colic, which contracted his limbs; and, had any exercise been at all proper for a man in his condition, rendered him totally unable to walk. I therefore went into the village, in order to procure a cot or bedstead, of which a litter could be readily made. As I had left all my attendants with the sick man, except an interpreter, the villagers held me in contempt. I found the Gauda, his brother, and some head men of the village, all Sivabhactars, standing in conversation, and wrapped up in their blankets. Having made known to them my case, the Gauda replied, that they had no cots, and his brother talked very loud, and in an insolent manner. This was checked by the coming up of a superior officer of revenue, who informed me that there were cots in every house; but neither offers of payment, nor threats of complaint, were of more avail than humanity. In excuse for these people, it may however be said, that the sepoy belonged to the Bombay army, a detachment of which had enabled Purseram Bhow to commit all his cruelties. Not that the Bombay army had any share in these excesses; but without its assistance he either would not have ventured into the country at all, or would have been assuredly defeated at Shiva-mogay.

The hills here, however, are not so rugged as toward Mysore, but the strata run north and south, and contain many lumps of quartz. In all the open country, where there is no laterite, the limestone nodules abound. Although the natives in general think that calcareous stone in the ground diminishes its fertility, I have an idea that the want of this substance in the countries to the westward, more than any absolute sterility in their soil, may be the cause why the dry grains do not thrive.

6th April.—I went three cosses to Baswa-pattana, in order to avoid a steep mountainous road, called a ghat, that lies in the direct route between Sahasiva-hully, and Hari-hara. On the open country through which I passed, there are scattered several small hills.

7th April.—I went three cosses to Malaya Banuru. This last word is a common termination in the names of villages in this part of the country, and signifies a place behind any other, thus Malaya Banuru signifies the place behind the hill.

8th April.—I went a very long stage, called four cosses, to Harihara, and by the way crossed a large empty water course, and afterwards a wide channel containing a considerable stream, which comes from the Solicaray, and is therefore called the Solicaray holay. It falls into the Tungabhadra immediately above Hari-hara, and never dries, except in very extraordinary seasons.

11th April.—I went three cosses to Davana-giri.

12th April.—To day I was prevented from advancing by no less than seven of my people

people having been feized with the fever in the courfe of the night, and from its being impoffible, without fome delay, to provide means for their being carried. Fevers have of late been very prevalent among my fervants, although the country is perfectly dry and clear. The weather is now very hot in the day-time, with ftrong irregular blafts of hot wind, which often comes in whirls. The nights are tolerably cool. Early this morning we had a very heavy rain, with much thunder, but little wind.

13th April. — I went what was called four coffes, but the ftage was exceedingly long, and I halted at Coduganar.

In the forenoon a leopard was killed by the people of the village in a garden near the town, and brought to my tent in great triumph, with every thing refembling a flag, and every inftrument capable of making a noife, that could be collected. Firft he had been fhot in the belly, and then he was driven to the banks of a refervoir, where he ftood at bay, and, before he was killed, wounded three of the men who attacked him with fpears; one of whom was feverely torn. He agreed very well with the defcription in Ker's tranflation of Linnæus, and was about four feet from the fnout to the root of the tail. He had killed feveral oxen, and in this country, it is not unufual for leopards to attack even men. Although I have called this animal the leopard, there is reafon to think that it does not differ from the panther of India, for I am perfuaded that we have no larger fpotted animal of the feline genus The Indian panther and leopard I confider, therefore, as two names for the fame animal. The African panther may, however, be different, as certainly is the hunting leopard of India.

14th April. — I went a very long ftage, called four coffes, to Aligutta.

15th April. — I went a very long ftage, called alfo four coffes, and encamped in the plain near Chitteldroog, as we call it Moft of the country through which I paffed is tolerably good, but very thinly peopled, and poorly cultivated. After having paffed over a low ridge of hills, I came to a fmall rivulet, named Ienigay holay, which has its fource from Bhima Samudra, and from various mountain torrents. It runs towards Gudi-cotay, the chief town of a diftrict in this principality, and contains water at all feafons It forms fome fine refervoirs, and in feveral places is alfo conveyed by canals to irrigate the fields for cultivation

The plain of Chitteldroog is two coffes and a half from north to fouth, and one cofs from eaft to weft, the cofs here being at leaft four miles. It is every where furrounded by low, rocky, bare hills, on one of which ftands the durga, or fort, formerly the refidence of the Polygars of this country By the natives it is called either Sitala-durga, that is to fay, the fpotted caftle, or Chatrakal, which fignifies the umbrella rock, for the umbrella is one of the infignia of royalty. During the government of the Ráyarus, the tributary Polygars of Chatrakal, who by defcent were hunters (Baydaru) governed a country valued at 10,000 pagodas a year, or 3120l. 8s. 4d. On the decline of the royal family of Vijaya-nagara, thefe enterprifing hunters, by gradually encroaching on their neighbours, increafed their territories, until they became worth annually 350,000 pagodas, or 109,213l. 10s. 10d The Moguls had no fooner fettled at Sira, than they began to covet the Chatrakal principality, which being entirely an open country, ought to have fallen an eafy prey to their cavalry. Sida Hilal, Nabob of Sira, made the attempt, and befieged the town for two years, but without fuccefs. He then retired to Sira, having received a promife of an annual tribute, the payment of which he probably did not expect. Hyder, foon after taking Bidderuru, attacked Chatrakal. The firft fiege lafted five months, and was unfuccefsful. After the fecond fiege had continued fix months, there was little profpect of fuccefs, and Hyder had recourfe to corruption. Partly by money, and partly by the influence of a common faith, he obtained

 the

the treacherous assistance of a Mussulman officer, to whom the Rája had given a high military command. At this time the town was very large, and filled a great portion of the plain; but owing to the removal of its court it has since gradually decayed. Still, however, it is a considerable place, and seems to receive particular encouragement from Purnea. It is now confined entirely within the walls, which are near the foot of the rock. They were strengthened by Hyder; and the town, after the peace granted by Lord Cornwallis, having become a place near the Marattah frontier, Tippoo had employed Dhowlut Khan, one of his slaves, to add much to its strength. The new works are now completing, and will render it totally impregnable against such invaders.

April 17th. — I went two cosses to Siddamana-hully, a mud fort, containing sixty houses.

April 18th. — I went three cosses to Imangula, and had on my right all the way a prolongation from the hills on which Chatrakal stands.

April 19th. — I went three cosses to Heriuru, near which a great change takes place in the appearance of the country. The soil is mostly stony, and at this season exceedingly parched; so that there is scarcely any grass, and the only green things to be seen are a few scattered mimosas.

The strata at Heriuru run nearly north and south, and are almost quite vertical. The basis of the country is somewhat between an argillite and schistose hornblende. It contains no veins that I observed; but in some places I saw large amorphous masses of reddish fat quartz imbedded in its substance. When exposed to the air it readily decays, and is then covered with a cinereous crust. For building it is a very poor stone, at least what is near the surface, but in a temple of Iswara, without the walls, I observed some pieces of it that have been squared, and resemble much the fine hornblende slate from Batuculla. It is probable, therefore, that by digging quarries, excellent materials for building might be procured. Of these, however, there is no want any where in Karnata.

The only other common rock here is called the black stone, and it may be considered as forming large beds between the strata of the argillaceous hornblende slate. This is an earthy quartz or horn-stone, impregnated with hornblende. When exposed to the air, its masses do not readily acquire a crust, but separate into irregular quadrangular pieces, truncated at both ends. In the fissures may sometimes be observed yellow shining *nodules*, which I take to be the *mica aurata*. It contains no other venigenous matter, and does not cut with the tools of the natives; but from the angular shape of its fragments, the smooth surface with which they break, and its great durability, it is excellently fitted for rough walls.

Although the air and water of Heriuru are reckoned salutary, and my people were well accommodated, they did not recover their health, and all my stock of medicines had been long expended. My cook died rather unexpectedly. His fever never had been severe, the paroxysms had come on as usual in the morning, and, after it was over, had left him tolerably well; but in the evening he suddenly became insensible, was convulsed, and died in about an hour. He was a very thoughtless man, and much addicted to intoxication; those, therefore, who fancy that all spirituous liquors are pernicious, especially in warm climates, will have no difficulty in accounting for his death:

Dicunt ab nimio pocula dira mero.

But, let me add,

Vobis si culpa est bilis, sua quemque sequantur
Fata, quod immeritis crimen habent cyathi.

For my own part, I am perfuaded, that intoxication is much feldomer a caufe of difeafe than is commonly alledged; and that it chiefly proves injurious to the health of our feamen and foldiers in warm climates, by making them imprudently expofe themfelves to other caufes of ficknefs. The two perfons in my fervice that are moft fubject to fevers, are my interpreter and painter, although from their fituation in life they are exempted from all hardfhips; but from their caft they ought never to tafte fpirituous liquor, and are really fober men, avoiding not only liquor but every intoxicating drug. At the fame time, a man who takes care of my tents, although he is expofed to all weathers, and at times to much fatigue, enjoys perfect health, and probably keeps off the fever by copioufly drinking fpirituous liquors, to the ufe of which he is exceedingly addicted.

The arrival of a fet of frefh men, and the confequent preparations for our departure, caufed great joy among my people, notwithftanding their weak ftate. When the cook was taken ill, I had given orders to fecure his effects for the benefit of his wife and children; but on infpection after his death, no money could be found. Whether he had been plundered as foon as he became infenfible, and that a guilty confcience occafioned fears among his companions, or whether the fudden manner of his death occafioned fufpicions, I cannot fay, but it was immediately believed that he would become a Pyfachi, and all my people were filled with terror. The butler imagined that the Pyfachi appeared to him at night, with a black filk handkerchief tied round its head, and gave him inftructions to take all the effects of the deceafed to his family, upon this, the butler, being a man of courage, put his fhoes at the right fide of the door, which he confidered to be a fure preventive againft fuch intruders. Next night, a cattle-driver, lying in all the agonies of nocturnal terror, faw the appearance of a dog enter, and fmell round the place where the man had died; when to his utter difmay, the fpectre gradually grew larger and larger, and at length, having affumed the form of the cook, vanifhed with a fhriek. The poor man had not the courage to ufe the flippers, but lay till morning in a kind of ftupor. After this, even the minds of the fepoys were appalled; and when I happened to be awake, I heard the fentries, by way of keeping up their courage, finging with a tremulous voice.

CHAP. XIX. — *Journey from Heriuru to Seringapatam, through the Weftern and Middle Parts of the Myfore Dominions.*

MAY 2d, 1801. — In the morning I went four cofses to Ellady-caray, which is fituated among the low hills, running fouth-eaft from Chatrakal. I faw no houfes by the way, but fome muft have been near my route, as in different places I obferved a few fields that were cultivated. I paffed through feveral ruined villages. The appearance of the country is defolate, and it is faid never to have been much better in the memory of man. The foil is entirely poor ftony land, and the naked rocks, in a ftate of decay, come frequently to the furface. The grafs in many places is long, but at this feafon it is quite withered, and the only things green that are vifible, are a few wild date palms (*Elate fylveftris*), moft of which are young. In moft places they grow fpontaneoufly, and produce juice, which is often boiled into jagory. The hills are of no confiderable height, and among them there is much plain ground. By the natives this is confidered as of very little ufe; but to me much of it appears to be very capable of being rendered productive, whenever labourers and ftock can be found.

Between Heriuru and Ellady-caray the ftrata are all nearly vertical, and of a flaty ftructure; but near the furface they are in fuch a ftate of decay, that it would be diffi-

cult

cult to determine the species. Some appeared to be the same with the quartz, impregnated with hornblende, that is found in the western Ghats. The layers or plates are in general very thin. There are no veins of quartz; but many of the strata, or rather thin plates, of which united the strata are composed, are fat quartz. These strata, or beds of quartz, are from a quarter of an inch to two feet in thickness, and are often stained of a livid colour, which I have nowhere else observed.

The talcose argillite of Heriuru is here very common, and passes at times entirely into pure argillite, like the slate used for the roofs of houses. The transitions from the one stone to the other are so gradual, that it would be difficult to say where the one ends, and the other begins. The slate here is grey, blue, and purple. All that I saw, being near the surface, was in a state of decay, and therefore useless, but that is the case on the surface of the best slate quarries in Scotland.

3d May. — I went three short cosses to Chica-bayli-caray; that is, the little hedge-tank.

4th May. — I went one coss south, to see the mine at Cudera Canavay; and having examined it, I returned to Chica-bayli-caray. The road passes through a valley surrounded by low hills, and about half way there is a fortified village. At the bottom of the hill on which the mine is, there is a plain of a very good soil, which would be the most proper place of residence for the smelters.

On the road I met with an image of Hanumanta, going on an annual visit that he makes to his master at a temple called Raméswara. From the neighbouring villages he was attended by all the better sort of inhabitants, male and female, young and old; the Sivabhactars excepted, who abominate both this idol, and that of his master, Vishnu. The people composing the train of the god were very irregular and disorderly, but they had collected together a number of flags, and insignia of honour, with every thing that could be found in the country capable of making a noise. The men who carried the idol said, that the god would rest himself at a mandapam near Rameswara, and allow his followers to assemble, and form themselves into some order, after which he would visit the image of Rama, and having returned to the mandapam, he would sit in state, while for his amusement the people played before this building. The Bráhmans would then sell them some victuals, which were consecrated by having been dressed in the temple, and offered to the god with the proper incantations (mantrams). Having feasted on these, the image would return to his own temple, attended as on his outset. This is what is called a jatram; and had the image been that of one of the great gods, it would have been carried in a rath, or chariot, but for Hanumanta a litter is sufficient.

Cudera Canavay, or the horse-hill, is a hummock about a hundred and fifty feet in perpendicular height. The north end is steepest, the slope toward the south being gentle. The east and west sides also are pretty steep. The natives say, that Doray-guda is about ten cosses to the south-east, and that there is a continued ridge of low hills extending the whole way between the two mines; but none of them contain ore.

The surface of Cudera Canavay is smooth, and is not interrupted by rocks. The soil is a poor red earth. I saw only one lump of hæmatites; and that, when compared with the fine masses lying on the surface of Doray-guda, is very poor and ill-formed. The whole extent of the hill is not great, and the miners have contented themselves with digging the ore from the surface of the hill near its summit. No shaft nor pit having been made, I cannot form any estimate of the quantity of ore remaining. The mine appears to be much richer than that of Doray; for the quantity of barren stone intermixed with the ore is very small. This barren stone

ſtone reſembles the ore very much; and, no doubt, could the natives extract it, contains much iron. The ſpecimen which I have brought away, has concentric layers ſomewhat like a log of wood The ſuperficial earth in moſt places is not above a foot thick. On digging into it, the miner comes to a mixture of ochres, earth, and ore, in a tabular form. This mixture ſometimes extends in depth ſo far as has been wrought, which no where, that I ſaw, exceeded five or ſix feet. In other places the miner meets with large maſſes of ore, conſiſting of a number of plates united together like ſchiſtus This by the miners is called black iron-ſtone. Theſe maſſes have a tendency to divide into rhomboidal fragments. In other places the ore is found in a number of flat pieces, divided by fiſſures into parallelograms, perhaps three inches long, two broad, and one thick. Theſe fragments are placed in layers contiguous to one another, but they are ſeparated by the ſlighteſt force, the fiſſures being filled up with reddiſh ochre. By the workmen this is called red-ore, and becauſe it is taken out of the mine with the leaſt trouble it is moſt eſteemed. All kinds, when broken to ſmall pieces, and rendered proper for the furnace, are quite the ſame. The manner of working is very ſimple. The miner forms a cut with a perpendicular ſurface, and throws all the rubbiſh down the declivity. He then continues cutting down from the hill, with his perpendicular ſurface, two or three feet in height. He works with a pick-axe, and cuts promiſcuouſly through earth, ſtones, and ore. Having brought down a ſufficient quantity, he rubs the fragments; and having picked out the ſmaller pieces of ore, he throws down the hill all the earth, ochres, barren ſtone, and larger maſſes of ore, for the trouble of breaking any of theſe into lumps the ſize of the fiſt, is greater than that of cutting down more from the hill. I obſerved nothing like ſtrata in the mine, and look upon the preſent ſhape aſſumed by the ore, as of very recent date. From the rubbiſh thrown down by former miners, which conſiſts in a great meaſure of ferrugineous particles, theſe have, I imagine, united into their preſent form, and the layers may be often obſerved intermixed with the roots of vegetables. Indeed, the proceſs is probably now regularly going on, and until the hill be entirely conſumed, the mine may be continued to be wrought in the ſame manner as it is at preſent.

On the north-eaſt ſide of the hill, from which I aſcended, the ſtrata are in general vertical, and run from ſouth eaſterly to north weſterly. They are of quartz blended with hornblende, forming a hard, very tough, and ſonorous ſtone, interſected with fiſſures, but free from venigenous matters, and having a ſlaty ſtructure, with plates from an inch to a foot in thickneſs. In other places, the ſtone is not vertical, but has only a dip toward the eaſt In this I frequently obſerved the quartz and hornblende diſpoſed in alternate layers, that is to ſay, certain alternate thin portions of the quartz were leſs impregnated with the hornblende than thoſe that intervened. From the diſpoſition of theſe, the ſtone looked as if at one time it had been fluid, and had then undergone an undulating motion, for the different coloured portions were diſpoſed ſomewhat like the colours on marbled paper, or like the fibres in a knot of timber. To give a proper idea of this would require a ſpecimen ten feet in diameter, but even in the ſpecimen which I brought away, it is obſervable, although that has ſuffered a conſiderable decay. I had no means of breaking a ſpecimen from the centre of the rock.

Here I alſo obſerved a rock of a ſimilar nature, but divided into rhomboidal fragments by wide fiſſures, ſome of which were empty, and others filled with veins of fat quartz, which muſt therefore be of later origin. This reſembled the rock deſcribed in the ſeventh chapter of my journal, Vol. II. p. 43, at Malaiwara Pagoda, near

Madana

Madana Mada, which is about eight coffes from hence toward the fouth-east. There, however, the veins of quartz formed a complete net-work, involving the fragments of the original ftone, which contains little or no hornblende.

5th May. — I went to Mutcodu, diftant three coffes.

6th May. — In the evening of the 5th there was much thunder, with heavy fqualls of wind from every quarter of the compafs, and fome fevere fhowers of rain. The thunder continued all night, and the morning looked fo threatening that I did not fet out till after breakfaft. The weather, however, has now become fo cool, that I did not feel the leaft inconvenience from being all day in the open air.

I had intended going to Hoffo-durga, and had fent my fpare tents to that place; but, finding it neceffary to look after the mines, which produce the ores called kemodu and cari-cullu, I was obliged to alter my plan. Neither could I get any accurate information concerning the fituation of thefe mines; fome of thofe even, who where employed in bringing the ore, called them two coffes diftant, while others ftated their diftance at three times as much.

I went firft in fearch of the cari-cullu, and proceeded on the way by which I came yefterday, till I reached the fmall valley neareft Mutcodu, diftant from thence about ½ of a cofs, or two miles. Here I paffed a fmall village, named Sida Gondana hully, and came to a low hill, which is called Malaya Maluppa, after a temple dedicated to Siva. This hill forms the eaftern boundary of the valley, and is of no confiderable height. The mine of cari-cullu is on its afcent, and is readily difcernible from a number of bluifh-black ftones, that lie on the furface of the ground. No excavation has been made. The cari-cullu is found, in detached maffes on the furface, mixed with the ftones. Thefe ftones are often fo much tinged by the metal, as hardly to be diftinguifhable from it; but are known by being broken, when their ftony nature appears evident. Some of them, when broken, appear internally to have undergone little change, and are evidently fat white quartz; the appearance of the internal parts of others has been fo much altered, that had I not obferved them in all intermediate gradations, I fhould never have fuppofed them to have been of a quartzy nature. The maffes of ftone are much more numerous than thofe of the cari-cullu, owing probably to the quantity of the laft that has been removed from the furface. Deeper in the earth it is probably found in a great proportion, but there has been no occafion to make any experiment by digging. The extent of ground which the mine occupies may be about 200 yards fquare. The cari-cullu literally fignifies the black-ftone. It is found in maffes about the fize of the fift, and has a very ftrong refemblance to the black ore of Manganefe. By the ufual procefs, however, for difcovering the calx of that metal, I have not been able to obtain any; nor indeed any thing elfe, except a brown calx of iron. The ore however, when heated, readily gives out a confiderable quantity of oxygen.

Immediately north-weft from the mine, and on the declivity of the fame hill, is a fingular ftratum of rock. It has every appearance of a rock that has formed the channel of a river, being water-worn, and excavated into round pits or pots, exactly like the rocks on which a rapid ftream has long acted. This is an appearance, concerning which any one who has been accuftomed to a mountainous, well-watered country can hardly be miftaken, yet, as the rock is fituated on the declivity of a hill, and has a valley immediately below it, and parallel to its courfe, it is impoffible, without a total change having taken place in the face of the country, that it could have formed the bottom of a river. At prefent there is no ftream in the valley. This rock runs nearly north and fouth, and is quite vertical. It is a Sienite; fometimes

times of a homogeneous grey colour, and at other times composed of alternate grey and white layers, which last consist of the quartz and felspar entirely. These layers are of very various thicknesses, and are sometimes straight, and sometimes disposed in swirls, like a knot of timber. Although it has the appearance of having suffered much decay, this stone possesses a very high degree of toughness.

Having examined this mine, I returned almost to Muteodu, and then proceeded south to a small village, named Cadu-caray, three cosses distant. The country is not hilly, and in most places is fit for the plough; but almost the whole is waste. I saw only one village, named Chica Taycu-lawati; but I passed several small collections of huts belonging to Goalaru, or keepers of cattle. Towards the east was a range of hills, running from Chatiakal to Chica Nayakana hully. Towards the west is a level country, interspersed with a few low detached hills. On the most remarkable of these is placed Hosso-durga, or the new castle.

The soil is in general poor, and the rocky strata frequently come to view. Among these are very extensive strata of quartz, and of quartz intermixed with felspar of a white colour. Intermixed with these are strata of white quartz, and black mica, disposed in alternate layers, firmly united, and forming a very hard stone.

7th May.—I went in the morning to examine the mine of Kemodu, and another of iron, concerning which I had received intelligence on the preceding evening. The ore is smelted here in the same manner as at Chica-bayli-caray. When the process fails, a brittle porous mass is obtained, which has a greater resemblance to our cast iron than any thing that I have seen produced in India. This mass is fused in a furnace of lower power, and gives an iron softer than the common kind; and and from this soft iron are usually formed the hoes, and other digging instruments of the natives.

Doda Rashy Guda, or great heap hill, which contains the mines, is a peak about three hundred feet in height, and a mile in length, that forms part of a ridge running nearly north and south, and lying east from Cadu-caray. Between the mine and this village is another ridge, on the northern extremity of which is a temple dedicated to Ranga, and named Mavana Canavay, from which the rivulet so called has its source.

As I ascended this nearest ridge, the first rock which I met was an earthy quartz, or hornstone, divided by fissures in all directions, and having some of these fissures filled with veins of white quartz. This rock is not vertical, but dips much towards the east. Further on, the common rock consists of alternate parallel layers, firmly united, of white and quartz, and of brown iron-shot quartz, or hornstone. These layers are sometimes plain, and at others disposed in swirls, and as the stone in decay, by the attrition of its longitudinal angles, has a great tendency to assume a cylindrical form, and always breaks in masses, truncated at right angles to the layers, it is often found in pieces which have a strong resemblance to petrified wood. The stone does not break regularly in the direction of the layers, which are disposed in the same line with the strata. These are vertical, and run nearly north and south. I am by no means sure of the nature of the brown part of this stone. It may very possibly be hornblende overcharged with iron; and the lithomarge found yesterday nearly in the direction of its strata, strongly confirms this opinion.

Between the two ridges I came to the channel of a rivulet, named Aladi-holay, which at present is quite dry. Here I found the place whence the glass-makers procure the ore called kemodu. For about three quarters of a mile the bed of the rivulet is filled with stones of a steel-grey colour. Many of these are the iron ore, call d kemodu. It is in water-worn masses, from the size of a man's head down-wards,

[illegible] and possesses the external characters of the grey ore of manganese. When powdered, it is attracted by the magnet. Intermixed with the kemodu are other masses of a similar appearance, but which are useless. On breaking these, they are found to be in all intermediate stages of maturation, from the common rock before described, to almost perfect ore.

On ascending the eastern bank of the rivulet, beyond the mine of kemodu, I came to a conical peak on the eastern ridge; and observed, that all the stones on its side were stained with the steel grey of that ore. I saw none perfect on it; but on breaking the stones I found them in all stages, from the rude rock to a state approaching to maturity. Indeed, many grains of pure kemodu were very discernible, imbedded thickly in the substance of these stones.

Immediately south from this, is the peak called Doda Rashy Guda, whence the iron ore which supplies the forges is procured. This ore is quite the same with the black kind at Cudera Canivay, but it is disposed in a different manner. It is imbedded in large irregular cavities of the barren stone, or matrix. This consists of plates that are separable without much difficulty, and which, I have no doubt, are the brown layers of the common stone of the hill separated by the white ones, having been corroded by iron. It is, no doubt, a primeval rock; and its strata may be traced running in the direction of the meridian, and in general vertically. The ore is similarly composed of plates; and fibres of the roots of plants are found to have penetrated into the interstices; but this, I am inclined to think, has happened after the surface has been exposed by the miners. I also suppose, that the ore has once been the common stone of the hill, and has afterwards been more and more impregnated with iron by some process unknown to us; in the same manner as, I suppose, has taken place in the ore called kemodu. The various gradations from the perfect stone to the perfect ore is the circumstance that induces me to form this opinion. A portion of the rock having been cut down with a vertical smooth face about three feet deep, presented an appearance similar to that in plate XXXIII. fig. 82. The central parts are of the ore, and contain the roots of plants between their plates. The upper layers are of the barren matrix. I brought away, as a specimen, the upper extremity of the ore, with part of the matrix adhering. Owing to the nature of the mine, the manner of working it is somewhat different from that used at Cudera Canivay, and the workmen are forced to dig the ore from under the caverns of the matrix. I no where saw that they had ventured in farther than ten or twelve feet; so that I cannot say, whether or not the internal parts of the hill contain any veins, or rather beds, of ore. Openings have been made in various places for about a quarter of a mile in length, which seems to be the extent of the mine.

8th May. — I went three cosses to Belluguru, and by the way passed two tanks and villages.

9th May. — In the evening and night there was much loud thunder, with heavy rain from the southward, but little wind. I went four cosses to Garuda-giri, or the hill of Garuda, the eagle on which Vishnu rides. It is often pronounced in the oblique case Garudana-giri, which by the Mussulmans, is usually corrupted to Gurrunagiri; and in a map which I received, I find it called Gurgah-droog.

10th May. — I went two long cosses to Banawara.

11th May. — I went three long cosses to Jamagullu. The country is rather more broken than that through which I have come for the last two days, and is equally deserted. The wild date has even overgrown much of the rice-land. Jamagullu at present contains about eighty houses, and has a fort. Before the invasion of Trumbaca Man.a, it was a large place, but has never since recovered.

Here

Here is a temple dedicated to Narasingha, and built entirely of Balapum, or pot-stone. It is highly ornamented after the Hindu fashion, and on the outside every part of its walls is covered with small images in full relievo. Both the general structure of the fabric, and the execution of the component figures, are utterly destitute of either grandeur or elegance; indeed, I have not yet had the good fortune to meet with a Hindu image that was tolerable. This temple is said to have been built by Shalim Ráya, and the architect that he employed was named Jacanachery. This Prince lived about a thousand years ago, and having killed a Bráhman, in order to wash away his sin, he employed twenty years in travelling between Kási and Rámeswara, and in rebuilding temples. The one here entirely resembles in its style the others that I have seen which are attributed to the repentance of this personage. It has an inscription on stone, but that has been defaced. The annual revenues formerly belonging to the temple amounted to 250 ikeri pagodas (100l. 6s 4¼d). These were entirely removed by the Sultan. Purnea allows it 50 canter' ráya pagodas a year in money, or 15l. 12s. 0¼d.

Many of the strata around this are of pot-stone. They are quite vertical, and run north and south in the usual direction of the other strata of the country. In general, the pot-stone breaks into small fragments, and is full of fissures; but in the neighbouring country there are many quarries, where masses of great size may be procured. It forms an excellent material for building, being very easily cut, and at the same time being excessively tough. The good kinds resemble entirely the stone at Maru-Hully, described in the eighth chapter of my Journal, vol. ii. p. 146; and, in fact, are somewhat between a hornblende and a pot-stone.

12th May.—I went to Hullybedu, a stage of about 10 miles, but it is called only two cosses.

The most remarkable building at Hullybedu is a temple of Siva erected by Vishnu Verdana Ráya. From an inscription on the wall, this must have been before the year of Sal. 1203, or A. D. 128?. A copy of this inscription has been delivered to the Bengal government. This temple is built of similar materials, and in a similar style of architecture, with that at Jamagullu; but is larger, and more crowded with ornaments. Its walls contain a very ample delineation of Hindu mythology; which, in the representation of human or animal forms, is as destitute of elegance as usual; but some of the foliages possess great neatness, as may be seen by a drawing made of part of one, and given in plate XXVII. figure 83. The temple has long been without a pújári, or public worship, and has gone so far to decay, that it would be repaired with great difficulty. This is a pity, as it much exceeds any Hindu building that I have elsewhere seen.

Before the temple are placed two images of the Baswa, or bull of Siva. The one is of balapum, or the pot-stone impregnated with hornblende, of which the temple is built, and which does not admit of a marble polish. This stone, which as usual represents the bull in a lying posture, is sixteen feet long, ten feet high, and seven feet broad. The other image is not quite so large, but its materials are finer, and admit of a marble polish. It seems also to be a pot-stone or perhaps a talc impregnated with hornblende, and contains small irregular veins of a green shining matter. Its general colour is black, with a tinge of green. Some of the pillars in the inner part of the temple are of the same fine black hornblende that is used in Hyder's monument, and are highly polished. Some of them reflect objects double, which by the natives is looked upon as miraculous. These temples having been built when this was the seat of empire, and the inhabitants for many centuries having had no occasion for such costly materials in their buildings, the knowledge of the quarries

ries from which they were ſupplied has been loſt; and the natives believe that the ſtones were brought from Káſi, on the banks of the Ganges.

A very common rock here is called by the natives the blackſtone (caricullu). It ſeems to be a hornblende porphyry; but the baſis, having a ſlight degree of tranſparency, probably conſiſts of an intimate union of horn-ſtone, or quartz, with hornblende. It is black, with a greeniſh tinge, and greaſy appearance, and contains white felſpar in pieces of various ſizes. It ſometimes alſo contains veins of quartz, and on that account might perhaps be called a ſienite. It does not cut well for fine buildings, but breaks into quadrangular maſſes, which from their being exceſſively tough and durable, make excellent rough work. For the ſame reaſon it is frequently hollowed out into the mortars of oil mills.

13th May.—I went three coſſes to Bailuru. The country is very bare; ſome of it is hilly, and full of ſtones; much of it is a good ragy ſoil; but very little is cultivated. I croſſed a ſmall river called the Bhadri, which comes from Baba Bodeens hills, and runs into the Cavery. It never dries entirely, and receives the water from all the country ſouth from Banawara. To the weſt of the Bhadri river the country is called Malayar, or the hills, while that on the eaſtern ſide is called Meidán, or the open country. I remained at Bailuru, taking an account of the cultivation there, as an example of that which prevails in the hilly region whence the Cavery has its ſources.

The nature of the Malayar country reſembles that of the ſea-coaſt below the weſtern Ghats, in ſo far as rice is the principal object of cultivation, and as little attention is paid to the rearing of dry grains upon which the people to the north and weſt of the Bhadri chiefly ſubſiſt. In the Malayar country, however there are no pepper gardens, nor plantations of betel-nut palms, for which it ſeems as well fitted as the Nagara principality. It is ſaid entirely to reſemble the Codagu Ráyada, or Coorg country. At Bailuru there is no brick-ſtone, and the country abounds with the calcareous tufa. The hills are overgrown with wood, and are conſidered as quite uſeleſs. The vallies only are cultivated.

15th May.—I went three coſſes to Holtaray.

16th May.—I went three Sultany coſſes to Haſina, which derives its name from one of the Saktis, that is the village deity (Grama Devata). The country through which I paſſed is fine ragy land, but very little of it is cultivated.

17th May.—I went two Sultany coſſes to Gráma, which ſignifies merely a village.

18th May.—I went, what appeared a long ſtage, to Chin'-raya-pattana. It was called four Sultany coſſes.

19th May.—I went two Sultany coſſes to Sravana Belgula.

Seringapatam I found recovering apace. Some more openings for parades, and other public uſes, have been made in the town; but it ſtill continues to be a ſink of naſtineſs. The ſuburb called Shahar Ganjam is increaſing rapidly, and care has been taken to form the ſtreets wide and ſtraight. A new magiſtracy has juſt now been eſtabliſhed, under the ſuperintendance of Captain Symmonds, an eſtabliſhment that was much wanted; for the officers of the garriſon have neither time nor inclination to inveſtigate civil affairs. Proviſions are good, and, bread excepted, are cheap. Artificers have been aſſembled, and are now buſy in preparing military ſtores; ſuch as gun-carriages, leather accoutrements, tents, and cordage of the aloe leaves (agava vivipara). This employs many people, and will turn out a great ſaving to the Company. Trade is beginning to be reſtored, and conſiderable quantities of the produce of Malabar again paſs this way. The lands are increaſing in value; and people, who had formerly deſerted to adjacent diſtricts, are now returning, and with the utmoſt eagerneſs are

2 reclaiming

reclaiming their former possessions. This climate, however, continues to be very unhealthy; and a damp is thrown on every thing by the sickness of the resident, Colonel Close. Owing to this, I have been much disappointed by not receiving any answers to the queries which I proposed.

CHAP. XX. — *Journey from Seringapatam to Madras.*

JUNE 4th. — Early in the morning I left Seringapatam; on coming to where my tents had been pitched, I found, that in the storm of the preceding night, they had been blown down, and that my people had been dispersed into the neighbouring villages. I was, therefore, necessitated to halt a day, in order to put my tents into some kind of repair, and to reassemble my people. In this I had great difficulty, most of them being intoxicated.

Kari ghat, near which I halted, is a high peaked hill, which consists chiefly of schistose mica, that is composed of white quartz, and silvery mica, disposed in an undulating manner. When the stone is split in the direction of the strata, the mica is most conspicuous, and makes a very beautiful appearance.

5th June. — I went three cosses to Banuru.

6th June. — I went two Sultany cosses to Sosila. The country is plain, with a few small hills interspersed.

7th June. — I went three cosses and a half to Kirigavil. The country through which I passed is mostly dry arable land, but much of it is waste. I crossed one small ridge of hills, consisting of naked rocks of white granite. Kirigavil has once been a large village; but after the affair at Malawilly, the Sultan, in order to prevent it from being of use to the army under General Harris, destroyed it and few of the houses have been rebuilt. The greater part of its inhabitants are Mussulmans, for, during the former government of the Mysore Rajás, it was given in jaghire to a Mahomedan family in their service. The heir of this family now lives at the place, and has a considerable pension from the Company, for which he appears to be grateful.

8th June. — I went three cosses to Malawilly. All the country through which I passed seems capable of cultivation, and there are vestiges remaining to show that the whole has once been ploughed, and enclosed with thicket hedges. Much of it is now waste, and the fences are very ruinous. There is little irrigation.

Hyder gave Malawilly in jaghire to his son Tippoo, and of course it enjoyed considerable favour, and contained a thousand houses. Adjoining to the town is a very fine reservoir, that gives a constant supply of water to a fruit-garden which the Sultan planted. This is of great extent, but the soil is poor, and some of it is indeed so bad, that the trees have died, and the ground has been again converted into rice-fields. The establishment kept in this garden consists of one daroga, or superintendant, one writer, and ten labourers, who, as they cultivate the rice-fields, are not able to keep the fruit-trees in decent order, much less to prevent the walks from being in a most slovenly condition. The trees are 2400 in number, and of these one-half are mangoes. They are loaded with fruit, and some of the oranges are very fine. The mangoes that I saw were but ordinary. One kind, if the account of the superintendant is to be credited, is very curious. It annually produces two crops, — one in the hot season, and the other during the rains. In the centre of the garden is a small, but neat cottage (bungalo), from which grass walks diverge in all directions.

9th June. — I went four long cosses to Hulluguru.

10th June. — I went two Sultany cosses to Satnuru, through a pretty wide valley, with hills on both sides of the road.

11th June.

At Wochuru there is also a very handsome tank, formed by digging a square cavity into the soil. Its sides are lined entirely with cut granite in the form of stairs. Such a tank, when intended for the accommodation of travellers, or of the people of the neighbourhood, in the Tamul language is called colam; in the Karnataca dialect it is called cuntay; and by the Telingas, and southern Mussulmans, it would be called gunta. Similar tanks, that are within the walls of a covil, or temple, are called by the Sanskrit names calliany, sarovara, tirta, or puscarany.

2d July.—I entered the Company's jaghire, and went to Conjeveram, which by the natives is universally called Kunji. The country has more verdure than it had last year when I visited it. The rains usual about this season had not then commenced; but they have this year been unusually favourable.

All over the coast of Coromandel, it is common in May, June, and July, to have occasional showers, and at some period of that time to have even three or four days heavy rain, which somewhat cools the air, and enables the cultivation for dry grains to take place. The weather now, although hot, is cloudy, with strong winds from the west. Such weather usually prevails about this time for eight or ten days; and at Tanjore is well known to precede the rising of the Cavery, which is at the highest when the periodical rains prevail in Mysore. These clouds seem to be an extension of those which before and during the violence of the monsoon collect over the western ghats. When these have poured down, and have occasioned the swelling of the river, the rains even in Karnata above, and the weather clears in the countries below the eastern ghats, until October, when the easterly monsoon brings on the proper rainy season of the sea-coast. In the interval, the weather at Madras is often excessively hot, and the sea-breeze frequently fails; or what occasions more uneasiness, blows from the south, and is then called the long shore wind.

3d July.—I went to Vira Permal Pillay's Chitteram, or inn built by Vira Permal, a Madras Dubashy.

4th July.—I went to Sri Permaturu, or Varam phuthur, a celebrated temple and agraram, or abode of Brahmans, which is situated about a mile out of the road, but I was desirous of visiting a place, rendered remarkable by its having given birth to Rama Anuja Achárya.

5th July—I returned to Condatura, and on the day following arrived at Madras; having observed, ever since passing the Ghats, more and more signs of improvement, the nearer I approached this European city.

I was here greatly disappointed at not finding any answers returned to the queries which I had proposed to the gentlemen who managed Bára-mahal and Coimbetore, as I had depended on this assistance, and as their great knowledge and abilities would have enabled me to correct many errors into which I must have fallen, and to obtain much information which a traveller cannot procure.

END OF THE EIGHTH VOLUME.

Strahan and Preston,
Printers Street, London.